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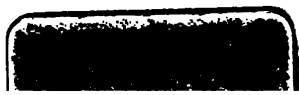
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**PRESENT CONDITION**

**AND**

**Future Prospects of the Country,**

**IN REFERENCE TO**

**FREE TRADE**

**AND**

**ITS RECENT APPLICATION.**

**BY F. C.,**

**Author of "Remarks on the Cost Price of Producing Wheat in Foreign  
Countries," &c.**

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## PRESENT CONDITION

AND

## FUTURE PROSPECTS OF THE COUNTRY.

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### PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

IF it were possible to invent a more plausible topic of delusion than the cry for cheap bread, the conduct of the late Administration would be wholly without excuse. That conduct would be in reality what it is now in appearance—a cowardly abandonment of the first duty of Government, which is the protection of the many from the knavery or folly of the few. It would mark with indelible disgrace the men as well as the Ministers who would, in the affirmative of our hypothesis, deserve the epithet of “treacherous deserters” of the task generously confided to their loyalty. But the science of Government is practically beset with innumerable difficulties, which few are able to appreciate with accuracy who are not in a position to be responsible for error. Experienced and cultivated minds are prone to make allowance for those difficulties. The great bulk of mankind disregard them altogether: the crowd pass judgment only on the result, and always with the utmost severity.

On this principle, the recent measures of the late Cabinet is a theme of almost unanimous reprobation. To the Conservatives they are obnoxious in matter and in form, in circumstance, in manner, and pretence: to the Whigs, on one or other of these sundry

grounds : to the Radicals, only, they are most acceptable—not so much for their intrinsic merit as the inestimable value of a precedent so ominously extorted, and so pregnant with future hope. Yet even the Radicals—those among them, at least, who have souls accessible to other feelings than Radicalism—even the Radicals cannot help some misgivings of conscience ; and, while keenly alive to the importance of their victory, they betray, by involuntary gestures, more contempt than they show gratitude by their words for the cowardice of the men who surrendered a fortress so strong as to be capable of defence by mere passive resistance. “ It is well (said Napoleon, as he surveyed the ramparts at Malta) that we found some body to open us the gates, for we should never have entered this place without.” Time, described by Necker as the father of truth, will probably rectify the exaggeration of all these several opinions, and assign to Peel’s Administration its due measure of praise and blame. To anticipate the result would be as idle as it is impossible ; but we may here be permitted to enquire into the various elements which will necessarily guide the judgment of posterity.

There are no doubt many, and some of them are irrefragable, arguments against a Free Corn Trade ; but let it not be said that there are none in its favour, and that the latter are not more elementary and easy of apprehension than the more complicate, more scientific, deductions in favour of Protection. Candour requires this admission on our part : we can afford to give our opponents the benefit of it, as readily as we should admit that many vulgar objections against the properties of light might be logically deduced from the experience of our senses in opposition to geometrical demonstration. It is because those objections are no longer urged that they are no longer answered, for the teachers of truth seldom treat their opponents with contempt or arrogance. Free-traders alone have that privilege : like all enthusiasts, they assume what

they cannot prove ; and, if they had the power, they would scarcely want the inclination of awarding severe penalties to the rejection of their faith.

Free Trade enthusiasts form, however, a class sufficiently numerous and important, by their wealth, station, and abilities, to challenge the respectful attention of a free Government. It became necessary to wean them from their errors, to resist their importunity, or submit to their dictation. Of these three courses, Sir Robert Peel, having vainly tried the two first, finally adopted the last : we shall have occasion to point out the probable motives of his conduct ; but, first, let us enquire into the economical and the political tendencies of Free Trade.

#### ECONOMICAL ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF FREE TRADE.

They are chiefly derived from a very plain and elementary principle—from the great probability that every individual is a much better judge of his own interest than the State. Lord John Russell, in his recent address to the electors of the city of London, has laid down this principle with elegant perspicuity in the following words :—

“ I have spoken in my address to you of other tasks which still remain to be performed—tasks which I am sure will be rendered at least more easy to be undertaken when we have given up this unprofitable attempt to direct the industry of this country better than it can direct itself (cheers). This, in fact, is our principle of Free Trade. It is not, as some choose to represent it, a new-fangled system—a strange fanciful theory : it is only saying, humbly and modestly, that there are questions in legislation which we are competent to decide ; but that the question of regulating the industry of the country, or directing the markets of the country, or telling the people how they should employ their labour—where they should buy and at what time they should sell—was one on which legis-



lition could do nothing—on which the wisest House of Lords, or the most virtuous House of Commons that ever existed, could not do so well as the butcher, the farmer, and the artisan, in their own markets and shops.

No man of common sense has ever, since the beginning of this century, controverted the general truth of the preceding paragraph; but it belongs to wild enthusiasts only to make it a rule of rigorous and universal application—a rule equally advantageous to the ignorant and the learned—to the slave and the freeman—the child and the adult. A necessary consequence of the rigid observance of this principle would go far towards superseding the use of the expensive machinery of Government. If every man knows best what is good for himself, and if what is good for himself be necessarily beneficial to the community, where is the need of authority and power? Even a nation, consisting of men individually as wise as Solon, would find the practice inconvenient. That a degree of freedom, scarcely worthy of angels, is not yet the legal right of British industry, may be inferred from the prohibited cultivation of tobacco and beetroot sugar, the restrictions on hemp, and numberless other restrictions. Whatever interferes with the interest of the many—even though it may benefit the few—is a proper object of proscription, restriction, or regulation, in every civilised community. To give free scope to every scheme of avarice—to every plot of ambition—is neither more nor less than to encourage confusion and anarchy. The passions, blind and unruly as they are, and not the reason of mankind, which often submits to a positive and immediate loss for the sake of a future advantage, would be then the supreme law of society. This might be agreeable to a few—it would never suit the many. Like all other liberties, the liberty of buying and selling, according to individual pleasure, would be dangerous without some legal limits. The best market

for arms and ammunition is often the enemy in time of war; yet, in spite of Free Trade, that market is prohibited. But the reason why Lord John Russell complacently repeats the trite axiom of unfettered industry to the admiration of his audience, as if he had miraculously stumbled on some profound discovery of the truth, must be ascribed to the neglected fact that we are in a period of transition. We are just emerging from times of ignorance, when Government, in its three estates, acted towards industry on the assumption of its utter incapacity to judge for itself; but that assumption had once greater foundation in truth than the contrary extreme—the unerring instinct of self-interest—has perhaps at present.\*

Be this as it may, the practice of former days and our present practice are equally liable to the objection of pedantic and narrow-minded adherence to certain abstract theories, pragmatically and superstitiously enforced, more for the sake of uniformity than in compliance with experience.

One of the profound sages of the utilitarian philosophy—he who could not see the distinction between a legal and an unconstitutional proceeding—has laid

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\* As no commercial law has ever been passed, except at the instigation of merchants and manufacturers, prohibition and excessive protection arose in their clamour just as much as Free Trade at present. Adam Smith charges them distinctly with the most narrow-minded views, and ascribes greater evils to their cupidity and ignorance than to the ambition of princes. It would appear, indeed, that at all times it is the pretended infallibility of mercantile self-interest which has been the guide of the Legislature, and that excessive protection and unrestricted freedom have been dictated alike by a few wealthy and turbulent merchants and manufacturers, who had no other object than that of increasing their enormous wealth at the expense of their poorer brethren. They assumed to represent the community, and succeeded in persuading the Legislature of this by their clamour. It is amusing to hear Lord John Russell ascribe so much wisdom to the instinct of a class, while passing condemnation on a system which arose entirely from that principle.

it down as a law that, in political economy, there is much to learn and little to do. His disciples, according to the never-failing propensity of the disciples of similar masters, have come to the conclusion, through a ponderous mass of commentary, that the sage meant there was nothing to learn and everything to undo; and they have accordingly been pretty busy in their vocation. That they have not laboured in vain for themselves is evident: whether their labours will be as profitable to their country, to whose service they profess the most romantic and disinterested devotion, a short time will probably suffice for decision.

BUYING IN THE CHEAPEST AND SELLING IN THE  
DEAREST MARKET.

This is another of the favourite maxims of the Benthamite Free-traders—a school which occupies, in political economy, the rank which history has already assigned in politics to the vague puerilities of the French national assembly, to whose Rights of Man the National Convention, under Robespierre, has since provided an ample commentary. Of course, every body is desirous of buying as cheap and selling as dear as he can—just as much as, in 1791, every Frenchman wished to be free; but it is with trade as it was with liberty: first define what it is, and proceed next to the acquisition: you will have a better chance of success if you know what you are after. Tell us what you precisely understand by cheapness: is it a positive or a relative term?—a fixed and an unalterable quantity, or, like weight itself, variable with the latitude—a quantity deriving its worth from comparison? If you are as ignorant yourself as the audience you are deceiving, and assume cheapness to be measured by money, and not by use, you may find yourself as much the dupe of your political economy as you may have been sometimes in your private dealings. The cheapest materials in price are proverbially the dearest in the wear.

21 We have no inclination to impugn the general utility of the proposition of buying cheap and selling dear; yet have lately some doubts whether it is always applicable, and always consistently applied, even where there is room for the application. Our opponents make it a rule without exception or it is with them an article of faith. The sordid passion of avarice blinds them; they have neither eyes nor ears for anything else. I will have the most for my money; my money, my money! Harpagon, in Moliere, never behaved worse; and Shylock, unmoved by the disgrace of his daughter, sinks into tears of despair the moment he hears that she had paid for a monkey more than the market-price.

Their avarice is not, however, unsupported by argument. One of the most gleams of their sagacity is a Frenchman, a doctor, entitled *Sophistes Economiques*, who has ably expounded the chief tenets of the sect, and given them popularity by an admixture of wit and familiar illustration. With reflecting minds, his little book will have more weight than all the harangues of the League. Their vocation is investing and prosy declaration; but he is logical and interesting, but not thingy; he placed in a stronger light that he is fighting with windmills of his own creation than the necessity he is under of pladdating, not a rebel, but some imaginary case of the practical violation of most of his principles, of which few are controverted, or indeed controvertible; except under circumstances where, he invites application.

The *Sophistes Economiques* have lately been translated into English thanks to the indefatigable zeal of the indissoluble League. And the *Times* has taken an early opportunity of recommending the pamphlet to the public; but the public has had such an indigestion of Free Trade arguments, that it is very doubtful whether the invitation of the "Thunderer" will be much attended to. Even Aristides made enemies from no other motive than suspicion, arising

in marvellous unanimity of praise ; and owing, perhaps, to the same feeling, men begin already to loathe the very name of Free Trade, though it be in itself, and under judicious management, a very useful principle. The fanaticism of party seldom fails to drive opponents to the extremes of contradiction. Marat, and the divine honours paid to his memory, may be reckoned among the causes of the restoration of the Bourbons and the popularity of the Jesuits ; and, if the antiquated and exploded theory of prohibitory duties should be ever revived in this country, it will be brought about by the reaction which will inevitably follow the present saturnalia of Radicalism.

To guard our readers against both extremes an impartial analysis of the "Sophismes Economiques," and of the leading propositions of political economy, will perhaps be necessary. At the very outset of these "Sophismes" the English and French leaguers, united, venture on the following remark :—"Napoleon has said the Customs must not be a fiscal instrument, but the means of affording protection to industry." We plead the contrary, and we say—"The Customs ought not to be in the hands of labourers—an instrument of mutual rapine—but, as a fiscal machine, it is as good as any other." How a duty intended for revenue can be prevented from operating at the same time as a protection—and how a protective duty is to be levied without producing revenue—what is the precise percentage where the one principle degenerates into an evil—the other rises into a benefit ? Is the same percentage applicable to every age and country, and to every species of produce ? These are all questions which our philosophers scarcely condescend to notice—much less to solve. Their lofty mission is to lay down abstract principles—the drudgery of their application they leave to inferior beings. They expressly declare, "We need not come to any conclusion : we contend against sophistry—that's all." There is, it must be confessed, a gallant air of nonchalance in *that's all* ;

but where is the logic of the following proposition?—“We imagine that we destroy an error: is not that proving the contrary truth?”—Is it, indeed? A Stoic might as well say that he had established the truth of his philosophy, because he had proved the errors of Epicurus, that, as happiness consists not in pleasure, it must needs consist in pain; or that, having assigned a satisfactory reason why an object on the verge of a misty horizon cannot be a cloud, it is therefore an island. The proof that one man is in the wrong is, certainly, not also the demonstration that his opponent is in the right. Such a species of logic is worthy of the “*Sophismes Economiques*,” and still more worthy of Leaguers.

Our profound teachers next proceed to ask this plain question:—“What is better for man—scarcity or abundance?”—and they exhaust their philanthropy in eloquent arguments in favour of abundance. Who has ever disputed their proposition? But when they endeavour to prove that cheapness is synonymous with abundance—a cause, not an effect—and its opposite with scarcity, they fall into the vulgar error of measuring both the value and quantity of a commodity by money, and not by use, extent of consumption, and facility of access. They forget that money is as arbitrary a measure of value as a yard is of space: and that its use is much the same as the use of figures, which are the mere signs and instruments, not the science itself, of arithmetic. Exchange is the real money payment the ostensible transaction. To make this plainer, let us suppose two neighbours—a brewer and a farmer: what would be the difference to either of them, supposing their mutual dealings to be of equal amount, that beer should be tenpence instead of fivepence per quart, and barley forty shillings instead of twenty shillings per quarter? As far as they are concerned, neither beer nor barley would become more nor less abundant, neither cheaper nor dearer, by the nominal alteration. It seems evident, from this example, that cheapness is a relative

term, and that its definite meaning must depend not on the money price of the commodity, but on the extent of the consumption—the facility of production and the moderate rate of profit. A bushel of wheat grown in England may cost in money fifty per cent. more than in the Ukraine, and yet be in England *cheaper* than Ukrainean wheat is in the Ukraine: it may yield less rent to the landlord—less profit to the farmer—less saving of wages to the labourer—than in the Ukraine, where land lies waste from want of population, and may be bought in freehold with one year's rent in England, and where the labourer lives upon black bread and is comparatively free from taxes.

It is imputed to the Protectionists that “they look upon abundance as the ruin of society.” They do no such thing. Abundance is wealth; but where it is the result of artificial excitement and of desperate competition it is certainly an evil: the unnatural cheapness which it produces is the first indication of reaction and future scarcity. Where, from whatever cause, production exceeds consumption, profit and wages must gradually dwindle and lead to severe and widely extended privations—a state of misery to the producers from which there is no relief to the many, except from the ruin and annihilation of the few. This ruin is always greater than the necessity of the case requires, and is followed by a reaction of scarcity and high prices, which is also an evil; but, of the two evils, that of over abundance is privation to the poor who live by regular labour: whereas scarcity implies fair wages at least, and stints only the rich who can afford to be stinted.

Abundance and cheapness—the result of improved method and economy or simplification of labour—is a very different state of things from that which has just been described, as it may be consistent with fair remuneration to the producer. The immediate consequence of these improvements, however ultimately advantageous to society, is nevertheless seldom free

from partial misery inflicted upon a numerous class of labourers, whose previous occupation is destroyed or very much diminished. A steam-engine often replaces the manual labour of thousands, who have no other refuge than the workhouse, and enables one capitalist to live in affluence—perhaps to accumulate a princely fortune by the destitution of the industrious. As it is natural that man should endeavour to produce the most he can at the least expense of bodily labour, and as society advances in comfort and civilisation in proportion with diminution of labour, which is always a proof of increase of capital and of income derived therefrom, the partial and temporary infliction of poverty which proceeds from new inventions must be submitted to, as the inevitable consequence of a greater and more permanent advantage. The many and important improvements in the art of production, during the last fifty years, is a transitory state of society, which goes far to account for the otherwise unaccountable increase of destitution in the midst of growing wealth. The improvident marriages of the poor keep the labour-market always overstocked, and the wealth accumulated has not yet had time to spread by inheritance sufficiently fast to create more rapid consumption and more demand for labour. The proportion which the number of labourers bears to that of annuitants is daily undergoing alteration, the increase being in favour of the latter. Of the vast number of new houses yearly built in this country, nine out of ten are evidently intended for the higher classes of the people—a proof that population is growing faster from these classes than from all the others.

Having jumped to the conclusion that protection is synonymous with scarcity, and scarcity with misery—that Free Trade is synonymous with abundance, and abundance with happiness—authors and commentators vehemently insist on the rigid observance of their favourite principle and the absolute exclusion of every other. Sir Isaac Newton could scarcely demonstrate



with greater clearness the laws which pervade the universe; nor those laws themselves admit fewer cases of exception than their own, which admit of no exception whatsoever. In all this there is more arrogance than knowledge—more imagination than matter of fact. It is not a deduction of the economical laws of society, from a careful and laborious observation of natural phenomena, after the manner of Sir Isaac Newton: it is only a poetic creation, like the dreams of ancient philosophers on the harmony of the universe, where a little elementary truth is mixed up with a mass of absurd conclusions.

Conceding to Free-traders the propriety of making freedom the rule and protection the exception, it would be easy to prove that there are at least as many cases of exception to rule in political economy as in French grammar. It is a subject which Free-traders never condescend to notice. The author of the "*Sophismes Economiques*" is very earnest in condemning the policy of encouraging the growth of oranges in the neighbourhood of Paris, instead of importing them from Lisbon. He shows his ingenuity and wit in carrying out the theory of Protection to an extravagant point by means of what he calls "a negative railway." This mode of proving the truth of his favourite principle by reference to imaginary cases in a country like France, where real instances of abusive Protection are supposed to abound, is one of the characteristic features of the school to which the author and his English commentators belong. A vivid imagination and a sharp intellect are the chief elements of their strength. Patient and laborious investigation of facts is to them contemptible drudgery; and, reasoning from the axiom that a principle is worth one thousand facts, they at once deduce the principle from their brain, and proud of it, as of Minerva's armour, they assume that any example will do by way of illustration—just as in an elementary treatise of arithmetic any multiplication of figures will give a familiar idea of the mechanical

process of the rule. It is needless to add that they are grossly mistaken in their supposed analogy; for in political economy, as in most sciences not strictly mathematical, it is not principles that give value to facts, but facts that bestow value upon principles.

It would certainly be absurd to raise sugar from beetroot in England, which England has so many means of paying for with less human labour. But, were it not for protection, numberless branches of industry, which in every civilised community supply multitudes with bread, would never have come into existence. Many of those branches no longer need the same care, the unnecessary continuation of which would probably be an evil, not only to the country at large, but also to the protected themselves. Abolition of Protection in some cases, diminution in others, and increase in some, may or may not be advisable. It is as wise and prudent to consider every case separately by itself as it would be foolish to bring them all under the operation of some general theory. For instance, hot-house grapes and pine apples need not be protected; and if they ceased to be cultivated in England, owing to foreign competition, so much the better, as they would be paid for with less trouble and less labour: but let us suppose that Swedish and Russian iron, better and cheaper than our best ore, could supply all our wants, are we to close all our mines and send the miners to find work at Manchester? A rigid adherence to Free Trade would make this change inevitable; and yet, one would think that many other considerations fully as important to the public welfare, as cheapness, ought to have weight in the solution of the problem. A rigid adherence to Free Trade would scarcely leave to the different nations of the world more than one single occupation—one peculiar species of industry—in which every nation, more or less, has a decided superiority over every other. England would become one vast factory; Russia a huge corn-field; France an enormous vineyard. Even on the strict principles

of Free Trade, it is, however, very doubtful whether cheapness is to be the polar star of the steersman who navigates the vessel of the State; for let us suppose another case:—The surplus produce which a country is able to export supplies her with many foreign luxuries, yet not with all that she longs for: a considerable number of her inhabitants are, in the mean time, destitute from want of employment: she possesses certain waste lands fit for the cultivation of hemp—others adapted to the growth of a useful root, known to the trade under the name of *alizaris*—in French *garance*; but, as hemp may be had cheaper from Russia, and *garance* from Turkey, the cultivation of these two plants is, therefore, not to be encouraged by a protective duty. But without Protection they cannot be cultivated; and, by means of Protection, not only the poor and idle are employed, but also the means of importing from Turkey and from Russia a larger quantity of other produce is encreased. It is true that the money price of hemp and alizaris will be increased to the consumer; but the nation will be all the richer by larger imports and larger exports, while the higher price of the two protected articles will be a mere nominal alteration in the mode of regulating an internal system of barter. To call it a *tax* levied on the rest of the community for the exclusive benefit of a privileged class is a narrow-minded fallacy, abundantly evident by the conditions of the case, and by the prosperity of England in particular under a system of agricultural Protection.

Free-traders, however, confining their arguments to shadowy abstractions, seldom deal with the reality of facts; and, when pressed upon that ground, they instantly start some profound theorem, and chuckle at the ignorance of their antagonist, from whom they have extracted the unguarded avowal that he does not understand the proposition. One would fancy being in the presence of *Sgnarelle*, who starts from his seat on the admission of *Geronte* that he is no scholar, and

solemnly taunts him thus :—" *Vous n'entendez pas le Latin !*" Geronte's ignorance imboldens Sgnarelle to proceed with a sonorous voice to his demonstration—" *Or les vapeurs dont je vous parle.....ce poulmon en Latin armyan—ce cerveau, en grec nasmus, la veine cave en hebreu cubile, &c.*" \*

The science of political economy is, in our days, as much perplexed with pedantic learning—with fanciful and unintelligible jargon—as the science of medicine in the days of Moliere. Quenest, the original founder of it, declared that the *poudre de perinpinpin*, so pleasing to the imagination of Madame de Montespan, was the sole object of his research, and it is even now what flatters most the hearts of our Free-traders. With them political economy is synonymous with sordid gain. That it has, even recently, as amply rewarded some of its professors as alchemy has ever rewarded some teachers of the art of making gold cannot be called in question ; but, as Voltaire shrewdly remarked, they who are the greatest proficient in the practice of growing rich laugh much at the folly of those who lay down rules for the acquisition of wealth.

A few elementary propositions of political economy may, however, be ranked among the axioms of mankind, and are as little open to cavil as the few axioms which form the basis of geometry ; but on a solid foundation a vast edifice of Babylonian shape and size has been raised in this prolific age, and the increase of dogmatic arrogance keeps pace with the increase of confusion. Adam Smith, who, to the good sense and prudence of his native country superadded his own, is as little liable to arrogance as any writer of his class ;

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\* There is always some appearance of conceit in quotations from a foreign language, especially in a pamphlet where common sense, and not elegance of taste, or any other ornament, should stand in the foreground ; but the part of the *medicin malgri lui* has been recently so well performed by a late Prime Minister, that reference to the original play is necessary to understand the real causes of his early success and ultimate failure.

but among the many useful truths which he had the courage to expound numerous errors, long since exploded, remain on record, and prove how vague the science, how attractive the abstract conclusions, inspired by the subject he had taken in hand.

His theory of *Rent*, confirmed as it is by the assent of Ricardo and Buchanan, his ablest commentators, has to this day remained uncontroverted, and has no doubt stimulated that acrimonious spirit with which Free Trade has been recently propagated. According to all these authorities, rent is the last payment made out of the price of corn. The expense of cultivation and the profit of the farmer must be first paid for, and, if anything remains, it goes to the rent; if nothing, the land will still continue in cultivation, though yielding no income to the landlord. From this principle it is easy to draw the conclusion that a Free Trade in corn would ruin the landlords, and scarcely affect any other class; but a little reflection will show the untenable nature of this proposition. There can be no doubt that Adam Smith had in his mind a primitive state of society, boundless tracts of land—as the Prairies, Pampas, and Lanos of North and South America, or the *Steps* of the Black Sea—and a scanty population. In such a state of society labour is almost the only profitable commodity; but the state of England, at the time that Adam Smith wrote, was already very different; and in our times an unlimited supply of labour, and a limited extent of land, have converted rent into the primary element—the first and the most certain of all payments—taken out of the market price of corn. If there be loss, as much of it is sure to fall upon the labourer and the farmer as they can possibly bear; and little, if any, will fall upon the landlord: on the contrary, he would by means of Free Trade receive a *larger share* of the produce of the soil, were the rent payable in kind instead of money. This is an obvious deduction from an axiom of political economy scarcely controvertible—namely, that the value of a commodity

is regulated by the extent of the supply compared with the demand. As Free Trade must to some extent convert arable land into pasture, there will be less arable land to bid for, by the same or by an increasing number of farmers, and of labourers. Under these circumstances, a relatively higher, though nominally a lower rent, must be the necessary consequence. An important fact, stated by Sir R. Peel in February last, removes all doubt as to the truth of our proposition. Since 1815 the price of corn has gradually fallen in England, from 102s. 5d. to 64s. 10d. per quarter; and yet the rental of the land has *increased* from 32,532,000*l.* to 37,000,000*l.*

When the reader has reverted to the origin of the cheap bread cry, and the object which it was intended to promote, he will probably trace to the popular belief in Adam Smith's erroneous theory of rent the reason why, among many other grounds of hostility, certain parties entertained the fond hope of lowering the aristocracy to the dust; and he will then look upon the present exposure of the fallacy as not quite superfluous.

Nor is it superfluous to revert to the words *cheap* and *dear*, considering their mighty influence. They who are apt to mistake effects for causes—who reckon cheapness as the cause not the effect of abundance, and abundance itself as the most effectual way of affording relief to poverty—would, on a closer enquiry into the real condition of society, soon discover the fallacy of their abstract theory; as they would have to test it by actual in opposition to imaginary or inferential facts. Cheapness, measured by venal price, far from producing abundance, is, on the contrary, a great cheque upon it, as it involves the necessity of the lowest rate of remuneration consistent with the continuance of production. Again: abundance, instead of increasing the comforts of the poor, often indirectly aggravates their privations, and is in itself the best proof of the existence of misery. It is because the poor have not the means of buying, and not because

they want the inclination to consume, that any particular commodity is generally said to be abundant. Meat is both scarce and dear in England compared with what it is on the shores of the Black Sea ; and yet, divide the annual consumption by the population of the two countries, and you will find that ten times more meat falls to the share of an Englishman than is the share of a Russian, Greek, or Turk. The same remark is applicable to all the luxuries and most of the necessities of life, beginning with bread and sugar, the most important of them. It is the common observation of travellers that those countries which are the most favoured by nature, where good things most abound and may be had very cheap, are also generally the most wretched and penurious communities in existence : cheapness and poverty are there almost synonymous terms.

A cavillous opponent would object to the preceding observations, that their extreme tendency is to represent both cheapness and abundance as evils—high prices and scarcity as blessings to mankind. The legal subtlety of this imputation would be consistent enough with logical deduction, if we had attempted to raise an abstract theory on the existence of a fact ; but we have not done any such thing. We have only described a condition of society too common and too notorious to be called in question. What general principles may be drawn from that condition, how far they might be carried, and under what circumstances they would cease to be applicable, we leave to political economists. All that we have endeavoured to prove is, that the question of cheapness is more abstruse than is at first sight apparent—that its solution does not always depend on the mere market price of commodities—and that abundance also has more than one standard of measure. It may owe its meaning to the excess of the supply compared with the demand, under conditions restrictive of both within very narrow limits. It may mean nearly an equality, in these two particu-

lars, on a very large scale. In this latter hypothesis abundance, in a relative sense, will represent a larger amount of produce, and yet greater scarcity and a higher price. The higher price itself may be less remunerative than the lower, owing to an increased demand for labour, and a general rise in the price of provisions, which seldom fails to take place in prosperous times.

That degree of freedom which would give an unlimited range to the maxim of selling in the dearest and buying in the cheapest market, divested of all farago and soberly analysed, has no other intelligible meaning than the following :—“ Exchange as little of your own labour as you can against as much foreign labour as you can get for it.” The minimum of English produce for the maximum of foreign produce is the quintessence of the principle. This may accommodate annuitants and steam-engine proprietors ; but, as it cannot fail to diminish the demand for labour at home, its tendency is to lower the remuneration of the labourer, and to depreciate the only capital of the most numerous class of society.

Would you, then, buy in the dearest and sell in the cheapest market ? No such thing. We only contend against the too rigid enforcement of a useful rule : we merely suggest the possibility of a case of exception, which you obstinately deny ; and we have doubts whether it be wise to sacrifice our agriculture in behalf of steam. Your only guide is the money price of the immediate object of your pursuit, whether it be corn or sugar. We admit that object as one of the elements of the problem, which we consider to be more complicated and of a higher order than you have any idea of. The condition of the country, in the various ramifications of its external and internal policy, is more worthy of attention than a mere difference of price, which may be after all a plausible delusion and a dear experiment.

We may here incidentally mention, among the many evils arising from that normal state of agitation



fostered by the League, the effect of that agitation in foreign countries. Everywhere abroad it is the general belief that our manufacturers have been engaged in a struggle involving their very existence. During ten long years they have been swearing almost daily that they could not, without Free Trade, compete with foreigners; and care will be taken to deprive them of the advantages of their supposed victory. Prohibitions and restrictions will be nowhere removed: on the contrary, they will become more stringent where necessary. Machinery and money—not Manchester fabrics—will be more than ever the returns required for corn. The acknowledgment of inferiority is not the most effectual method of discouraging a rival; and, as the want of cheap bread has been distinctly admitted to be the cause of that inferiority, cheap bread will be made as little profitable as possible.

Foreigners have been elated, also, by another and a more substantial cause: they have perceived a gradual decay in the quality of the goods exported from Manchester. Men who devote so much of their time to political agitation have scarce any to devote to their natural pursuits, and become strangers to that frame of mind and those habits and inclinations which are inseparable from mercantile life. Lord Normanby has on this subject made a most judicious speech.

Lord John Russell, who is more moderate in his principles than firm in his resolves, seems anxious to redeem, by the caution of his speeches, the boldness of the headlong career to which he is impelled by the impatience of the sorry crew at his back. He dare not confront them, for neither the severity of his aspect nor the bulk of his frame is calculated to inspire them with awe: all he can do is to humour them, and keep them in a playful mood, lest they should mob him. “Yes, gentlemen, Free Trade for ever!—it is common sense, but not quite so fast: let me walk my horse—he is thorough bred—and if you frighten him he will rear and run away with me in the midst of you all: be satisfied for the present—you with a place, you with

a tribute—you will get the rest in proper time.” It is not with the abstract principle of freedom, either in reference to trade or to civil government, that Conservatives have joined issue with the Manchester League, whose spirit is at this moment presiding over the Government of the country: it is certain practically false applications of that principle—it is an intrusive and a dictatorial spirit unbecoming in mercantile men, either towards Government or towards agriculture, which inspire disgust and alarm. No Protectionist would interfere with the peculiar industry of Manchester, even in retaliation of the ignorant interference of the League with the far more important and more scientific industry of the plough. Let it not be forgotten, for a moment, that, in all this angry controversy, the Protectionists have stood on their defence to the last without ever attempting to carry on the war in the enemy’s territory. They owe their fall, not to the injustice of their cause, their want of strength or courage, but to their forbearance: nor will they change their tactics in future—they will continue to defend themselves without attacking their opponents, whom they abandon to the remorse and shame of their proceedings.

The question is not whether the principles of Free Trade be abstractedly logical, but whether they are universally applicable, and which are cases of exception. Political economy is not like geometry—a science of rigorous demonstration: it rests entirely on *probability*—a vague and variable element, which makes every particular case a separate problem, of which the solution depends on the preponderating weight of contradictory evidence, from which it is scarcely possible to exclude assumed or imaginary facts.

In a general sense it is, perhaps, as unwise to interfere with the industry of nations as with that of individuals; but this precludes not my right to indite a nuisance, should my neighbour find it convenient to establish a vitriol manufactory close to my door. If Free Trade means anything it means that, as far as

it is consistent with the public welfare, every body should be at liberty to follow the pursuit which he thinks most advantageous to himself. Of two men the one may, from the constitution of his mind and body, be more fit for the plough—the other for the loom : let them choose for themselves ; there will be more bread and more cloth, and of the better sort, too, than if each of them followed both avocations. The same rule is also applicable to two nations ; but it is obvious that it must be restricted within certain limits, more or less narrow, according to numberless considerations, some of them connected with the most profound questions of national policy and domestic happiness. Dogmatic Free-traders care not for these things : like hydropatic quacks, they steadily pursue one single object. Water, for instance, being a wholesome beverage, they are ready to swear that it is, therefore, an universal remedy—that we should drink nothing else, and that it is impossible to drink too much.

#### ECONOMICAL ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR AND AGAINST FREE TRADE IN CORN.

Avoiding every allusion for the present to the political motives of the agitation, we shall here recapitulate only the arguments derived from political economy, which are said to have made so many miraculous conversions. It is alleged that Protection operates as a monopoly for the benefit of the few and to the detriment of the many : that it is an oppressive tax, wrung from the sweat of the poor man's brow to pamper the luxury of a proud aristocracy, who would be otherwise scarcely able to pay their lawful debts : that it is an insuperable obstacle to the trade and industry of the country, otherwise capable of unlimited expansion. These three leading propositions branch out into innumerable minor grievances, which, unlike the veins of the human body, prevent the blood from circulating through the heart. The pertinacity with which

they have been urged upon the people and finally forced upon the Legislature for redress, however great, is scarcely equal to the ignorance in which they are grounded. First, as to monopoly. Johnson describes it as "the exclusive privilege of selling anything." It would be hard with this definition to point out who is prohibited from selling or even from growing corn in this realm; and harder still, if corn-growers are monopolists, to prevent the application of the same epithet to every other trade and profession, which, under so general an acceptance of the word, is as much a monopoly; as this island is a monopoly of the English, and this planet a monopoly of the human race. Adam Smith has not always made a judicious use of this odious epithet; but the use made of it, by modern Free-traders, is really too ludicrous and contradictory of grammar. It is thus that language itself degenerates, and that the frequency of vulgar repetition will force, at last, upon future lexicographers the necessity of adding an additional meaning to the word *monopoly*, described as "protection to agriculture against foreign competition." Our neighbours have in the same manner enriched their language with the verb *lantern* from the common practice of their ancestors, who conjugated it in all its regular moods by hanging at a lamp-post any man who chanced in the street to incur the displeasure of the mob.

The only monopoly of the Corn Trade that has ever anywhere existed is that of Malta, in 1812. The Government of that island was the only seller and the only buyer of corn. The price was fixed and invariable, whether it entailed a loss or yielded a profit. Far from raising a clamour, the people looked upon the system as a blessing: they were glad that their rulers had assumed the serious responsibility of supplying the market; and, as the price of bread was fixed, so also was the price of labour. Without so stringent and arbitrary a provision monopoly is impossible even to despotism itself; and the penalty of death sometimes awarded, in Turkey and elsewhere,

against selling and buying below or above a certain price has never prevented the existence of a different price—the result of supply and demand.

The next odious imputation against the Corn Trade is the imaginary bread tax that we have already described. The necromancy which has enabled certain adepts to evoke a shadowy apparition of this tax is really awful: it is well adapted to subdue the imagination of the spectators; but the trick is, after all, nothing beyond the most vulgar species of juggling, even though Lord John Russell has, on sundry occasions, professed his belief in the bodily existence of the tax. Under the operation of the sliding scale a duty of 20s. per quarter is affixed to the average of 51s. per quarter; and our Free-traders, assuming that the yearly produce of these islands amounts to twenty-eight millions of quarters, jump at one enormous leap to the conclusion that a tax of twenty-eight millions per annum is levied on the poor for the exclusive advantage of the aristocracy. The first rigorously necessary deduction from their theory is, that the permanent price of corn would, on the abolition of the 20s. duty, fall at once from 51s. to 31s., and that the rate of duty, not as hitherto the supply and demand, is the regulator of prices. Another necessary consequence of the truth of their theory, if true, would be also that under the sliding-scale wheat can never fall below, nor rise above, the pivot of 51s., for in either case the amount of the tax would be liable to disturbance. Upon their own favourite and admitted theory of demand and supply, they cannot deny that a very abundant harvest might reduce the price of home-grown wheat to 31s., in which case the tax, even though on the statute-book, would cease to operate altogether. Moreover, in the event of a deficient harvest, prices would rapidly rise, even before the reaping, and let in foreign corn at a nominal rate of duty. Where are we then to trace the operation—the payment of the tax? During the very short period of uncertainty which precedes the accurate estimate of the supply, a mistake is pos-

sible; but fear usually preponderates, to the detriment of the home-grower. Foreign corn has been often admitted to supply an imaginary scarcity—it can never be withheld from real want. Owing to all the preceding causes of perturbation, the enormous tax of twenty-eight millions is mostly an imaginary tax. What little reality there may be in it, is liable to perpetual fluctuation; but it is a fact easily proved, by the returns of the Custom House, that, on an average of years, the total amount of duty paid, divided by the number of quarters imported, reduces that duty to the diminished rate of 5s., and subsequently to 2s. per quarter; and it may be added that it is possible to introduce improvements in the sliding-scale which will still further lighten the 2s. per quarter taxation.

If any thing connected with party could be matter of surprise, one would scarcely expect to hear from professors of political economy that a fixed duty is preferable to a sliding scale, and a nearer approach to Free Trade. A fixed duty is a tax: a variable duty may altogether vanish; never fails to do so when needful; and, spread over a man's life, it scarcely enhances the price of bread the tenth part of a penny. This would have been the conclusion that all reasonable men would have long since adopted, were the free exercise of reason compatible with political excitement. The so-called Liberals have sworn hatred to the sliding scale as a badge of Tory supremacy: they have adopted Free Trade merely because it is a captivating and plausible innovation. We say the "Liberals" so-called, for the word is of French origin, and was, not many years since, synonymous with the word "Royal"—an acceptance still preserved in the earlier editions of the "*Dictionnaire de l'Academie*." It is, therefore, out of respect to the manners, if not the principles of our opponents that we have cautiously abstained from applying to them, in all its pristine simplicity, the designation of "Liberals."

The violent onslaught of the Free-traders has not, perhaps, contributed a little to make the Tories, or

Conservatives, tenaciously adhere to the sliding scale; and the obstinacy of both parties has probably suggested to the Whigs the midway expedient of a fixed duty. It is lamentable to find the most important interest of any age or country, the vital industry of civilisation, thus converted into a common sewer, where all party hatreds find their vent. For our part, we should adhere to the sliding-scale, even if it were the badge of our political submission. The Venetian maxim in answer to the Pope, "*Prima Veneziani, e poi Christiani*,"\* is, with a little modification, worthy of imitation: paraphrased into English it means—"Be Englishmen first and party men and universal philanthropists afterwards." He who knows not his duty to his country will seldom learn his duty to mankind. Anacharsis Cloots, a Prussian, abjured his nationality to assume the character of an universal philanthropist amidst the plaudits of an admiring crowd. What benefits he bestowed upon that crowd, or reaped for himself, let history answer. He miserably closed his life on the scaffold, though guilty of no other crime than excessive devotion to the happiness of the human race, of which he had been proclaimed the orator; but his spirit survives in some of our Free-traders, who are striving hard to bestow upon us the inestimable blessing of cheap sugar by means which have a direct tendency to aggravate the condition of the African slave and to increase an abominable traffic.

A bristling array of statistical hieroglyphics has been recently put forward in proof of the pecuniary advantages to be derived from the importation of sugar raised by the labour of slaves. It is the privilege of men who do not think, to compile the thoughts of others, and to lay before the reader a huge mass of contradictory facts, out of which numberless theories may be extracted at discretion; but the moral and political considerations of the problem, quite distinct from statistics, are unaffected by price, by demand, or

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\* Paul III., who made submission to the Papacy the test of Christianity.

by supply. Considerations far more weighty than the mere encouragement of trade are involved in the sugar question. Religion and humanity are superior to the test of pounds, shillings, and pence. The honor and policy of nations must be frequently upheld by a lavish expenditure, not only of money, but also of human life; and to make money in this instance the primary element of decision would be an indelible disgrace. Even as a question of money, however, the abandonment of colonial protection may ultimately turn out to be a repetition of the error committed by the owner of the goose that laid the golden egg.

That the Free Trade delusion has contaminated a majority of the nation is what we peremptorily deny. It is wonderful, however, to find that it has made so many dupes among the working-classes, who are seldom led astray from their immediate interest. The fact is, that the frequent repetition of falsehood stands with many in lieu of demonstration; they believe in the sincerity of the motives professed by their instigators, who play their part to perfection and conceal a deeper object, or a wavering conviction, under cloak of a false zeal. Few men of education have faith in the efficacy of the nostrum; but many a poor labourer bravely takes the medicine as readily as he might take Holloway's ointment or Morrison's pills, which never fail to cure, provided enough be taken. He looks confidently forward to cheap bread and high wages, and perhaps expects both to come into immediate operation. To reason with him at this moment would be waste of time: he goes by the evidence of his five senses, and for some time to come that evidence will confirm his delusion. Were he to see during the harvest moon half a million of northern boors perambulating the country and bidding against him for wages—were he to learn at the same time that those boors receive underhand the greatest part of the taxes levied on beer and other articles of consumption—that those boors owe no allegiance to this coun-



diffused consumption of that produce. It is of vital importance to the English farmer that his corn should all be sold before the next crop: to the planter that his sugar should be all exported. Protection ensures this result by chequing, till it is accomplished, Foreign competition; but under a system of Free Trade, even on the supposition that wheat can be grown as cheap in England as on the shores of the Black Sea, and sugar as cheap in Jamaica as in Brazil, still it might happen in times of abundance, and in consequence of the competition of all mankind, that both the English farmer and the Jamaica planter remain with half their stock on hand on the eve of a new crop; in which case prices will be depressed for a time *below* the cost of production, and so continue until a bad season or diminished cultivation leads to a reaction of prices. Now, why should we share the not unfrequent evils incident to this state of things with all mankind? Is all mankind willing to share with us the evils of scarcity? Will they sell to us the cheaper, when we are pressed by want of corn or sugar, because we gave them the benefit of free access to our markets when they were in want of money? Nay: will they not, if pressed by want themselves, prohibit exportation?

It is urged against Protection that it is disguised taxation, levied to the extent of countless millions of money on millions of consumers, for the exclusive benefit of a favoured class. This may be the case where Protection is extravagantly and clumsily regulated, though never to the extent assumed by taking the maximum of a fluctuating duty, and multiplying with it the entire amount produced at home of the same article. For instance: the bread tax, estimated at eighteen millions for England alone by Free-traders, has been proved by direct measurement, on an average of years, to be only two shillings per quarter on the quantity imported; so that a strict attention to the actual facts of the case would, even according to the rules of this false philosophy, strike off nine-tenths of

the grievance. But where is the proof that to tax an article of Foreign growth is equivalent to raising the price of the same article produced at home to the full extent of the tax? This might be the case with such kinds of industry as are not natural to the soil—with grapes and pineapples; but could it be said that the duty on Foreign coals and iron makes both articles in England so much the dearer to the consumer?

Well regulated Protection is nothing more than a legitimate preference given to our countrymen in our dealings. In the daily intercourse of society we all prefer an acquaintance to a stranger. The butcher and baker that we know, to butchers and bakers unknown, who may be equally fair and regular in their transactions, and even where there is an equal claim in other respects, we prefer our relatives. Why should not this feeling be extended to our countrymen? Why should we insist that our consumption of bread should be fairly supplied by all mankind on the principle of universal competition and impartiality, which is to promote the happiness of mankind by the hardest labour and the minimum amount of reward. Assuming for the sake of argument that a moderate degree of mutual preference in our dealings with each other is attended with a little excess of expenditure, who is not able to retrace by reflection the imaginary, the purely nominal, nature of that excess? If, because I sell my corn five or ten per cent. dearer, I therefore pay to my lawyer, physician, divine, tailor, landlord, servant, &c., five or ten per cent. more wages, where is the burden of the tax? On whose shoulders does it fall? Out of whose pocket does it come? Out of the pockets of the poor, it is said. But have they any pockets? Their work is their only capital—their only coin. If you sell your corn five or ten per cent. cheaper, the greatest part of that per centage will be taken from them: their wages will bear the brunt of the diminution: their comforts, scanty as they may be, must be still curtailed. To pro-

duce corn as cheap as in the Ukraine, they must needs fare like Ukrainean peasants. The rent of land, though diminished, measured by money, will be *increased* measured by corn. Free Trade, whatever be its remote tendency, will not decrease the population at once; but the area of arable land will decrease. Diminution of supply operates as excess of demand: farmers and labourers will work harder and get less corn for themselves than before, because the landlord gets more. The only case where lower prices will operate to the detriment of the landlord, and in favour of the capitalist, is with respect to their several savings. Under a system of generally higher prices, let us suppose the savings of the first to be five per cent upon his annual income: this income is now ten per cent. less, and so is his expenditure: so far his position is nominally, though not really, altered; and his savings is still five per cent., but on a *smaller amount*, and the process of providing for his family will be slower—an evil scarcely compensated by lower prices, which will require a smaller provision.

The capitalist and the annuitant, on the contrary, receiving the same sum after as before the enactment of Free Trade, will command a greater amount of produce and of labour, the price of most produce being, indeed, chiefly made up with the wages of labour. This cannot fail to increase the burden of the national debt and promote a far greater change in the pecuniary relations of every class of society than the return to cash payment at a former period. The good faith of the nation was pledged to the monetary change, and it was submitted to without murmur, in spite of the partial ruin which it has entailed. Men saw in it, not an experimental innovation, but a return to a system never legally departed from. But the present far more important change is entirely the result of ignorance, of a morbid desire of change, and an unpardonable weakness on the part of the Legislature.

To revert to the proposition which we have endea-

voured to prove—namely, the moral and political obligation of giving a reasonable preference to the industry of our own soil, and our own colonies, until we find that our wants exceed our means of supply—we deny that it is possible to accomplish so legitimate an object without Protection—we mean Protection fairly, moderately, and judiciously applied. What other contrivance, except a virtual exclusion, or at least a mitigation of foreign competition, when the home supply exceeds the demand, could prevent, in a season of universal abundance, one third of the corn produced in this country, even though as cheap as the corn of the Black Sea, from remaining on the hands of the farmer during periods exceeding an entire year? And would not that be in itself a national calamity? That *calamity must necessarily occur*, to more or less extent, on every universally abundant harvest. There are years when the world produces more than it can consume: others, less. A competition with all mankind, when there are more sellers than buyers, must needs make the excess of the supply over the demand for a time unsaleable. There are instances of an accumulation of excess in particular countries during several years. We ourselves have seen in Poland the stacks of seven successive crops on very extensive farms, and have repeatedly heard the farmers solemnly declare it would have been better for them had they sold the produce of the first year even at fifty per cent. loss. Nay, we know cases where total loss would have been preferable to a high price after a long delay, which is ruinous from waste and heavy charges. Are we to share in these evils, that we may lighten the burdens of the Prussian or American farmer, who will certainly not give up to us any of the advantages he may derive from our wants?

It is with corn, as with every other produce, that a series of very low is the forerunner and generator of a series of very high prices. We shall stimulate Foreign cultivation. As truly said by a member of Parlia-

ment—"We have passed a bill for the improvement of Foreign agriculture, preferring for ourselves a relapse to the pastoral state." We shall want more corn than we ever imported before. In a season of scarcity, are we always sure of getting it? Rome, mistress of the world, by the neglect of her agriculture, had frequent alternations of gluts and famines. What is to prevent a similar result from similar causes? "Napoleon himself had not the power to starve us (says Lord Brougham), and who will ever equal the power of that giant?"—a blight, a fog, which all the Napoleons, Cæsars, and Alexanders, could never prevent. Is the supposition improbable that a deficient harvest in France, at the time Napoleon supplied us, would have necessarily deprived us of our only source of supply?

We hold that, although the fluctuations of Free Trade corn will be greater than under the sliding scale, yet that the average price of twenty or thirty years will be nearly represented by the same figure. For under a system of Free Trade, as under one of Protection, supply and demand will be the regulator of price; and as the sliding scale does not interfere with either the one or the other, except so far as it warns against or encourages importation at the required moment, it is, in fact, a more enlightened modification of Free Trade in its essential features. Nevertheless, let it not be inferred from similarity of price that we look forward to an identity of result on the complicated relations of society. Aggravated fluctuation is in itself a great evil, and fosters gambling speculations pregnant with greater evil. A comparison will perhaps illustrate our meaning better than description:—there exists in London three per cent. consols and three per cent. Spanish stock: the first bears the price of ninety-seven, the latter of thirty-three pounds, money, for one hundred pounds stock: in other words, England pays about three per cent. and Spain about ten per cent. interest on their respective debts. Why is this, since both Governments have hitherto punctually performed their

engagements ? The why is—that the credit of Spain had received a previous shock, from which it may never recover. So it may be with English credit. The land is security for the public debt, and the value of that security cannot fail to be diminished : the rent of land will fluctuate like the market-price of Spanish stock. Where the risk of loss is great the chance of profit is equally so. Farming will become a gambling-trade, and gambling in the long run is the ruin of the many, though it may here and there raise a colossal fortune. Landlords will be obliged to cultivate their own lands and submit to all the alternations of affluence and penury : funded property will experience similar vicissitudes : an abundant harvest in England and scarcity on the continent will fill the exchequer. In seasons of universal abundance the taxes will be tendered in corn. Those vicissitudes which are now confined to Mark-lane, where the trade is one day all in wealth, the next a mass of bankruptcy, will spread over the surface of the entire country.

#### POLITICAL MOTIVES OF THE ANTI-CORN LAW AGITATION.

As there are cases at law where circumstantial evidence is a safer ground of conviction than direct testimony, so, in the present instance, the political object of the cheap bread cry may be unravelled by means of a variety of incidents, trifling in themselves, and yet forming, by collection and arrangement into a series, a mass of facts leading to an irresistible conclusion.

The more respectable part of the party which carried the Reform Bill had no other object in it than what they manfully avowed ; but there is no doubt that among their supporters there were men who made reform the ostensible and revolution the real object of their aspirations—not a milk-and-water revolution like the Reform Bill itself, but a revolution of

the right sort, and after the most modern republican pattern. Anxious to conceal their object they assumed a tone of moderation at first, and seemed to put all their hopes in the march of intellect and the irresistible power of reason ; but, obliged to give partial development of their views, they felt more irritation than discouragement, when they began to discover a rapid diminution of their numbers. Treating with silent indignation and contempt all those who had not the courage to stand on *principle*, they overwhelmed with abuse whoever openly opposed their machinations ; but they could not stop the progress of desertion, and they gradually found themselves reduced to a chosen band.

Despicable in point of numbers, wealth, station, abilities, and popularity, they yet felt something in them—they heard an internal voice which, like the mewling of Whittington's cat, bid them be of good cheer, for they still possessed an indomitable will and a boundless ambition.

Musing over their destiny, and in search of a good flag to fight under, they eagerly started the cheap bread cry, and gave, from the very outset of their new crusade, no mean opinion of their sagacity, and no equivocal indication of the depth of their design. From the days of Tiberius Gracchus to those of Corn Law repeal, history would be ransacked in vain for a more plausible ground of popular clamour, or for another country in so artificial a situation as to make either refusal or assent to the perfidious proposition more dangerous than it is to England on the present conjuncture. For our part we are inclined to believe that it is a full knowledge of these circumstances which made the agitators so tenacious of their object. They must have reasoned somewhat as follows :—"All that we can be certain of is that we are aiming at a great experiment ; and a great experiment, if not in itself a revolution, is at least the high-road of a revolution. Our opponents adduce numberless reasons to prove

that our scheme will shake the country to its foundation—they will therefore resist us; and, as long as they are successful in their resistance, they cannot prevent us from taunting them with arguments so plausible that they will look much like self-evident propositions, while their answers will wear the appearance, at least, of paradox and selfishness. They hold that there is more satisfaction in paying ninepence for a loaf of bread than sixpence. Who will believe such an absurdity? Surely, not the poor—and they are the men we want on our side, as they are formidable by their numbers, easily inflamed and deluded. As they have nothing to lose, they have everything to gain by a convulsion. Let us, therefore, roundly swear that our opponents are tyrants and oppressors; that they defraud the industrious labourer by putting the difference of fourpence, levied on every loaf, in their pockets; that, were it not for this infamous tax, the nobility and gentry, now gorged with every species of luxury, degraded by every vice, would be obliged to sell their estates, lead a more sober and virtuous life, and resign into the hands of the people—that is, exclusively into the hands of a very numerous class, destitute alike of education and of property—that power which has been originally usurped, and perverted to nefarious purposes.”

A few more years of practice on such harmonious tunes would have made them as familiar to the ear as “God save the Queen,” or “Rule, Britannia,” which could in former times always command a hearty chorus. “There are things (says Burke) which some men end with believing, merely because they have often heard those things repeated.”

Relying upon successful resistance to their Free Trade scheme, they who secretly wished to make that resistance the ground-work of a more serious change must have been vastly disappointed by Sir Robert Peel’s unexpected surrender. But even for this manœuvre they were not unprepared. Sagacious enough



to perceive that Free Trade will, in a great measure, fulfil the predictions of the Protectionists—that it will aggravate the evils incident to a state of poverty, disturb every social relation, modify every pecuniary engagement, and above all, establish the principle of placing Government at the mercy of every political association—they have every reason to hope that with a little more time, and by indirect means, they will ultimately obtain the result which they had sought by mere agitation, as long as their ostensible object remained in delightful abeyance.

Considering the plausible nature of the cheap bread cry, and the facility of misleading and irritating the feelings of an ignorant mob on so vital a subject, nothing can show in a more striking light the good sense and sound principles of the great mass of the people than the slow progress of an agitation so amply supplied with money, so indefatigably and ably promoted. This is the more creditable to the working men, as it cannot be supposed that the majority of them possess the degree of knowledge which is requisite for the solution of a very complicate problem of political economy. Their daily habits, the popular acceptance of cheapness, the evidence of their senses, are in favour of the Anti-Corn Law League; but where they have shown their superior sagacity is in their appreciation of the true character and designs of their teachers, and their superior morality in the little assistance they have given to those teachers in carrying out their scheme.

Had the people really imbibed the notion that their bread is taxed for the benefit of a class, their error, however demonstrable to men of greater education, would never be eradicated from the suspicious mind of poverty, except by an actual experiment of Free Trade. Of two evils that experiment would in such a supposition be certainly the least. Bread is, perhaps, the only subject upon which Government would be justified in yielding to popular clamour. The pro-

priety of Sir R. Peel's conduct is, therefore, in so exceptional a case, more a question of fact than one of principle. If the people—if a majority of the industrious classes—had been really converted to the Anti-Corn Law League, Sir Robert Peel might without shame to himself, or disgrace to the executive represented by his Cabinet, have confessed the necessity of trying an experiment, and of submitting to an evil, that a greater evil—that deep-rooted and otherwise incurable discontent—might be avoided. A general election would in that case have been necessary, even though liable to serious objections on a question of food, and to the risk of adding to the cheap bread cry, the cry of inadequate representation of the people.

But Sir Robert Peel has committed the egregious error of mistaking (to use the words of Lord Stanley) the frothy surface of a brawling torrent for the deep and mighty stream of public opinion. This is not his only fault: he has been obliged to profess almost a miraculous conversion to the doctrines of the League, which, if sincere, is the condemnation of his entire life; if otherwise, involves duplicity of character. He might have surrendered to a necessity without surrendering his judgment. He might have lost the support without losing the esteem of his party; but, as the responsibility of his conduct is equally shared by his colleagues, amongst whom there is one man at least who is entitled to the veneration and eternal gratitude of his country, we cannot pursue in an acrimonious temper the thread of our remarks. It is easier to criticise the actions of great men by the result than to form an accurate estimate of the value of their secret motives. "There are times (says Bacon) when the responsibility of *not* undertaking a thing is greater than that of failure in undertaking it." Be this as it may, Free Trade is now the law of the land, and the question is not how men are to be saved from the consequences of their rashness, but what is the precise amount of evil, which will convince them of their

error. The experiment must have time for development, and the merit of the pudding must depend upon the eating. Time only can decide whether Sir R. Peel or Lord Stanley has made a more correct estimate of the depth of popular opinion. As yet every indication is favourable to Lord Stanley's conjecture. The munificence of the very contributions which Free-traders triumphantly adduce as the proof of popularity is conclusive evidence of the contrary. Subscriptions of £1,000 and of £500 by single individuals may indicate how far a few wealthy politicians are capable of carrying their political hatred, their party predilections, and what pecuniary value they set upon these matters; but it is penny subscriptions swelled into heaps of gold which more clearly determine the strength and current of public opinion.

Whether Free Trade be a superficial or a deep-rooted disease, it must now be left to the operation of nature. A wilful child, once indulged with a plaything, might become vicious if that thing were abruptly taken away which had been extorted by importunity. Give a little time, and the child will spurn, with tears of repentance, that which a mercenary nurse had first held up to its admiration.

Patience and forbearance is the policy of the Protectionists, we should be sorry, however, to see them carry these virtues to extremity, as patience would then become indifference, and forbearance betray a want of manly spirit. More than a century has elapsed since Sir Robert Walpole humorously compared the manufacturers to hogs—the most noisy of animals on the slightest touch; and the farmers to good natured sheep, ever ready for shearing. Another Sir Robert, not many years since, referred to this comparison, and insisted on the policy of shaving the more bristly quadruped; but he desisted from the attempt, probably aware of the barren experiment made by the devil. We rather commend his prudence, as no task can be more hopeless than the cure of a

chronic disease. Turbulence is scarcely avoidable where there is a crowd; but it should not be always triumphant, nor is the gentleness of the agricultural character to degenerate into apathy.

While we are quoting the opinions of men who were rulers in Israel, we have not the presumption to apply any harsh epithets to our manufacturers. As a class, their respectability is equal to that of any other class, and their national importance is scarcely inferior to that of agriculture. They cannot be held responsible for the folly of the League, nor the League itself for every individual member. The turbulent are few and the conspirators are still fewer; but, as in these canicular days, the appearance of a mad dog in the streets is sufficient to alarm an entire population, and expose to danger every other dog in the streets, so in times of political excitement a single agitator—a single madman at large—may become the terror of all peaceable men, and produce as much effect as if he were a host in himself. Don Quixote has filled all Spain with his fame; and, though only in one spot at a time, to the imagination of the people he was everywhere present.

A spirit is abroad more dangerous than the wild schemes of the Knight of la Mancha, to which it bears no other resemblance than a ludicrous disproportion of the means compared with the object of the intended reformation. Hostility has been designedly fostered and abetted between two of the most important, because the most industrious classes of society—the agriculturists and the manufacturers; two arms of the same body partaking alike in all the good or evil which befalls the stomach—that lazy member so obnoxious to the Roman people—before the explanation of Menenius. But, under the plausible pretences of cheap bread and cheap sugar, the real object of the agitation cannot be mistaken; and the cry for cheap Government will soon add one more item to an inexhaustible budget of sedition. Sir Robert Peel, aware

of the intention, and more anxious to deprecate the designs than to assume the responsibility of repressing the turbulence of Radicalism, came to the conclusion that it would be easier and more humane to cure a morbid appetite for change by satiety than severity of diet. He shaped his conduct accordingly, and has paid the forfeit of his error. Lord John Russell, undismayed by his fate, is treading in his footsteps and will be equally discomfited. In the meanwhile a feeling of uneasiness is gradually spreading among the more enlightened portion of the people, and paving the way for a Government of resistance, which will have to undertake the ungracious, the highly responsible task of keeping within constitutional bounds the machinations of men already too popular and too strong, because they had ample leisure to pervert the understanding, and, perhaps, to corrupt the heart of no inconsiderable number of adherents. The next general election will decide the fate of the monarchy.

From what passed in the House of Commons on Monday, July 27th, there is too much reason to expect that the East and West Indies will be sacrificed to the prosperity of Cuba and Brazil, and to the encouragement of the Slave Trade. The sordid passion of avarice, rabid as it is, is yet inadequate to account for this persevering hostility to every British interest—every feeling of humanity. Political hatred is in alliance with it, and is mixed up with exaggerated hopes derived from sophistical principles of political economy. A misapprehension of Adam Smith's and Ricardo's theory of rent, which in a primitive state of society is the most precarious part of the sundry elements of price, though rent be in a state of advanced civilisation the most positive among those elements—a gross mistake on this important subject is the origin of all the hostility of the League towards the landed interest. They looked forward to the annihilation of rent; to seeing the aristocracy bite the dust, and being compelled to sell their estates; which the mag-

nates of the League would buy cheap, previous to the re-enactment of Protection, which they would clamour for as much as they had been clamorous before in behalf of Free Trade. The landlords were to be the only victims—they the only parties benefitted by the change. They will soon find that they have comparatively inflicted very few hardships on the devoted class and a vast deal of misery on the rest of the community, their own dear selves included; that York or Lancaster is not the centre of the world, as Jerusalem was to ancient geographers; and that the landed interest is still able to hold its proper station.

The Radicals, however, have not yet had time to make this discouraging discovery. The chase is not yet over, and the pack is in full cry. The West India interest has the reputation of being almost as averse to political change as the agriculturists; they also must be made to bite the dust, and there is much reason to fear that they are more vulnerable than their allies. The attainment of this object by the direct encouragement of slavery is boldly justified on the plea of necessity, which justifies everything, even the horrors of the French Convention. We are starving from want of sugar, as we were starving last winter from want of corn. Food, food, food, is in every mouth, and is occasionally coupled with some profound remark on the condition of the poor, uttered in a bland tone of voice, which calls to mind *ce pauvre peuple, ce bon peuple*—so often in the mellifluous mouth of Robespierre.

Such is the policy which men of station and character have the weakness to tolerate, whether subdued by fear or actuated by motives of policy too profound for our humble understanding. They perhaps think that a session like the present, once in a century, will answer the same purpose as the saturnalia did at Rome, where the institution had no doubt its origin in a wise and designing policy. Anarchy was exhibited on a

comic stage, that the people might acquire some knowledge and a thorough disgust of the real evil.

That our conjectures on this topic are not void of foundation, and that things cannot longer continue in their present anomalous state, may be reasonably inferred on an impartial review of the Parliamentary session. Where the hope of change is general, change cannot be resisted.

Looking forward to a tremendous reaction hostile to Free Trade, we shall rejoice to find our gloomy forebodings, as to the mischief likely to be the result of recent experiments, belied by experience. In either case, the game of the Protectionists is to watch the progress of events, and to wait with composure. They who are now the demigods of a faction will scarcely know where to hide their heads from shame and confusion ; and, if accessible to remorse, they will need no other punishment.

We cannot close our enquiry without a few remarks on the general principle of political associations. A serious evil in itself, its magnitude and dangers have increased with the grievances of Ireland, vastly aggravated by a remedy far worse than the disease it professes to cure. The constant agitation of repeal is worse than repeal itself, as amputation is preferable to gangrene, and the loss of a limb to a lingering death.

Tolerated by the executive rather than sanctioned by the law, the unconstitutional tendency of the least obnoxious of these societies has never been questioned ; nor would it be difficult to check their growth by a more vigorous application of existing statutes. There are many precedents on record, as recent as the beginning of the present century, which would enable the law officers of the Crown to maintain the peace of society without infringing on the liberties of the people, or interfering with freedom of action and of speech in the pursuit of real or imaginary grievances. The press, the right of petition, county meetings, public meetings

of every sort, and the constitution of Parliament, are surely sufficient for the vindication of every right, without resorting to the anarchical expedient of summoning mock-Parliaments, and raising an army in disguise, under the command of self-elected generals, who are usually no mean adepts in the art of training their troops and enuring them to all the hardships of a moral as the best preparation for a physical contest. Add to this an ample exchequer and an attractive object of excitement, and you will have mentioned the chief elements of danger. It is evident that the success of every similar conspiracy must be the origin of many others. A matron, like the Anti-Corn Law League, bids fair for the transmission of her virtues to a numerous progeny of daughters; so that every principle of the constitution, as every article of the tariff, will in future be surrendered at the mercy of some special combination. If this be not anarchy it looks very much like it: its tendency is to convert the executive into a passive instrument, the House of Commons into a house of delegates, and the House of Peers into a high court of registration. "A state (said Diderot, the Encyclopedist) is not far from its ruin where wealth and distinction are the reward of turbulence and disaffection." Are we without instances of this kind since the beginning of the present century?

The repetition of important truths is said to be the prerogative of maturity of age: its exercise may be wearisome to an audience, especially to those who look upon common sense as the mark of a narrow understanding. They are not aware that common sense is one of our latest and most valuable acquisitions, and that it is seldom very useful until, from constant exercise, it becomes the habitual temper of the mind. Perseverance will overcome difficulties insuperable even to genius. It is by perseverance and constant repetition of some useful elements of truth that the League became formidable, and has subsequently been



able to circulate with success a tissue of palpable falsehoods, which, like noxious weeds, have overrun the soil. The nuisance must be abated ; but, the process of eradication being slow and gradual, requires constant attention, and a little moral encouragement from the owners of those fields which are now overgrown with thistle.

Kensington, August, 1846.

THE PUNJAUB  
AND THE  
INDIAN ARMY.

~~~~~  
BY  
MAJOR-GENERAL CAULFEILD, C.B.,  
OF THE BENGAL ARMY;  
LATE OFFICIATING RESIDENT AT THE COURT OF LUCKNOW.  
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LONDON  
SMITH, ELDER AND CO., 65, CORNHILL.  
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**Old Bailey.**

## A LETTER,

&c.

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THE necessity of securing a free passage across the Indus for our troops, whenever it might be required, was advocated in letters on recent transactions in India, by an officer of the Bengal Army, published in 1841. With reference to this important object, it may not be inexpedient to call attention to what is now going forward in the Punjab. The anarchy consequent upon the removal of Runjeet Singh from a scene in which he played a distinguished part, was not difficult to be foreseen. It is unnecessary to examine and comment upon the motives by which the authorities of the time were influenced; our business is with the present, and the only beneficial use we can make of the past, is to take advantage of the light it reflects to guide us in the settlement of a country which the natural result of irresistible events has placed in our power. Although a wise and generous policy may not sanction our taking possession of the country until now under Sikh domination, it by

no means precludes our adopting that course best calculated to preserve our dominions, and secure to our subjects the blessings of peace, which is alike essential to the development of its resources and the gradual improvement in the social condition of the millions, whose happiness and prosperity are dependent upon the stability of the British rule, and the wisdom of its decrees.

We have been forced into collision with the State of Lahore, which from its geographical position is identified with our future peace and security. This gives a vast importance to the measures that may be adopted when our military operations shall have been brought to a conclusion, we shall then be called upon to determine what is to be done with the conquest our arms may have achieved. Here will arise the questions. Shall we connect the Lahore territories with our empire? Or shall we restore the young Rajah to those rights which the incapacity and profligacy of a Regent, and the unprovoked and wanton aggression of his turbulent troops have justly forfeited, or shall we create several authorities under our jurisdiction? The reply to the first would appear to require but little consideration, as the permanent tranquillity and security of the British territories demands that we should have a frontier susceptible of comparatively easy access and protection with an uninterrupted communication to the seat of our resources. If this be admitted, the Indus to the West and the North-west, will present itself as the natural boundary, and the mountain ranges to the North-

east and East, will be equally conspicuous as the barrier of that empire which has been acquired by the progressive development of circumstances beyond the control of our political institutions. The combined efforts of the British Parliament, the executive authority of this country, the Board of Control and the Court of Directors have failed to confine our acquisitions within prescribed limits. They have now reached the geographical bounds which nature has designed to the kingdom over which our sway will probably extend.

By connecting the Sikh country with our other possessions in the East, we shall not be exposed to the imputation of having been actuated by ambition, or an aggrandising spirit, as we have exhibited to the whole world for more than two years a forbearance approximating to timidity, and have to the very last hour acted with such an apprehension of giving offence or alarm as to have seriously endangered the safety of the British dominions in Asia, by the omission of those precautionary measures which the proceedings of the Sikh army rendered imperative, and a provident government would have adopted. It behoves us now that the danger is past, to provide for the settlement of the conquest we may achieve in a manner that will maintain the integrity of our possessions; in doing this, fastidious apprehension and morbid magnanimity must not be permitted to influence our councils, and induce us to the adoption of a line of policy that may contain the germ of future difficulty and danger.

By incorporating with our own the Sikh terri-

tories which have been justly forfeited, we shall be strengthening ourselves and conferring the greatest blessing upon those millions who have for ages been exposed to the horrors inseparable from the incursions of foreign enemies, and the no less evil the lawless exactions of a military despotism and a licentious soldiery. By restoring the young Rajah to the whole, or to a part of those dominions which we have been compelled in self-defence to conquer, we should be re-establishing a condition of things which experience has abundantly demonstrated to be inconsistent with the well-being of the People living under its rule, and inviting an interference on the part of the paramount authority, hateful to the Sovereign, and destructive of that harmony essential to the cordial co-operation of Subordinate States, when measures for the general welfare are required. If proof of the baleful effects of subsidiary alliances be necessary, it will be found in the history, past and present, of our connection with the Nawob of Oude, the states forming the Maharatta confederacy, the Rajepoot states of Central India, the Nizam of Hyderabad, and Bhurtpore, all of which have, in the course of these last fifty years, from those feelings and jealousies inherent in human nature, engaged us in hostilities which have reduced them to a state of painful insignificance, and created suspicions of the disinterestedness of the British Government.

The working of this incongruous and unnatural system has made our allies our secret enemies, and those who are at all familiar with the history of

India need not be told that every power from the Indus to the Irrawaddie, and from the Indian Caucasus to the sea, have watched and waited with anxious solicitude for any opportunity, however faint the hopes, of successfully taking up arms to rid themselves of a control uncongenial to their nature, and opposed to their notions of honour, dignity, and independence. Let us go farther back and we shall find, in the records of the Mogul Empire and the Mahratta nations, that that system which we have found so pregnant with evil, was the cause of many of the wars in which they were embroiled during the ascendancy of their rule, and of the destruction to which they were ultimately consigned. Rebellion after rebellion, in the provinces, led to the dismemberment of the empire, established by the descendants of Tamerlane, and the successors of Savagie. Having dwelt so long on the impolicy of restoring the Poppet of the Sikhs to the dominions of Runjeet Singh, it is unnecessary to say more on the third question; what has been said on the second bears with accumulated influence on the project of setting up a number of minor states. It is possible, however, that we may find it convenient, if not advantageous, to confirm Rajah Golaub Singh, and some of the hill chiefs in their possessions, upon such terms as may reconcile them to our sway and bind them to our interests. With regard to that portion of the Sikh territory westward of the Indus, it will be a matter of grave consideration whether we should not restore it to the Ameer of Cabool, Dost Mohammed Khan, and enter into arrangements with



him that would allay all the feelings of enmity that must have arisen out of our lamentable interference in the affairs of Affghanistan. Every thing consistent with the character of the British Government should be done to identify the best interests of that chief with those of the British Government. What has taken place may again occur, Herat may again be invaded under the auspices that gave rise to its being besieged in 1838. We should be prepared for such an untoward event. The importance of a friendly power between the Indus and the Helmund is manifest, and need not be pointed out nor enlarged upon. The form of government to be established in the conquered territories of the Punj-aub is a serious and important matter, as upon it will greatly depend the advantage that we are to derive from its acquisition.

We are informed by an experienced, able, and enlightened servant of the East India Company, the late Major General Sir John Malcolm, in his admirable work upon Central India, that "the minds of men can never be tranquillised unless attached; until they are at repose regarding the intentions of the authority under which they live; which they never can be till all classes see and comprehend its principles of government. If our system is in advance of the community; if it is founded on principles they do not comprehend, and has forms and usages adverse to their habits and feelings, we shall experience no adequate return of confidence and allegiance. To secure these results, we must associate ourselves with our subjects. We

could never have conquered India without the assistance of the natives of that country, and by them alone can we preserve it." The truth embodied in the foregoing extract, the conclusion at which a sagacious mind has arrived after an intimate acquaintance with, and profound reflection on, the institutions and character of the numerous tribes inhabiting the regions of the East will doubtless be allowed great influence with those upon whom the responsibility may fall of organising a system for the immediate management of the provinces that Government shall determine upon incorporating with the British dominions, and dictating to the chiefs who may be permitted to retain their present possessions, or be restored to their former rights, the terms to which they shall be required to conform. As prompt and just decisions are in unison with the genius, religion, necessities and desires of every class of the human species, be their condition savage, barbarous, or civilised, that system which is most exempt from the delay, and expense consequent upon legal subtleties, is the one best adapted to a country long subject to the arbitrary sway of a despotic sovereign. The introduction, therefore, of a local government untrammelled by those undefined, judicial and fiscal regulations which have been attended by such mischief in our own provinces, particularly in Bengal, would be most in conformity with the well-being of our new subjects, and best calculated to allay their fears, reconcile their antipathies, and secure their attachment. If this be granted, Panchājat, or courts of

arbitration,\* will be preferred to the introduction of our civil institutions, with all their cumbrous, dilatory, and expensive machinery. Although the usages of provinces differ in many things, and in degree the abstract principles by which they are all produced and governed are the same ;—obvious equity, simple process, and prompt execution. A full, clear, and comprehensive description of these native courts of arbitration—the veneration in which they are held, the deference paid to their judgments, and the willing obedience yielded to their decisions, will be found in Malcolm's Central India.†

Many tried and able servants of the Indian Government, both civil and military, are to be found eminently fitted to introduce and superintend such a system throughout those territories, which the wisdom of the court may see fit to retain on either side of the Sutledge. In advocating the adoption of courts of arbitration throughout our newly-acquired territories, it becomes necessary to draw attention to the organisation of the judicial establishments existing within our own provinces, those who have read

\* With regard to the sufficiency of these Courts, the writer from experience can testify. In the years 1818 and 1819 he was in charge of three districts of the Gwalior state, forfeited by the misconduct of its officers; and with no assistance but the Panchājet, he performed the whole judicial and fiscal duties, and without a murmur considerably raised the revenue. The evidence of the efficiency and justice with which every thing was conducted through the medium of the Panchājet, was found in the undisguised lamentation of the people when, at the conclusion of the war, the districts in question were exchanged with Scindiah for the districts of Agmeer.

† Vide vol. i., from page 554 to 562; and vol. ii., from page 283 to 304.

the elaborate history of India, by Mill,\* cannot but be familiar with their utter inefficiency, and aware that within the influence of the halls of justice, there exist practices well calculated to deter respectable and honest men from approaching them. They are, in fact, opposed to the legitimate prejudices of native society, detrimental to the interests of the people, and inconsistent with the principles of equal and easily obtained justice.

In referring to events now in progress in our Indian possessions, some observations on the condition of the Indian army become imperative. An opinion given by Lord Clive to Mr. Pitt, immediately after his great victory of Plassy, contains a wise caution that should never be forgotten by those whose duty it is to watch over the interests of their country in those distant regions, as it inculcates the necessity of our always being prepared to meet our friends as if they were on some future day to be our enemies.† The recent fearful struggle on the banks of the Sutledge, although it happily terminated in a glorious victory, places beyond contradiction the utter inadequacy of our military establishment. So defective was it found in point

\* Salutory changes have been effected in our political code since the publication of Mill's History. There remains, however, much to be done to render it adequate to the wants of the people, and adapt it to their customs and legitimate prejudices.

† "The reigning Soubah, whom the victory of Plassy invested with the sovereignty of these provinces, still, it is true, retains his attachment to us; and probably, while he has no other support, will continue to do so; but Mussulmans are so little influenced by gratitude, that should he ever think it his interest to break with us the obligations he owes us will prove no restraint." What Lord Clive says in this note, of the Soubah of Bengal, is applicable to every sovereign in India.

of numbers and equipment, that we are indebted to the heroism of its commanders, the chivalry of their officers, and the devotion of their men for being rescued from the danger that periled the existence of the Indian empire.

The advantage achieved by the indomitable and persevering courage of our brave soldiers was rendered negative by the want of troops to complete the destruction of the host repulsed by their unflinching valour. The severity of our loss, and the unmolested retreat of the enemy, after having been driven from his fortified position, can only be attributed to our great deficiency in artillery and cavalry.

Every branch of the service is inadequate, and every regiment deplorably defective in officers,\* as will be seen by comparing their strength with that of the regiments of the Crown.

Queen's		Company's	
Cavalry.	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Infantry.
1 Colonel	1	1 Colonel	1
2 Lt. Colonel	2	1 Lt. Colonel	1
2 Majors	2	1 Major	1
10 Captains	10	5 Captains	6
18 Lieutenants	20	8 Lieutenants	10
4 Ens. or Cornets	7	4 Ens. or Cornets	5
—	—	—	—
37	42	20	23
—	—	—	—

\* Lord Lake, in 1803, in writing to Lord Wellesley, says, "You will observe by the loss of European officers in Sepahee regiments, how necessary it is for them to expose themselves; everything has been done by the example and exertions of officers, without which we had not been where we are."

Sir Charles Napier, in his despatch 18th Feb. 1843, to the

Great as is the disparity shown by the above table, it is increased by the unavoidable absence generally, of six officers from every regiment, on staff-duty, furlough, sick-leave, allies contingents, irregular corps, and civil employment, the latter it is true may be ordered upon cases of emergency to rejoin their regiment while on service, but what can they know of their men, and what dependence can they have on each other when mutual reliance arising out of perfect confidence, the result of intimate acquaintance, and tried obedience is necessary to enable them to perform their duty in the hour of danger? The system of promoting to the rank of non-commissioned officer in the two services is eminently advantageous to the Royal Army, and extremely injurious to the Company's. Picked men, the élite of the regiment are selected for the important duty of a non-commissioned officer in Her Majesty's regiments, while in the Bengal Army they are appointed by seniority. The inadequacy of our military force is not of recent discovery, it has long been known. Unexposed to imminent danger, exempt from signal misfortune, the usual reply to remonstrance was: we have gone on without material inconvenience, and the finances of

Governor-General, detailing the battle of Meanie, observes, "I hope your Lordship will pardon me for saying that the want of European officers at one period endangered the success of the action. The sepoy is a brave and excellent soldier, but like all soldiers requires to be led. I am sure that, in observing a defect in the formation of the Company's troops, the effect of which might have been so serious, I shall not be deemed presumptuous."

the Government will not admit of an increase. The imprudence of such reasoning has been illustrated by recent events in a fearful manner. The raising of more regiments of irregular cavalry has been authorised, and troops from this country are under orders for India. Will the increase be equal to the necessities of the state, and will the reinforcements arrive in time to aid in the subjugation of the Sikh territory? Here it is essential to observe that however calculated irregular cavalry may be for their peculiar duties, police, foraging, hanging on the rear of a defeated army, harassing and retarding its march, cutting off supplies, baggage and stragglers, they are utterly incapable of performing the duties of regular cavalry in the field of battle. The impolicy of preferring this class being full of danger to the state, cannot be too strongly marked.

The wisdom of sending out regiments to India at the moment when their services are actually required, appears questionable. The propriety of retaining an adequate force of European soldiers in India cannot be doubted. The number now in the Company's service is susceptible of increase by the addition of more regiments of European infantry and cavalry, this with a moderate increase to our regular Native Infantry and Cavalry, would place our Indian Empire beyond all apprehension. That such a course would be preferable to depending upon this country for succour on the spur of the occasion, is manifest, inasmuch as our resources in time of danger should be available with

the least possible delay. Eight months would be required for reinforcements from this country to reach the scene of action, within that time fearful events might have occurred. With reference then to such possible contingencies, it may not be inexpedient to examine the difference of expense in maintaining royal regiments in India, compared with the cost of regiments in the Company's service.

#### QUEEN'S ARMY.

Total amount of annual disbursements for one regiment of Dragoons, eight troops, Officers and Men, 745 . . . . .	£72,400	
Ditto, one regiment Foot, nine Com- panies, 1114 Officers and Men . . . . .	61,500	£133,900
	<hr/>	

#### COMPANY'S ARMY.

Ditto, one regiment Native Cavalry, six troops, 526 Officers and Men . . . .	£34,200	
One regiment European Infantry, ten companies, 980 Officers and Men . . . . .	53,450	
One ditto regiment Native Infantry, ten companies, 1190 Officers and Men . . . . .	26,980	£114,630
	<hr/>	
Total difference in annual charge between two regiments of the Crown and three regiments of the East India Company . . . . .	£19,270	

The above statement will serve as a data upon which may be calculated the expediency of increasing the Company's army, or paying for the use of an additional number of the royal forces to serve in India. It may not be irrelevancy to the subject to inquire whether the physical capacity and moral character of our native subjects render them eligible material for the defence of our possessions. Let



the experience of a century answer that query, and the battles by which our dominions have been won testify as to their merits or the reverse. Have not the fields of Meanie, Moodkee, and Ferozshah, afforded evidence of their courage, their endurance, and devotion? Have not their recent trials proved they were not to be corrupted by gold or appalled by danger?



# LETTERS

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

LORD JOHN RUSSELL, M.P.,

ON THE

CORN LAWS.

FROM

E. S. CAYLEY, ESQ. M.P.

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LONDON:

JOHN OLLIVIER, 59, PALL MALL.

1846.



## LETTER I.

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DEAR LORD JOHN,—I have just read your letter to your London constituents, on the subject of the Corn Laws. From the interest I have so long taken in this question, I am sure you will forgive me if I venture to make some observations upon it by way of reply. Obloquy may attach to those who still adhere to their views on this matter, but from a member of the house of Russell, I can never learn the miserable lesson of yielding to clamour what cannot be conceded by conviction, or of deserting opinions long conscientiously maintained, because they support what for the moment may appear to be a falling cause.

Believing the Corn Laws to have been founded on a comprehensive principle of public advantage, I should belie the faith that is in me, and be a coward to what I deem the truth, could I shrink from the avowal of it, at a time especially when so many are girt for its attack, and so few for its defence. I may be wrong in my view of this great subject. If I am I hope to be corrected, and that truth will prevail. I am not so presumptuous even, as to suppose that I can be entirely right in my estimation of all the bearings of so large a question. What human being ever was absolutely and perfectly right in his judgment of any one subject? I have tried to steer clear of error as far as my feeble light will permit, and if I have erred, I have erred with an honest intention. But doubting the infallibility of human powers in judging of the future, and having already seen too many instances in which, as legislators (to the subsequent cost and injury of thousands), our anticipations have been lamentably disappointed, I would, in matters where small mistakes may breed great wrongs, argue for being guided by the practical cautious lessons of history, rather than by the visions, however ingenious, or by the conjectures, however specious, of speculation and the closet.

I repeat my belief that the corn laws are founded on public principle—that they are essentially for the public good, for the welfare, the permanent welfare, not of the few, but

of the many. On no other ground, could they have stood so long; on no other can they stand; on no other ground ought they to stand for a moment longer; unless with a view of gradually breaking the violence of the shock to the property embarked in the land, which so sudden a change would confiscate. And I start with this broad affirmation, because, if the landlords and farmers of England had believed the corn laws to be injurious to the majority of their countrymen;—if they had believed them to be, as some assert, laws for the starvation of the people, and not laws constituted for the lasting support of the people, and for the continuous cultivation of the land, they would never have supported them.

It is because the landlords and farmers of England—a body of men, you well know, as amenable to the charities of life; as interested in the welfare of those around them; as anxious to do their utmost to alleviate the pangs of suffering and distress they may witness; as ready to submit to personal privation, when the claims of religion, humanity, or their country, call for the sacrifice; as ready, to say the least, as any other body of men—it is only because the landlords and farmers of England, as a body, are convinced that the corn laws are for the public benefit, that those laws have always received, and still continue to receive, their unabated support. If they had thought them injurious to the permanent welfare of the people, I cannot doubt that they would have been as ready to repeal them as yourself.

Your letter naturally divides itself into two parts; the first relating to your apprehensions of present scarcity, and to your views as to the proper legislation consequent upon such apprehension; the second part referring to your objections to the Corn Laws generally. I will take each part in its order.

You state that “parliament should have been called together three weeks ago, and that no party in parliament would have made itself responsible for the obstruction of a measure so urgent and so beneficial,” as the suspension of the import duties on corn. To this it may be replied, that if no one could have opposed such a measure, an order in council would, without delay or risk to the government, have much more speedily, and therefore much more efficiently, responded to the public wants. But what would have been the effect of the immediate suspension of the import duties? Either we could have obtained an immediate

supply, or we could not. If we could not, it would have been mischievous to have opened the ports, since the importation of a large additional supply would have so lowered the price of corn, and have led to such an increased consumption, as might have trenched injuriously on the means of supply before the next harvest.

If we could have obtained an immediate supply, an equally mischievous result might have followed; it would have equally led to an immediate increase of consumption, and might equally have trenched on the ultimate means of supply; since it is notorious that, with, perhaps the exception of Canada and the United States, and possibly Spain and Italy, there is as great a deficiency of wheat in the rest of the world as in England, if not a greater deficiency; and this does not appear to be a casual occurrence. Mr. Lowe in his "State of Agriculture," (published, I think, in 1818) from a careful survey and comparison of the seasons, for a number of years back, states, that it appears that the corn-growing countries of Europe lie between 45 and 55 degrees of latitude, and are subject, in a great degree, to similar winds, rains, droughts, and frosts. There are, he says, some remarkable instances of this. In 1794 the spring was prematurely warm on the Continent, as well as in England. The summer of 1798 was dry and that of 1799 wet, in both places. Again, in 1811, the harvest was deficient, throughout the north-west of Europe generally, and from the same cause, blight; while that of 1816 was still more generally deficient, from rain and want of warmth. From a coincidence of prices in the 17th and 18th centuries, it is also highly probable that similar seasons prevailed here and on the Continent, especially in 1708, 1709, and in several seasons between 1764 and 1773. When, therefore, it is proposed to leave England dependent on foreign supplies, it should be recollected that the same causes which occasion a bad harvest in England, would very probably produce it in other corn countries.

These were occasions when dearths appear to have been the most general. Instances also have doubtless occurred of more partial scarcities; instances perhaps, like those when Prussia could supply our wants; but when we took off the duty on importation, the King of Prussia put it on at his side of the water; thus filling his exchequer at the expense of ours, without the suspension of the duty being of the slightest benefit to the English consumer. When,

under such repeated scarcity to be fulfilled at that time than this—were then fulfilled. Rumour with her busy tongue—panic with its prostrate imbecility—were as rife then as now. And what was the result? In no four years in any period of English history, before or since, had we such large importations; a supply so commensurate with our wants that those only who took a political interest in the question appear now to remember them; except, indeed, those poor farmers who cultivated what were then emphatically designated the wheat soils of England;—full a third of whom, in spite of the protective price afforded by the corn law, were so inadequately compensated for their deficient crops, that with this addition to the pressure of accumulated distress, from the great fall in prices subsequent to the Money Act of 1819, they must have sunk to the earth to rise no more. And had it not been for the protection thus afforded by those corn laws, the stoutest of those cultivators of the wheat soils of England must have been swept away from the face of the land. Thank God! we had still resolution enough to abide by the experience of the past, instead of the infatuation to run headlong into an unknown abyss of a new-fangled philosophy. If the higher duties of the corn law of 1828 did not, during four successive deficient harvests, prevent our obtaining a sufficient foreign supply, why should we so much dread the effects of a corn law, with lower duties, in preventing a foreign supply sufficient to meet the deficiency of only one year?

Had the corn laws been abolished in 1828—throwing thousands upon thousands of labourers and acres out of employment and cultivation, as the consequence—under the fallacious apprehension of the effect of scarcity, I should have indeed trembled for the supply of food for the people in the year 1846. Nothing but the firmest conviction of the truth of Mr. Huskisson's axiom—that on British corn must our British people mainly rely, in war and in peace, for the food they eat—gives me the confidence I feel, with gratitude to Heaven I utter it (provided our legislative vacillations, while they paralyse the future efforts of the British farmer, do not at the same time clog the well-nigh omnipotent powers of the British merchant and of British gold), that in England at least we shall experience none of the miseries of famine. To the eaters of potatoes in Ireland, whose forlorn dependence on that lowest species of food I commiserate, especially under their present adverse circum-

stances, as much as you can do,—to the Irish, open ports would not give the money to purchase corn.

But what is the real truth respecting the crops in England? As yet it may not be fully ascertained; but for the comfort of those who are more apprehensive than myself, I may state that an extensive inquiry is now making, and in part made, into the state of the crops in Yorkshire, and, as far as I have seen, the following are the almost invariable answers (with certain limitations) to the queries sent:—

1. That the wheat crop, though very deficient in yield, when considered relatively to the quantity of straw, is yet believed to be little below the average of the last few years; in consequence of the large proportion of land cropped with wheat, the unprecedentedly large bulk of straw, and the unusually productive crops in many of the backward and upland districts.

2. That the deficiency of yield chiefly arises from the number of light grains which are necessarily blown out in dressing the corn for market, leaving the whole of the marketable grain, with but few exceptions, sound and wholesome; whereas in years of real scarcity, such as 1800, 1816, &c. a large proportion of the wheat crop was sprouted and unfit for use.

3. That where proper care has been taken in sorting potatoes attacked with gangrene or murrain, and in storing them in dry, cool situations, little progress appears to have been made by the disease of late; and it may, therefore, be reasonably hoped that the full extent of the evil is already known.

4. That the deficiency caused by the potato failure will be in some measure compensated by the unusually large crops of oats, barley, and beans.\*

I am very glad to be able to add to this account (contrary to your experience) that potatoes are not generally forced into the market, but that the labourers hereabouts are generally turning their worst potatoes into bacon, in the expectation of the best keeping till spring; and I am greatly in hopes that the extra pig, which they are thus enabled to feed, will go as well as the others to the comfortable support of their families; for the demand for labour is so good that

\* It is now pretty accurately ascertained that the stock of old wheat in the country, at the time of harvest, was sufficient for its supply till the commencement of the new year. So that the last crop, in all probability, will not have to meet more than eight or nine months consumption.



I rejoice to say that I can scarcely find an extra hand when I want one at half-a-crown a day—the wages, more or less, ever since I can remember, of this district. May a free trade in corn never reduce them!

I find my observations on the first part of your letter drawn out to so much greater length than I had expected, that my intended comments on the second part I most unwillingly reserve for a second letter. I will not close this, however, although it may be said more properly to belong to the second part, without expressing my satisfaction at your not joining (which, indeed, it would have been the worst injustice to have suspected you of) in the exaggerated statements so common to the opponents of the corn laws, that they *entirely* restrict the people to the consumption of British-grown corn; and that with an increasing population, they limit us to the comparatively stationary amount of food which the British islands can produce. But can any one with truth deny, that if our population were ten-fold what it is now, the present corn law would admit as much corn as could possibly be imported, whenever the duty fell to that point at which it served the merchant's interest to enter it for consumption? When the period arrives that the corn laws do practically prevent our importing foreign corn in sufficient quantities to meet the deficiencies of home growth, then will be the just time, and not till then, to complain of their effects under an apprehension of scarcity.

The corn laws, then, do not prohibit the importation of foreign corn. They do but prevent its being entered for consumption at a price that would ruin the English grower, and disemploy the English labourer. After that risk is passed, importation is free; and surely you should not object to this principle, who hold that so much evil may accrue from having at one and the same time, “scarcity of the article, and cheapness of price.”

This, indeed, as it appears to me, may be truly stated of the corn law—viz. that as between the English grower and the English consumer (leaving foreign corn out of the question), it does not in the least affect the price of corn; but that the price, under the circumstances of this mere domestic interchange, is determined, and determined alone by the supply and the demand—i. e., by the plenty or deficiency of the article, as compared with the increase or decrease of the demand; or it is determined by the plenty

or scarcity of that medium called money, in which the price is measured. It is an error, therefore, to imagine that, under these circumstances of mere domestic interchange (separate from a foreign importation), the corn law does or can raise or fix the price of corn. Its real effect is to prevent foreign competition from throwing down the natural price struck out between the domestic producer and consumer.

The question, however, is totally changed when you introduce into the question the element of foreign competition. Just as with any other commodity, so with corn, if you bring a larger quantity into the market, you as certainly diminish its price for the time being. But if by competition you drive the parties employed in producing a commodity to give up producing it, with the view of relying upon a foreign supply; if that article be one of first necessity, like corn, and there comes a period of war, or of scarcity in the foreign country or countries on which you usually rely for your supply of such article, then it may turn out that this species of competition may prove a "penny wise and pound foolish economy;"—one which has given you cheap corn when you do not want it—and very dear corn—or worse than that, none at all, when you do want it.

What the English farmer wants, is not scarcity or dearthness. Scarcity is a curse to man and beast; plenty a blessing to both. But he wants that degree of price which, under our most artificial state, with debts, taxes, embarrassments, and entanglements innumerable, and almost out of count—will enable him to compete with those who have no such burdens to bear, or incomparably fewer. Strip him, as his foreign competitors are stripped, of these heavy weights, and, if I know the British farmer, and I think I do, he would not be afraid to run an equal race. But fettered as he now is, he requires for his existence as cultivator—and the great body of consumers, as I think, require for the continuous cultivation of the land—protection against prices which are unequal to repay the costs of cultivation; and the farmer also requires, as other producers do, some compensation, in an increased price, for a scarcity in his commodity from a dispensation of Providence. And he considers this compensation as indispensable to the permanence of his occupation as it is to that of all others. That scarcity and increased price should go together, he both learns from you and believes to be one of the wise regulations of nature. If, how-

ever, you at once admit foreign corn, the moment some deficiency is apprehended in his crops, you at the same time deprive him of that increase in price which he thinks the natural compensation for deficiency; and you rob him of what, under an artificial system, he believes, and not unreasonably believes, to be his due.

Nor does the farmer believe that the public (unexcited by specious declamation) would ever grudge him the benefit of a law which, under low prices (when the consumer's interest is not palpably involved) protects the grower; which, under scarcity, partially compensates him for a deficient crop; and which admits foreign corn to the consumer at a price (considering scarcity) not unreasonably high. The British farmer does not think this so unreasonable a demand that the British public—always in the end pretty just in their conclusions—should, if left to the exercise of their own independent sense of fairness, in the long run refuse it to him.

My reply to your more general observations on the Corn Laws I reserve, as I said before (providing the physical strength be left me), for a second letter.

More! Do the farmers want, do you ask? May I answer you? Yes! They now, not improbably want, as I do, to see Lord John Russell in his old place as leader of the House of Commons; for then they would feel that they might safely repose under the protection and consistency of her Majesty's—Opposition.

Dear Lord John,

Yours very truly,

E. S. CAYLEY.

*Wydale, Nov. 28, 1845.*

## LETTER II.

DEAR LORD JOHN,—Somewhat exhausted with my first effort, but in no wise disheartened, I appear, I trust, to time; and as compensations mercifully surround us on every side, even for the worst calamities, so this few days interval which an infirm state of health demanded, for repose, has brought with it the satisfactory reflection that, after all, in this urgent crisis of his fate, you are, perhaps, among the most useful of the farmer's friends. When every day, and almost every hour, was to him pregnant with alarm that your great rival—who, as minister, with your help as leader of the Opposition, really has unfortunately the power to alter the corn-laws—was issuing forth his awful fiat for their final doom—forth you rush with all the noble bearing, with all the high-wrought chivalry of an approved and redoubted knight of old, impetuous and self-devoted, to their rescue! From the farmers of England—a thousand times repeated thanks, for the gallantry you have displayed in their behalf! You have taken the lead out of the hands of the minister, who, in fealty to the great party through which he governs, must disdain to follow you in the path to which you so significantly point. You have bound him under the heaviest recognizances—those, at least, of self-love—to preserve the scale of duties on foreign grain, as by law established, until Parliament meets—when the elastic and self acting principle of that scale, will have accommodated itself to the public wants, and when every cause for clamour, as I trust, will, in consequence, have passed away.

On the probable supply of corn, through the medium of the Corn-laws, I have already spoken. What is the short history of those laws! Is it true, as has been asserted, that they are an invention of late date, suggested by the cupidity of landlords for their own enrichment, at the expense of the stomachs of the people? This is indeed one of the many plausible weapons employed against them. But what is the truth respecting the origin of the Corn-laws? The farmers of England, from the Norman conquest to the year 1436 (*i. e.* for above 350 years), were absolutely prohibited from exporting corn to the continent. This Corn-law could scarcely have been invented by the cupidity of landlords! In 1463 (from which year may be dated the principle of the present Corn-laws), as some

compensation to the farmers for being prevented exporting their corn to what market they pleased—in 1463 the importation of corn underwent a modified restriction. This modification consisted, not of a fixed duty, but a *sliding-scale* ! This act, with slight alterations, continued—nominally, at least—in force for about a century. In 1571 another act was passed :\* and in 1670, an act was passed which prevented the exportation of wheat after it rose to 53s. 4d. ; and imposed prohibitory duties on wheat (and on other grain in proportion) till the price rose to 53s. 4d. ; and a duty of 8s. between that price and 80s. : By this act, passed 175 years ago, we have a far more stringent protective Corn-law (especially taking the general prices of those times into the account) than the present. And, curious enough, we have in it a combination of the sliding-scale ; and, of your quondam favourite fixed duty of 8s. between 53s. 4d. and 80s.

From this account of the Corn-laws, from the Conquest to 1670, how does it appear that they are an enactment of late invention ? By whom, and by what circumstances, was the landed interest of that time driven to seek for increased protection, by increased duties on the importation of corn ? Mr. Porter, of the Board of Trade, in his useful digest, tells us that, from a very early period, the woollen manufacture has been an object of the especial protection of the English government ; and that the exportation of English wool, in 1660, was strictly prohibited. This law remained in force till 1825, when the woollen manufacturers no longer required it. The prohibition was grounded upon the belief that the long staple, or combing wool of England, would secure to themselves the exclusive manufacture of certain fabrics. So that we now see, that the higher duties upon the importation of corn, obtained by the landed interest in 1670, was by the way of compensation for the prohibition of the exportation of their wool, which the manufacturers of woollen had obtained in 1660, ten years before. Do we hear of the landlords opposing the protection sought for by the woollen manufacturers in 1660 ? They only appear to have asked in return for an equivalent protection for the land.

It thus appears, that the object of the woollen manufacturers, in commencing the modern system of restriction on trade, was to secure to themselves a monopoly. Were they content with simply obtaining the prohibition of the export of English wool ? Alas ! not so ! In progress of time they

\* Maculloch.

caused it to be enacted, that the punishment of death, should be awarded to the English grower of wool, if he dared to export it ; and, alarmed at the rapid progress then being made in Ireland in that branch of industry, the woollen manufacturers induced the Houses of Parliament to interpose with the king (William III.) for its suppression.

In his answer to their address he makes the following promise :—"I shall do all that in me lies to discourage the woollen manufacture in Ireland, and encourage the linen manufacture, and promote the trade of England." And well has it been promoted ; and at the expense, as it appears, of poor Ireland. Until enabled by protective laws to stand alone, it appears to forget the means of its own rise, or to extend to others, when they want it, the help which, in its need, was extended to itself. The other branches of our manufactures had their origin under a similar system of protection.

The woollen manufacture having thus sprung from the practice of prohibition, and from the desire of monopoly, we shall in the end perceive that a similar desire, viz, that of monopoly—acting only under a different name—actuates those connected with it (as well as those connected with its sister, the cotton manufacture), who in the present day are so strenuous in their efforts in favour of free trade.

In the year 1773, a new act was framed imposing a nominal duty of 6d. on the importation of wheat, whenever the home price was at or above 48s. per quarter. Another sliding-scale ! In 1791, another act was passed, which admitted foreign wheat at the duty of 6d. after the price rose to 54s. a quarter. Under 54s., and above 50s., the duty was made 2s. 6d., and under 50s. a prohibiting duty of 24s. 3d. was imposed. A more flagrant instance still of a sliding-scale ! This act was succeeded by the acts of 1804, 1815, 1822, and 1842.

This account of the Corn-laws, at once disproves the assertion which charges them with being an innovation of modern date ; whilst, on the contrary, it shows that protection to domestic industry, and restriction upon importation, has been interwoven with our agricultural, and commercial manufacturing system for many hundred years. When was this ancient system of trade and agriculture—the system under which our commercial greatness sprung up—first prominently invaded ? Since the war of the French revolution. But since the system of protection has been tampered with, has England been more prosperous than before ? Assuredly not. In the three instances of shipping, silks, and gloves,

in which the old system has been especially broken in upon, what has been the result? Universal complaint, and a desire by the interests involved to revert again to the ancient system. Was this invasion of the old system of protection resorted to at the suggestion of practical men, to effect a remedy of some acknowledged distress or evil in these three trades? No! they were selected as the victims for experiment of a new school of political philosophy—that new school, which, in quaint but no measured terms, you in 1822 emphatically assailed. Twenty years of experience have changed your opinions; but it is surely not the success of the experiment of the new philosophy in the three instances just mentioned that has changed your opinions; for in these instances the experiment has signally failed. Have you learned to place more faith in speculative opinions?

Who was the modern instigator of these new experiments on the trade and agriculture of this country? Mr. Ricardo. It was this gentleman, a writer of great talent no doubt, on whom the Legislature leaned for guidance in the great monetary change of 1819; and from whom it gathered its conviction that that change would not produce an effect upon prices of more than four per cent. If we are credibly informed, he himself, subsequently acknowledged, before his death, that the effect upon prices had been full 30 per cent.; as you yourself, in your excellent work on the Constitution, also assert; although 50 per cent. reduction in prices was far nearer the truth—to the untold misery of the industrious classes, and the incalculable destruction of the property of this country. Does this gigantic error, committed by Mr. Ricardo, by which he betrayed his country into a state of wretchedness, which impelled it to seek relief in political changes, and was the proximate cause of the peaceful revolution of the Reform Act—the safety-valve of a people, fortunately so long accustomed to the use of liberty, as, even in their anguish, not to be induced to abuse it—does this gigantic error of Mr. Ricardo give us confidence in his wisdom, or implant faith in him as a teacher, or offer us an inducement to persevere in his system? And yet he, with his disciple Mr. M'Culloch, are the real parents of the present agitation for a repeal of the corn laws. Mr. Ricardo, too, recommended a sliding scale! but a sliding scale very much of the nature of your fixed duty; which was to slide away to nothing at all.

Mr. M'Culloch also, some years ago, gave utterance to a dogma which can hardly be said to found for him a

claim to the character of a sound political philosopher; and yet under his chair sat most of the Whig converts to free trade on the present day. This new dogma, if I do not strangely forget, was that, on no grounds of political economy could it be shown that the residence of an Irish landlord was a benefit to his country dependants. Fortunately this was a specimen of a fallacy so glaring, and so immediate an insult to the common sense of mankind, as to require but little time to dispel it. In this case I will concede to you that the people of both England and Ireland preferred the fixed duty of residence to the vanishing point of absenteeism! Mr. M'Culloch has probably changed this opinion; and he appears also to have changed another relating to the manufacturing system; which, in the last edition of his "Political Economy," he considers to have expanded to so dangerous a degree, that if the Legislature could have foreseen the extent our manufactures would have reached, it would have hesitated before it had lent any stimulus to its progress. And yet, to the still further expansion of this overgrown manufacturing system, are we required to sacrifice the corn laws! What conclusion does Mr. M'Culloch come to, under his present apprehension with respect to the over-expansion of our manufacturing system? To go back—or to endeavour to limit their progress—or to become stationary? Not at all! but he concludes, that having gone thus far (whatever the danger may be), we cannot recede, and that we must go on! This is surely on the principle of that illustrious philosopher, of whom we have heard in our nursery rhymes, who having jumped into a quickset hedge and scratched out both his eyes—and who (like a philosopher) having *seen* that his eyes were out, proceeded (most philosophically, certainly—but)

"——— with all his might and main  
To jump into a bramble bush,  
And scratch them in again."

Do not understand, from this momentary tone of levity, that I am intending to speak disrespectfully of Mr. M'Culloch, or in disparagement of his real merits, which are those perhaps of the most eminent and laborious statistician of his day. But certainly the errors into which he and Mr. Ricardo must be confessed to have fallen, from the changes their opinions have been shown to have undergone, and after the sufferings their country has passed through in consequence of being guided by the opinions of speculative



writers like them, that country may reasonably hesitate before it again exposes itself to the risk of being influenced by suggestions of theory, instead of abiding by long-established principles of acknowledged benefit.

Neither would I be supposed to derogate, by what I have said, from the attributes of genuine science, when founded upon induction; nor from the high respect due to the character of a real philosopher, who, in a spirit of patient and cautious perseverance and with all the earnestness and the high intelligence of genius, follows after knowledge that may benefit his species, or that may lay open to the admiring gratitude of the creature the merciful wonders of an allwise Creator, but who yet proclaims what appears to him a discovery with all the candid simplicity and hesitating modesty of childhood:—from such a character, instead of daring to derogate, I can conceive of no inferior tribute to be paid to it than that of the deepest veneration and love. But the speculative conclusions of even such a man should be adopted by any legislature with the utmost caution; for he deals with materials of a much more mysterious and complicate and evanescent character than those which are the subjects of the purer sciences; where the obstacles can, with comparative ease, be *a priori* detected. Yet even in mechanics, one of these latter sciences, we hear as an axiom, at the patent offices, that out of one hundred patents taken out, although fifty are on the average true in principle, so little do the most ingenious men foresee the difficulties in their way, only ten out of the hundred turn out true in practice. What a lesson to speculative political philosophers of the present day! Since they cannot forget that, as regards the practical concerns of any great nation, we have as yet no experience of free trade; so that their views of it, in application to this country, must be purely hypothetical.

The philosophy, so called, which, as it appears to me, deserves to be suspected, and which is not a genuine but a false philosophy, is one which, on too limited experience, too hastily assumes conclusions, and too hastily, if unopposed, would proceed to carry them into operation. This has been the fault of, and the cause of the suspicion attached to the dogmas of the economical school of this age, from which, as has been said, has emanated the change which did take place, with such dreadful results, of the monetary system, and which is proposed to take place in the system of protection by a repeal of the Corn-laws. And surely it is a wise provision that the great mass of the

people should view with a sceptical mind any novelties which have not the test of experience to support them. In return they are branded indeed, by the advocates of such novelties, as governed by prejudice or self-interest. The feeling of self-interest, although, when exercised within proper limits, designed apparently as one never-failing means of individual protection, is, indeed, too apt to warp the better judgment of most of us. But the term prejudice is often too indiscriminately applied, and after all is of rather an uncertain character; for what is prejudice to-day, was firmness yesterday.

How has prejudice arisen? It is an opinion very generally entertained for a long period of time, which men are unwilling to surrender. It was once a novelty, at first resisted by a previous prejudice, which only gave way to the present prejudice, because the latter, after long and careful sifting—an anxious winnowing of the chaff from the corn, and after long and repeated discussions over the family hearths of an entire country, was accepted by the concurrent conviction of the age. The opinion thus carefully examined (although not in itself absolutely true), is more likely to be suited to the temper, taste, and condition of a people finally adopting it, than any new opinion backed by authority, however commanding, which has not undergone the same process of national elaboration; and, although passing under the name of a prejudice, will continue to be received by the majority until some new doctrine, after having received the same sort of investigation, shall better recommend itself to their suspicious convictions. Under what heavier infliction could a country suffer than to be exposed, without delay, to the operation of every crude sophism that was suggested to it? If Providence had intended each new dogma to be carried into operation as soon as invented, some machinery would have been contrived of a different kind to the slow conviction of the mass of mankind. The very tediousness of the operation of producing a general conviction, is evidence that the great affairs of humanity were to be entrusted to the care of the slow and safe progress of experience, rather than to be blown to and fro by every wind of doctrine; and thus it may be taken as an axiom that the commonest prejudice, has, *primâ facie*, a better chance of being relatively true than the most specious novelty, until the latter has undergone the anxious examination which the former has done before it has been accepted.

From hence I would not be thought to prejudge the case of those who would repeal the Corn-laws; because it is comparatively a novelty; but rather as intending to shew that what may appear a prejudice in resisting anything new, however attractive to the eye, may have some foundation in nature and reason. And I have been thus tedious on this point, because anxious to prove that, on purely hypothetical grounds, it is dangerous to found alterations in laws which involve extensive interests. In such instances the plain, common, unperverted sense of mankind, acting upon approved experience, is the only safe and satisfactory guide. Nor would I be thought to infer that, because speculative men have committed many mistakes, the proposition for a repeal of the Corn-laws must necessarily be untrue. No! on its own merits it must stand or fall; and on that basis I proceed at once to treat it.

You may tell me that the manufacturers are practical men, and that they should know their own interests. If I concede this point, it is one which to me, as an agriculturist, has frequently been denied, when I have advocated the Corn-law. My answer to you, however, is, that if the manufacturers are practical men, and if it be an undisputed axiom in that influential class, that the Corn-laws are so disastrous to their interests—why don't they all unite in condemning those laws? We learn, on the contrary, from members of the manufacturing body, that in various towns from which petitions proceed against the Corn-laws, half, if not more, of the manufacturing interest of such towns (especially if the capital embarked be taken into the consideration) have refused to sign such petitions. You may reply to this, that it is their Conservative opinions that prevent them signing. I might answer, that Whig opinions may lead others to the opposite course of signing them. But it may appear presumptuous in me to remind you who have so long had a seat in the House of Commons of the notorious fact that when constituents (in times of election so ardent on points of political difference) come to London, to superintend a private bill, their interest in public questions is for the most part swallowed up and absorbed in the private business on which they are come up, whilst to general politics scarcely a reference is made. Surely this is evidence that a large body of the manufacturers would not, on political grounds, forego the expression of an opinion that was so favourable to their private

interests, as some represent a repeal of the Corn-laws as certain to prove.

The benefit to accrue from a repeal of the Corn-laws, is therefore, amongst the manufacturing body itself, a disputed point; and that it is so we must be convinced, at least until Lancashire sends to Parliament four opponents of the Corn-laws, instead of four supporters of it; until the West Ridingsends two opponents instead of two supporters; and until the borough of Leeds (with as upright and powerful a provincial journal as any in the kingdom, to support their cause) sends two opponents of the Corn-law, instead of one opponent and one supporter of it. What the result may be at another election—when the Anti-Corn-law party, unwilling to trust their case to the verdict of the old constituencies, numerous though they be, have established a number of new voters virtually pledged to their views—it would be difficult to say. Those who would swamp the peerage, may object as little to swamp the constituencies to gain a point. Be that as it may, 2,000 of these votes of the Anti-corn-law party are said to have been already purchased in the West Riding of Yorkshire. And I, for my part, cannot see what there is in the law to prevent them. I am not objecting to the purchase of small freeholds to give votes, but rather intending to shew the distrust the Anti-corn-law party evince of constituencies not of their own creation.

Then, if we turn to the members for London, we find three supporters of the Corn-laws, and one distinguished opponent of them—yourself; but only by a very narrow majority returned. Turn, then, to Liverpool: two supporters of the Corn-laws not only represent it, but I have heard from both of them very able speeches in their defence. The manufacturing body being divided upon the question, and the two greatest emporiums of commerce (arguing from their representation) being in its favour, and from the nature of their transactions more likely to be competent judges upon the subject than manufacturing towns, it cannot be said that, among practical men, *i. e.* men practically affected in their business by the operation of the Corn-laws, that there is an undisputed opinion in favour of their repeal. If, indeed, we may infer anything from the calculated effect of even a 15s. duty on corn, it would be surprising to find this uniformity of opinion; for it would amount only to 1-132d part, or  $\frac{1}{132}$  of 1 per cent.—*i. e.* the buyer would have to distinguish between goods

worth £132 and £133—supposing the produce of a man's hands, with £50 per annum, to be worth £100. To a gentleman, however, of great authority on such questions, I put, a few years ago, this question, of what the effect of a 15s. duty on wheat would be on the sale of manufactures? His reply was, that it could not affect the price of the commonest goods—say such as are worth about double the price of the most ordinary unbleached calicoes—more than  $\frac{1}{4}$  of 1 per cent. To which he added, “one half at least of the cotton manufacturers of Lancashire and Yorkshire have voluntarily imposed on themselves a tax of equal amount, by opening accounts with joint-stock banks; they never having such before 1826.”

If the Corn-laws do not affect the price of manufactured goods more than from  $\frac{1}{4}$  to 1 per cent., or if our manufacturing competition with foreigners is run so close as to leave us a superiority of barely 1 per cent., it surely would be a gratuitous prodigality to run the risk of ruining the great landed interest of this country—a source of wealth and employment, of which no foreign jealousy could forcibly deprive us—on the remote chance of maintaining so doubtful a struggle.

It will be replied to this, that our own restrictive policy, especially in the shape of Corn-laws, has produced this foreign jealousy, and that they are the cause of our manufacturing difficulties. In answer to this latter objection, I have before shewn that it was under a protective system that our infant manufactures were allowed to grow up, and under which they were preserved from the destructive effects of a competition which, had they not been thus protected, would in all probability have nipped them in their bud. I answer, also, that it has been under the system of the Corn-laws that our manufactures have advanced with such rapid strides to their present degree of eminence. In 1662-3, just before the modern Corn-laws were enacted, the official value of our exports was £2,022,812; in 1834 (the last year I can at this moment refer to) the official value of our exports was £79,823,093; they are now probably more than £100,000,000 in official value. Does this amazing increase point to great evils in the system under which it has taken place? Many of those who are loudest in their demand for a repeal of the Corn-laws have, in one life-time, sprung from comparative indigence to riches and power, and some even to seats in the Legislature, of which their intelligence and energy make them most effi-

cient and worthy members. Do these facts, however, look like the Corn-laws obstructing the progress of the country's wealth, or the rise of honest intelligence to its proper station?

Then, with respect to the charge that the Corn-laws have excited foreign jealousy. The Zollverein is stated to be the fruitful offspring of British restriction on the importation of German corn. In reply to this assertion, one of the principal merchants of Frankfort communicated to me the information as a fact, with which he was well acquainted, that the German Custom-duties Union had its origin in purely political and social causes. This view is certainly supported by the extraordinary circumstance, that when Sir Robert Peel, in 1843, relaxed, by his new tariff, the duties on a vast number of articles of commerce, and had, the year before, also diminished the duties on corn—the significant reply he received, from so many different foreign countries, was six retaliating tariffs, increasing the duties on articles of British production. This bears with it no appearance of those countries anxiously awaiting the diminution of the duties of the British Custom-house, in order at once to allow increased facilities to British manufactures entering their dominions. Is it not far more reasonable to suppose that, viewing, perhaps with envy, the mighty struggles made by England in the cause of European freedom, proceeding as they did from her combined agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing resources, they turned to the page in her history which should discover to them the origin of so much power concentrated on so small a surface, and that they found that it had grown up under a system of protection to industry? And having learnt the lesson, is it surprising that they should have acted upon it?

But it is further urged, that if we will only consent to import foreign corn, since it will not be given to us for nothing, our manufactures must be sent out in exchange. This is true: but what is the course and the manner of this exchange? The countries from which we could derive the largest supply of corn don't want, and won't take our manufactures. They are cherishing their own manufactures, and they demand gold for their corn. But the gold must be bought with something! Yes, it is bought with manufactures. But what is the course and the consequence of this purchase? We already send as many manufactures to those countries that will receive our manufactures as they wish to take; but in order to buy gold to pay

those countries for corn which won't take our manufactures, we must send more manufactures, to buy gold, to those countries that are already supplied with our manufactures. In other words, we must, in order to obtain gold to pay for foreign corn, so deluge markets already full of our manufactures, with a repeated dose of them, that we should so depreciate the value of the manufactures exported, as that the additional quantity thus exported would, on the whole, produce no greater return than the first quantity sent out, in answer to the legitimate demands of trade. I leave entirely out of the question, for want of space, the effects upon our monetary system of this hide and seek after gold, although that evil alone, experience has taught us, is of itself grievous enough to bear.

After all, the most specious and plausible pretext for a free importation of corn (its liberality is another question) was the late lamented Lord Spencer's; and, if true, would certainly be the cause of little or no national pecuniary loss, but the contrary. Allow foreign corn, said he, to be introduced, and it will so raise the price abroad that, while the injury to our home growers will be as nothing, the rise in the price abroad will necessarily so raise the price of foreign wages, as to make it impossible for their manufacturers to compete with ours. Granting for a moment the possibility of such a speculative result, does any man in his senses, at this day, believe, whatever our Legislature might do with the Corn-laws—whether they repealed them, or whether they retained them—that one single foreign country, would allow its rising manufactures to be destroyed by British competition? No! The spendthrift principle which some of our manufacturers have adopted ever since the war, of exporting yarn instead of goods, has already decided this question. The exports of cotton yarn, which in 1818 amounted to 14,743,675lbs, in 1838 amounted to 115,000,000lbs! We have given foreign countries by these means, unwilling to lose a short-lived gain, every facility to undertake the weaving of their own fabrics, and now complain of their having become such apt scholars! If, indeed, such an universal monopoly of our manufactures could be established, and that permanently without injury to our agriculture, it might be a consummation devoutly to be wished. But is any one sanguine enough to believe in its realization? Already, in 1827, in the United States at the Convention of Harrisburg, complaint was made of a disposition on the part of "liberal England" to smother their rising manufactures. Look at almost every country

of Europe ! none of them in so artificial or so heavily burdened a state as England, and see corn-laws almost universal. Look at the United States, without a debt ; and observe a corn-law, compared to their average prices of corn, as restrictive, if not more so, than our own. Ask of what two men, now living, that country of republican institutions—where ancient aristocracies and their supposed selfish interests find no place—is justly the most proud ! An American will at once point to the names of Daniel Webster and Henry Clay. Both of them equally, with every President downwards from General Washington to General Jackson, in favour of protection to domestic industry against competition. You have read Mr. Webster's speech the other day on the Oregon and tariff questions ; and you find that he mentions and defends the curious circumstance that, from General Washington's administration to this time, the average of all their duties, reducing specific duties to *ad valorem*, would amount to an average *ad valorem* duty of more than 34 per cent.

These are not the opinions and the practice of what are called benighted farmers and selfish landlords. They are the opinions of the master minds of the Anglo-Saxon race in a new world. Above all, observe the conclusions to which that most eloquent and enlightened writer of America, and that most self-devoted enemy to slavery, himself an advocate of freedom of trade, the late Dr. Channing, at last came ; the extract is worthy of the deepest reflection :—  
 “ I would ask, what is to be the effect of bringing the labouring classes of Europe twice as near as they are now ? Is there no danger of a competition that is to depress the labouring classes here ? Can the workman here stand his ground against the half-famished, ignorant workman of Europe ; who will toil for any wages, and who never thinks of redeeming an hour for personal improvement ? Is there no danger, that with increasing intercourse with Europe, we shall import the striking, fearful contrasts, which there divide one people into separate nations ? Sooner than that our labouring class should become an European populace, a good man would almost wish that perpetual hurricanes, driving every ship from the ocean, should sever wholly the two hemispheres from each other. Heaven preserve us from the anticipated benefits of nearer connection with Europe, if with these must come the degradation, which we see or read of among the squalid poor of her great cities, among the over-worked operatives of her manufactories, among her ignorant and half-brutalised



peasants. Anything, everything, should be done to save us from the social evils which deform the old world, and to build up here an intelligent, right-minded, self-respecting population. If this end should require us to change our present modes of life, to narrow our foreign connections, to desist from the race of commercial and manufacturing competition with Europe—if it should require that our great cities should cease to grow, and that a large portion of our trading population should return to labour, these requisitions ought to be obeyed."

And yet our English people would be exposed to risks like these from a repeal of the Corn laws! But notwithstanding the pathetic appeals founded on the assertion that these laws starve the people, and that their repeal would fill them with an unstinted plenty of food—their common sense, a quality in which they are behind no class or station—convinces them of the fallacy of expecting a fall in the price of food contemporaneously with the maintenance of their present rate of wages. They know that as corn fell their wages would fall; and they shrewdly suspect that the chief object of those masters who wish for free trade, and for a reduction of the price of corn in this country, is, at the same time, to reduce their wages to a level with the wages of the continent. They have, in fact, advanced beyond the logic of that school which would teach them that cheapness must be an unqualified good; for they have found that what is absolutely cheap may, sometimes, be relatively dear. Although wheat may be from 15s. to 30s. a quarter in Russia, Prussia, and Poland, they have not failed to ask the question—"What blessings attend this cheapness of wheat?" They have found that wages are so low, that rye, and not wheaten bread is eaten by the working classes of those countries: and, with regard to wages, Mr. Gregg, of Manchester, one of the most intelligent of the manufacturers, and an advocate of free trade, is reported to have told them, in a comparison which (in the year 1839) he made between British and continental wages.

Operatives are paid in—

France.....	5s. 8d.	per week of 72 hours.		
Switzerland.....	4s. 5d.	....	82	..
Austria.....	4s. 0d.	....	76	..
Tyrol.....	3s. 9d.	....	88	..
Saxony.....	3s. 6d.	....	72	..
Bonn on the Rhine.	2s. 6d.	....	84	..

The average wages being a fraction under 4s. per week; the average wages paid to hands similarly employed in England, but for fewer hours, being 12s. a week.

The working classes, therefore, have too vividly before their eyes the consequences of being reduced to a level with the continent, to look forward to a repeal of the Corn-laws as the anchor of their hopes; especially when they find, after minute examination, that supposing even the price of the quartern loaf to be 10d., the landlords' share of it, from a 15s. a quarter corn-law, will not amount to more than a farthing and 1-16th.

We have now seen that the most enlightened of the advocates of a repeal of the Corn-laws found their anticipations of its advantageous result on the faith of its establishing the universal monopoly of British manufactures. This monopoly our manufacturers enjoyed for many years, almost uninterrupted by foreign rivalry. They still enjoy this monopoly, as far as they are permitted to extend it. Under this monopoly it is, and coterminously with the existence of the Corn-laws, that their amazing riches have been amassed! Would they, at every risk to the rest of our home industry, and at every cost, attempt to compel foreign countries to permit them to preserve this their giant monopoly? Vain and futile expectation! All authority, and the commonest experience, alike forbid the possibility of its consummation. Montesquieu, indeed, informs us that a monopoly of this kind may, for a short time, be possessed by any one country, but that, after a time, being set on an eminence—the object of the general gaze—other countries, from interest or envy, soon follow closely in its steps, and finally overtake it. These are the observations of profound wisdom; and instances of their truth are patent to the eye of the most superficial reader. Whence the greatness of Tyre, Sidon, and Carthage? Monopoly! Whence that of Ancona, Venice, Genoa, or Amalfi! Monopoly! short-lived indeed; and each, in turn, to give way to a monopoly of greater power; but all, from a state of splendour and greatness, to sink to insignificance and contempt; unless, like Tuscany, Holland, Flanders, and England, its great accumulation of wealth was secured to it by its solid investment in land:—the only lasting basis of national greatness.

To hasten to my conclusion, then—Why would I maintain a system of Corn-laws? Among other reasons I answer—that by them, I believe, with the help of occasional foreign importation, the whole people are more uniformly

supplied with good food than they would be by the freest trade; that by them neither the manufacturing operatives or any other workmen, are injured; because their wages would be lowered with a fall in the price of corn; that if the Corn-laws were repealed, the labourers thrown out of employment in agriculture, would, by competition with the operatives, drive down still lower the rate of their wages; that our manufacturing greatness grew up under the Corn-laws; and that the repeal of them would establish the lasting monopoly of the British manufacturer over the whole world, is an utterly fallacious expectation; whilst this attempt to establish such a monopoly would not only meet with a signal repulse from foreign powers, but would be made at the imminent risk of the agricultural and the remaining interests of this country, which are not manufacturing. I fear the result, in one generation, of a second great prostration of industry, from a fall in prices; that might be followed by a revolution, which, even in England, might not again prove a peaceful one. It is for that great remainder of my countrymen, which is not manufacturing, that my principal alarm is entertained. The country towns with their retail trade; the country villages with their artizans; the farms with their labourers, form the great majority of the people of this country. The number of those, more or less interested in the growth of British corn, cannot be estimated at less than three-fourths of the entire population. The manufactures of cotton, woollen, linen, and hardwares, do not constitute the greatest trades of this great country. **THE TRADE OF GROWING CORN IS ITS GREATEST TRADE.** The capital, in this great trade of growing corn, of the tenants alone, is estimated at more than that engaged in the four manufactures put together to which I have just referred. When we add to this not less perhaps than fifteen hundred millions sterling, embarked in the land by its owners, and all the capital invested in the retail trade of the agricultural towns dependent on the well being of the British cultivator, we may see at a glance the terrible consequence that might ensue from even the smallest mistake in dealing with such mighty interests. We might anticipate the consequences more clearly perhaps, if, instead of the 15,000,000 of people connected with the land, we were to place before our eyes, in idea, the possibility of 15,000,000 being engaged in the cotton manufacture (although half a dozen worlds could scarcely employ so many), and their being suddenly exposed to a competition with foreigners to whom

they were inferior in the art of producing cotton, or through the pressure of taxes and liabilities, might be considered as practically, although not absolutely inferior; imagine for a moment the contingency of these 15,000,000 cotton manufacturers, through an opening of the ports, being suddenly deprived of employment, or reduced to half employment, or to a quarter, and to a quarter profits of their trade? Would any man—even a modern economist, bemused with abstract theories—have the complacency, or rather the gladiatorial daring, to persist in his beloved system (however true, according to first principles), in the face of a contingency like this? It is from so dread a contingency that, through the medium of the ancient system of protection, and of the Corn-laws, I seek to protect the greatest trade of the country—that which produces its main supply of food; and by the same means, to secure the great majority of the people, which that great trade of growing corn maintains, in a state of permanent employment and comfort. And he is a bold minister who, on the rocks of theory or clamour, will venture to run the risk of allowing such mighty interests to split.

And yet, since this letter was commenced, the rumour has become stronger and stronger that this violent risk is to be undergone. What! by the government of Sir Robert Peel! Impossible! when we call to mind the circumstances under which he expelled you from power, and himself assumed the reins of government! Is it because you threatened a comparatively moderate blow at the system of protection, and to him, in consequence (who then upheld that system), you were compelled to forfeit the seals of office, that he can venture now to propose to Parliament, *as minister*, the entire abolition of that protection? Impossible! again, and again, impossible!—unless even the small vestige of faith in public men, to which the people still fearfully cling with indeed almost incredulous hope, is at once, and for ever, to disappear from the earth. Sir Robert Peel, when he proposed the present Corn-law, must have foreseen that scarcity might ensue; the very virtue of his graduated scale was to consist in meeting the necessities of either turn of fortune—a large or a deficient supply. He may have seen reason to doubt, as some of the supporters of the Corn-law have done, the policy of those jumps in his scale, which lead to too much speculation on the part of the merchant. He may think, as I am inclined to do, that a uniform graduation of the scale of 1s. from 50s. to 65s. (which would leave the duty 10s. at

60s., and 5s. at 65s. a quarter—descending no lower than the latter duty), might better answer the wants both of the consumer and the grower than the present scale. But, from a jumping scale, to leap at once to the entire demolition of a system of protection, of 400 years standing, is a bound of such stretch and elasticity as to be worthy rather of the arena of the gymnasium, than of the school of prudent and sagacious statesmen. This busy and ill-favoured rumour I will not therefore believe, because I cannot believe it. Neither in ancient history nor in modern experience can I discover any example of a transition of such an extent, under such circumstances; therefore, I repeat, it is a belief that I can neither compass nor imagine.

The minister might, indeed, have seen cause to doubt, in his own mind, the expediency of a Corn-law. He might, as an individual, abstain from voting; or as an individual, he might even publicly recant his opinion, and vote with you for a repeal of the Corn-laws. But to use his influence *as minister*, to repeal laws which he was constituted minister purposely to uphold, is, to my mind, an irreconcilable impossibility. If the Corn-laws were repealed by any government, they must be repealed by one of which you are the first, or a principal member. But I could not envy even you the office of uprooting this sturdy oak of centuries of British growth—of loosening from its sacred fastenings this anchor of a people's established trust—a trust so deeply fixed that, as I think, all the energetic and almost unopposed efforts of a most active and not very scrupulous party, have been unable seriously to shake it. The middle classes of the borough and market towns may have their leaning to this Corn-law or that; but, as a body, they are not, I am bold to say, in favour of that unrestricted freedom of competition with foreign countries which a repeal of the Corn-laws, as its first consequence, necessarily involves. And I add to this assertion another equally strong—that had there been, or were there now, a minister, whose language in upholding these laws was evidently based on conviction—a minister who showed a determination, so long as the representatives of the people supported him, to support the old system of protection—the Corn-laws would still run on for many a long year, for the security and welfare of the people.

We will suppose, however, for one moment, your return to power; a day, indeed, which I should rejoice to see, but one to which, all things considered, I should look forward as encanopied by no unclouded sky. You would, if not

prevented by a strong mercantile and agricultural opposition, proceed to repeal the Corn-laws. I am not sure you would have the power. But, granting you had, you must, as certainly as the present minister cannot repeal the Corn-laws, forthwith repeal the income-tax also. In addition to this, what import duties could you then maintain? How many would the mercantile and agricultural opposition arrayed against you allow you to maintain? Literally none! Where would be your revenue? Where would be your means to uphold the public credit? Whence could arise your power to continue the payment of the National Debt? These are reflections which will, of course, have occurred to you. Your fertility in resource may enable you to overcome difficulties of this kind. My infirm nerves, I confess, would shrink from the encounter. You would at least possess my best wishes, should you be put to the trial. It may be presumptuous in me, however, even to doubt your ability to ride upon such a storm; for, as I said at first, my speculations or my fears can lay no claim to infallibility.

But, come what may, we are in all-wise and all-merciful hands, which surround and sustain us; and I will not despair! And should my dismal fore-bodings prove to have no foundation in the result—should the measure you advocate prove, as you expect, a comfort and relief to my countrymen—at any sacrifice to private interests of my own, if they will be at all affected by the change in question—nay, even if a still heavier sacrifice were demanded of me on the altar of the public good, I trust I could gratefully welcome the hour of increased happiness, from whatever source, to a country I love; and humbly invoke the blessing of Heaven on the man who was the instrument of so transcendent a boon. For, that “the welfare of the people is the supreme law,” I can scarcely be ignorant, when I am favoured with the friendship of one whose patriotism is of that high order, that his private virtues, without any change in their character, have but to expand with the occasion into enlarged public affections. That honoured individual, I need scarcely add, is no other than yourself.

With many apologies for this too long intrusion, and with every sentiment of respect, believe me to remain, dear Lord John, ever truly yours,

E. S. CAYLEY.

*Wydale, Dec. 6, 1845.*

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6

A LETTER

TO THE

RECONSTRUCTED CABINET,

ON THE

DANGERS OF A COURSE

OF

POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY.

BY ANDREW CLARKE, ESQ.,  
JUSTICE OF THE PEACE FOR PERTSHIRE.

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"It is good not to try experiments in States, except the *necessity* be *urgent*, or the *utility* be *evident*: and well to beware that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, *and not the desire of change*, that *pretendeth* the reformation."

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TO THE  
RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF CHARLEVILLE.

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MY DEAR LORD CHARLEVILLE,

As one of our Nobility, who in the stanch defence of Constitutional and Protestant truth, in your place in Parliament, has acquired the hostility of the great Repeal Leader of Ireland, I have peculiar pleasure in affixing to this pamphlet the present Dedication, under a firm persuasion, that whatever Government is in office, the timid expedients, culled from no sound political creed, alternately resorted to by Whig and Conservative Cabinets, to buy off disaffection, and satisfy agitators in both countries, must always be regarded by your Lordship, as involving moral cowardice, and leading to national ruin.

I am,

MY DEAR LORD CHARLEVILLE,

Yours very faithfully,

ANDREW CLARKE.

CONSERVATIVE CLUB, ST. JAMES'S,  
*Jan. 1st, 1846.*



# A LETTER,

ETC.

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ON the *re*-construction of the Peel Government, there can be no question more appropriate, no subject more interesting, than an analysis of the basis of political principle, which will amply repay research by disclosing, in all its amplitude, the dangers which beset a State when rolling down the *inclined plane of expediency*. It will be part of my task to shew that the calculations of this false principle must necessarily be fallacious. The proof of this averment is not more clearly demonstrated by logical inference than by the history of our country. A conjoint appeal to argument and to facts, may tend to elucidate a subject which possesses the most vital interest to every lover of his country, and is replete with instruction to the statesman and the politician. The exercise of public duty in these realms, on the part of men at the helm of national affairs, ought mainly to be directed to the preservation of the Constitution of King, Lords, and Commons, and to the maintenance of the Protestant religion as the Established Faith, in connexion with the State. Whatever theories militate against the security of the bul-

warks of Church and State, by either tending directly to invade, or treacherously to sap, the pillars of a limited monarchy and an Established Church, or to separate the intimate union whereby the machinery for the efficiency of a temporal State, is harmoniously blended with the scaffolding of a spiritual ritual, insinuating in secular matters, the spirit of lofty benignity and saintly purity that is from above, "that cometh down from the Father of Lights, with whom is neither variableness nor shadow of turning," may be arraigned as the plausible deluder, come he in a garb never so fascinating, the element of *expediency*, ascending from beneath, and grappling in our fallen world, as Samson in the temple of the Philistines, the support of that goodly edifice that is reared for the protection, and the well-being of man. What is in accordance with right involves the sacred principle of justice, in which the heaven-born element of truth is enshrined. Such guides to duty can never mislead. True political wisdom consists in diverging neither to the right nor to the left ; but in governing under God the affairs of the nation, legislating on straightforward principles, rousing a moral sympathy in all ranks, which the abettors of evil dare not face, working under the smile of that invisible but omnipotent Being, who governs the universe on the same unchangeable laws ; who, while He watches the fall of a sparrow, cannot be indifferent to the movements of a State, governed by the rules which in revelation have been expressly prescribed for

the guidance of mankind in every situation of life. Not only is the polar star of truth the statesman's sure director through the intricacies of perplexing negotiations, but the calculations of *expediency*, while they denude the politician, if not of entire originality of intellect, yet bring the mind unduly into vassalage to passing events, and effectually shut out sound principle as the talisman of the nation's fortunes. A moment's reflection will make this proposition clear. Human forethought cannot reach into futurity. No man can tell what shall be in regard to a thousand contingencies which the Statesman, who bases his course on *expediency*, must take into account. As finite creatures, infinity is beyond the span of created intelligence. Our appreciation of *contingent* good is, therefore, frequently *false*. Could a Minister of the Crown behold the nation to which the energies of his mind are devoted, ten, twenty, and thirty years, subsequent to the epoch at which he is legislating for the public weal, on the principles of *fallacious expediency*, how many measures would be cast aside, how many projects would be abandoned—and is it not even probable that relinquishing the seals of office, he would resign into the hands of the Sovereign a task beyond his strength? Not so the public servant who, duly cognizant of the safeguards of the Church and State, perceives duty through the telescope of truth, and moves on undaunted by obstacles, contemning *temporary consequences*, knowing that *eventually* triumph

for his principles, if not for himself, is irrevocably secured. The fame of a statesman who saves his country from demoralization, whether the prevalence of evil enable him in the outset to succeed or not, can never perish from the history of the world, but will be preserved among the memorabilia of the just of all ages, as commemorative of a patriot who in a dark era upheld the moral courage of the nation, by maintaining that no necessity can warrant a concession of public principle, inasmuch as no position could be imagined in which to adopt a course that is *secularly* or *ecclesiastically* hurtful by way of *compromise*, can do anything but *gain time* on the one hand, and *lose strength* on the other. If necessity demand an inch to-day, concede that point, and two inches will be extorted to-morrow, and so on till the whole ground-work of which the Crown appoints her advisers guardians, is given up. Resistance, if deferred, is uniformly more difficult. No surer method to inflate the confidence, and to stimulate the ambition, of the enemies of the constitution could be devised, than a *voluntary* surrender of an out-post of the citadel's defences. It tends directly to annihilate the moral confidence of our forces in the integrity and omnipotence of truth ; and to carry *discouragement* to the hearts of men, whom no danger could appal. While the desertion of a single grand principle on the ground of pretended *necessity*, must excite the universal persuasion, that if the tempest of the political horizon do but lour

with frightful portend of coming desolation, and physical movements of the masses are ostentatiously paraded, arrayed by the promoters of sedition against the hearths of their father-land, that the voluntary principle will succeed in overturning the Church Establishment, democracy become triumphant in crushing the House of Peers, and republicanism drag from the throne of our ancient princes, the anointed Sovereign of Britain. Such are the deductions to which reasoning brings us in regard to the issues of a course of *political expediency*. We shall now look more closely into the argument, by investigating how far our premises are borne out by historical and cotemporaneous facts, proving that a course of political expediency is highly dangerous.

*First*—TO THE STATE.

*Second*—TO THE CHURCH.

*Thirdly*—TO THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

Although in tracing the effects on the Protestant Establishment of the principles of expediency by British statesmen, we shall have occasion to refer in terms of reprehension to a former epoch in our history, in the discussion of the injury sustained by the State, it will not be necessary to recur with condemnatory strictures to a period anterior to the times in which we ourselves have been actors. On the contrary, far from the generation that preceded us having perilled by its legislation our ancient monarchy, the reign of George III., and



the Regency of George IV., under the statesmanship of Pitt, Castlereagh, and Liverpool, present the grandest tissue of illustrious diplomacy to withstand European aggression, and revolutionary principles, that the records of the universe afford, for the instruction and encouragement of posterity. For whether the mind reverts to the period when infidelity and republicanism were triumphant in France, when the guillotine slaughtered its myriads, and august royalty was brought to the scaffold; or when the mild Louis was succeeded by the crafty Napoleon, and the iron rod of the Emperor drained every family in France of its prop, in order to overthrow sceptres, and crush the influence of Britain, *then* potent throughout the world; when the name of Wellesley burst forth in the Peninsula the unconquered guardian of the tottering thrones of Spain and Portugal, evincing that although Pitt was no more, a disciple of that great statesman was at the helm of the little Isle, and that the principles of Pitt still ruled the destinies of Britain. I say, whether we fix on the era when the Tory party refused to make peace with the revolutionary republic, and an infidel power, with the blood of the Bourbon, and thousands of murdered citizens foully staining its annals (which Fox and Grey on the *theory of expediency* essayed to accomplish), or adduce the later stand for the protection of our allies, and thereby for our deliverance from ultimate ruin as a commercial and free people, trading to all lands, and living under our native princes, when

the universal dominion aimed at by the infatuated Corsican was resisted in the glorious Peninsula war, and victory was consummated at Thoulouse and Waterloo, we assert that the noblest struggle for principle that the world ever beheld was maintained by successive Tory Administrations, exhibiting the power of truth to be omnipotent, and that in the battle field the Conqueror of Austerlitz, Jena, and Wagram, had to contend with the champion of justice, legitimacy, and truth, the hero of the Britannic isle, our immortal Wellington, a greater than Napoleon Buonaparte. It was on the re-assembling of Parliament in December, 1794, that the genius of Pitt arose majestically over the philanthropy of Wilberforce, whose mind failed in capacity to grasp the indispensable downfall of the tyrant, and the restoration of the French monarchy, to the very existence of England. Canning, on seconding the Address to the Throne, contended that monarchy was essential to the peace of every country in Europe, and that a republican government in France was incompatible with the safety of our institutions. Deeply did the defection of Wilberforce wound the noble mind of Pitt, but the foreign policy of Government remained unchanged, and great majorities voted in support of the war. The manly and eloquent declaration of the Premier was worthy of the son of the great Chatham. "He rose early in the debate, and addressed himself earnestly and pathetically to the new Opposition. 'The reasons,' he observed, 'that

have induced gentlemen to dissent from the prosecution of the war seem to have possessed a considerable influence on the manner in which they speak of its justice, and necessity at the commencement ; and their language is fainter and feebler than I had reason to expect. Contending, as these gentlemen and I did, with the new and monstrous system of cruelty, anarchy, and impiety, against those whose principles trampled on civilized society, religion, and law ;—contending, I say, with such a system, I could not have entertained the slightest expectation that from them would have proceeded such an amendment. It has pleased an inscrutable Providence that this power of France should trample over every thing that has been opposed to it ; but let us not therefore fall without making any efforts to resist it ; let us not shrink without measuring its strength.’” Principle triumphed, the hand of the Almighty was with England, the Premier perished, but perseverance in the maintenance of Tory principles saved the nation.

The first grand inroad on the British Constitution was, however, perpetrated by *Whig* statesmen, and is coeval with our own times. The very necessity for conservative and protection societies is manifestly caused by some danger from *within* the springs of the constituent body, which has forced an unnatural alliance in hostility to a portion of our countrymen. It was partial blindness to the extent of the injury which the introduction of this principle into its full operation on our institutions

had produced, that induced Lord Stanley to refuse his co-operation to the establishment of the Lancashire Conservative Association, under the auspices of Sir Thomas Hesketh. The noble heir of the ancient house of Derby had not even at that period grasped the frightful position of the country, or the Noble Lord could not have failed to perceive that however calculated such Associations may be to call forth corresponding exertions on the other side, and thus to sow the seed of domestic strife, that the time had come when *truth* must be supported, and that every Englishman owed it to his country, his property, his offspring, and his faith, manfully to take his stand in defence of the throne of his monarch, and the glory of his God. If for our guidance we look back on the historic page, the salvation of states was accomplished by powerful exertions; and if we turn to the pages of eternal truth, the chart by which the future can alone be penetrated, we find the promise that truth shall prevail, and error, superstition, and Infidelity, be eventually subjugated. I need not point out to my fellow-countrymen, who are prepared to throw their shield over the remaining bulwarks of the British Constitution, that the grand organic change of 1831 has opened the flood gates of innovation, which gifted minds have long endeavoured to close, with the tacit admission that in these unhappy changes the grand lineaments of the Constitution have been departed from, and that the democratic portion of our nicely-balanced Constitution has been unduly

strengthened, inconsistent with the safety of a limited monarchy, a hereditary peerage, and the constitution of a Lower House, little calculated to elicit the respect and confidence of the intelligent portion of the community, to effect the efficient dispatch of public business, or to impress the civilized world with any high conceptions of the worth, judgment, or patriotism of the British Senate. It will not be denied that the Reform Bill was a sop to Cerberus, thrown out with the view of quieting, on the principle of political *expediency* the movement party, pressing for indefinite changes in a Constitution, which had performed deeds of glorious achievement that had rendered the British name at once the terror and the confidence of the civilized world, the intrepid asserter of right, and the unflinching denouncer of wrong. Its concocters had, it is true, solely in view the establishment of the power of a party. Lord John Russell, as an author, had lauded as excellencies, anomalies in the Constitution, which, as a framer of the Reform Bill, he not only denounced, but proceeded to supply remedial changes for what he had in print extolled as contributing to form that wondrous compound, the marvel of the world, our ancient and venerable Constitution. That measure is now the law of the land ; but it is not the less the source of Democratic strength for propelling those *further* changes for which the Grey Reform measure was accepted as a compromise, between the abettors of *expediency*, and the ruthless advocates of Republican institu-

tions. The danger of the introduction of this principle into State legislation is this,—that by agitating the public mind, enlisting popular opinion, and exciting the passions of the multitude, any measure, however evil, must be carried, and no stand, however necessary, can be made. The wretched government of the United States is constituted on this basis; and accordingly we have seen, in a time of peace, bands of armed men carrying the horrors of war into an adjacent state, at peace with the Washington Government, yet remaining unpunished by an executive, that dare not act in consistency with international law, justice, and honour, because cupidity and ambition suggest treachery and connivance as favourable to the interests of America. Agitation, since 1831, has therefore become systematic on the part of political adventurers in politics, and the Catiline band has continued to press on the Legislature Reform in the House of Lords, Church Treason, (the appropriation of an *imaginary* surplus to non-ecclesiastical purposes, and the creation of a surplus by shutting up 800 churches in Ireland, withdrawing the Protestant clergyman wherever fifty Protestants were not found in any locality, in deadly hostility to, and in utter defiance of, the *aggressive* principle “of the faith once delivered to the saints,”) *Repeal of the Corn Laws*, an Infidel Education Scheme, Vote by Ballot, Repeal of the Septennial Act and Primogeniture Laws, with the anarchical climax of Universal Suffrage! The argu-

ments used by the Tory Lords and Commons in Parliament against the passing of the Reform Act cannot have been forgotten. In a number of the "Dublin University," some years ago, there was an exceedingly just and succinct analysis of the grounds on which the great Duke opposed that ill-judged measure. An extract will recall the debates of the crisis.

"Upon this subject we are very desirous that there should be 'no mistake.' The Duke looked at the constitution of England, with reference to its power of working the machine of government for the good of the people. He judged of it as it was exhibited by history, and as it appeared, in comparison with any other existing system;—and it seemed to him, if not the best, very nearly the best that could be devised, for all those purposes which good government is intended to answer, in a country like this—viz.: the security of life and property, and the preservation of liberty and order. There were others who looked at the subject in a different point of view, and with whom, that the people should have a share in the work of government, was paramount to the consideration that they should be well governed. The propositions contended for on both sides may be represented thus:—The Duke said, Let us have good government, and the tradesmen of Birmingham and Manchester will have no reason to complain. His opponents said, Give the people of Birmingham and Manchester representatives, and you will have good government. This the Duke

dissented from. He would have been quite willing to give the large towns any number of representatives which the real interest of the country might seem to require. Let a defect in the working of the system be specified, the removal of which would be accomplished by increasing the number of representatives; and, as far as he was concerned, they would be conceded. But he would not make such a concession, merely to make the Constitution square with a certain theory which had never before been realized: and he preferred abiding by that ancient and settled state of things, which had been found so compatible with the weal and the glory of England, to hazarding those untried changes, of which nothing could with certainty be predicted but their danger.

“In a word the Duke would compass the good of every separate portion of the empire, by providing for the good of the whole: the Reformers put the safety of the whole in peril, by seeking to confer, upon particular parts, particular advantages.

“The elective franchise is a great security to liberty;—and the Duke would have no objection that such security should be increased, if Constitutional liberty were in any real danger. But if no such danger existed—and if the only danger to be seriously apprehended, was one likely to arise from the very *excess* and *extravagance* of democratic power—to increase that power appeared to him as great an absurdity as it would be to give ardent spirits to a man in a raging fever,



because such a stimulant might have been deemed necessary upon a former occasion, when his disease was of an opposite kind, and when his pulse was very low."

The little opposition I was able to give, as a county magistrate, is scarcely worthy of notice, except in so far as the sentiments I then published are connected with the opinions I still cherish in unabated hostility to the Grey Reform Bill. A sentence or two will explain the data on which these convictions were formed.

"Although I do not entertain all the objections to the Reform Bill which have been pressed on the consideration of the country, I cherish an opinion decidedly hostile to the measure, as far as it regards a LOW and UNIFORM standard of franchise for the boroughs and cities, and in reference to the swamping of county representation. It will prove dangerous to the stability of the constitution, because the increased power of the democracy will throw such an ascendancy into the ranks of the republican party in the Commons' House, that the government of the country will henceforth alternate between a Whig Ministry and a Republican Opposition, and a Republican Ministry and a Whig Opposition. The consequences of such a formation of parties would be a rupture between the two branches of the Legislature; as it cannot be imagined that the Lords' House, composed of the representatives of our historic families, would continue to pass the measures of a body in the State who deem the pre-

sent revolutionary project the morning star of the political horizon—a harbinger of blessings, instead of miseries, to the people of England.

“ But, say the adverse party, how do you demonstrate that a revolutionary majority will be sent to the Lower House by our Bill: will not the landlord retain the influence he possesses over the tenant; and by our measure is not the influence of the landed interest proportionably increased? No reasoning can be more fallacious. The Reform Bill goes directly to transfer landed representation into the hands of petty villagers, the shopkeepers of our towns, the club and pot-house politicians, who will neutralize the voice of those who, uniting property, intelligence, and public spirit, have been most justly regarded as the stay and bulwark of the State. But it is also palpable that the landed interest is by this Bill stript of an effective voice in the return of their Members, on the very argument which the supporters of the measure adduce to establish its innoxious character. The tendency of the Bill is to loosen the obligations subsisting between the landlord and tenant—to destroy, and not to perpetuate, the influence of the superior. It is admitted, that at the early elections succeeding the passing of the Bill, the aristocracy will command the influence they very properly possess over the tenantry; but after the lapse of a few years, in seasons of political excitement, power,—that great corrupter of the uneducated and the simple,—will have done its work; while wily and smooth-

tongued agitators will traverse the plains which our tenantry will occupy, not in the simple contentment, the laborious assiduity, of cultivators of the soil, but installed as political voters of the highest class.

“I object to the Bill, because it fails to make good its first principle, its leading annunciation. It fails to insure representation to each class of the community. It excludes the best informed portion of the kingdom from an effective voice in the return of Members to the Lower House. The gentry are overpowered by the influx of democracy; the return of county Members is lodged in the latter.

“In times when popular encroachments are to be dreaded in Britain, and while the extension of the power of the Monarch and nobility is obviously impracticable, it is a grave matter to perceive an infusion of extreme *Liberalism* made way for in the Commons' House, at the expense of a body, who, representing the property of the country, is likewise free from *speculative* and *revolutionary* opinions, and is regarded as a guarantee by a great portion of the upper classes for the conservation of the Constitution. It is but too obvious that the elements of disunion must necessarily be created, to arise speedily in appalling array between the Lords and Commons; when the effects of the Bill have expelled from the minds of the people the salutary operation of those *sage* and *mixed* principles which have regulated the formation of the constituency of the empire; and when the

popular principle, possessing free scope, has induced that discord between landlord and tenant, that consumption of time, so precious to the lower classes, in idle inflammatory discussions; those *wild* and *chimerical* notions of legislation regarding the introduction of perfection into the constituent body, at the expense of its practical efficiency; that *banding together* to secure the success of men, who, with the versatility inseparable from popular profession, impose on public opinion the most spurious pretensions; when this crisis arrives, as arrive it must, it is a matter of facility to presage the overthrow of the Constitution, an impracticable attempt to demonstrate its safety."

I may recall to the breasts of many, the honest satisfaction that the performance of a great public duty, in times of imminent peril to the nation, never fails to impart, as expressed in the words addressed to me by the late Lord Falmouth, "*that it is no small consolation to us, who from the beginning of these unhappy changes, solemnly predicted their consequences, that we have had no share in contributing to the revolutionizing of our country.*" I leave you to judge how far these prophecies have been verified. Had England imbibed to the same extent as Scotland has done, and had not the Chandos clause been subsequently added, the republican mania, I feel confident that those doleful prognostications would have been *literally* accomplished; but I shall admit that any portion of my alarm was unnecessary,

and any assumed consequence falsified, when I see an Administration in office determined to abandon the theory of *fallacious expediency*, consistently resolute in the maintenance of Protestant principles.

The consideration of the second division of this subject is deeply interesting, shewing that a course of political expediency has proved dangerous to the Church.

There is nothing more chilling to the well regulated and high principled mind than on an introduction to some political character of eminence to find, amid extensive information, first-rate business talents, and accurate acquaintance with diplomacy, the fatal bias of the understanding towards schemes that however seemingly judicious and politic, fraught they may be with *apparent* benefit to our country, and pregnant with ruin to our foes, have yet their foundation on the quicksand of *expediency*. Rhetoric may dazzle, and genius may stamp with the impress of originality the conceptions of gifted intellects ; but where the lamp of revelation has never shed its glorious light, moral truth is inaccessible to the loftiest mind, and the judgment wanting a compass to steady its volitions, *veers* about according to the appearances of the political horizon ; and although obtaining the acclamations of the popular voice for *temporarily* guiding the bark of the Constitution into smooth water, receives the curses of patriotism for *eventually* propelling the good ship on the breakers. There are certain

principles which are uniformly either positively or negatively denied by every statesman who does not practically found his legislation on revealed truth, essentially influencing the management of public affairs. He who imagines the Christian yoke may be snapped asunder to carry a favourite object, or that Protestant principles may be sapped and violated with impunity, knows little of the real *cement* of the constitutional fabric, and perceives not the Omnipotent hand that is guiding all terrestrial movements for the accomplishment of purposes that are gradually disclosed for our encouragement, but which are esteemed by modern statesmen to prescribe a standard of action too strict, uncharitable, and impracticable for the adherence of *practical* politicians. How far these sentiments can be supported by sound reasoning, or enlightened observation I shall now endeavour by an induction of facts to exhibit. Fondly as the immortal memory of Pitt, the pilot who weathered the storm, is cherished as the saviour of the State, his greatest admirers must own that on two cardinal points affecting the Church, that great statesman departed from principle, and by aggrandizing Popery, sowed the seeds of that dismal papistical movement that has now come to maturity. Of the probity and patriotism of William Pitt, the testimony of Wilberforce is beyond cavil. What says that distinguished philanthropist of his great friend? "He is really—I say it solemnly, appealing to Heaven for the truth of my declaration—in my

judgment, one of the most public-spirited and upright, and the most desirous of spending the nation's money economically, and of making sacrifices for the general good, of all the men I ever knew." Revolution, Pitt knew how to meet—the wily diplomacy of Napoleon, he could *unravel*—and every question of fiscal detail and civil administration, to the master-mind of the faithful Minister of George III., was of easy solution. Despising wealth, rank, and even fame, (that *treacherous* syren,) the descendant of the immortal Chatham considered, with Nelson, only what did duty demand to his Sovereign and his country. Ireland, the great *charnel-house* of the reputation of statesmen, witnessed the fall of Pitt. Popery blinded the Minister, whom all the power of Napoleon could not intimidate, nor all the tact of Talleyrand deceive. Those who are conversant with Irish history, from 1786 to 1793, are aware that it was then that the fatal experiment of entrusting the Irish Papists with the elective franchise was unhappily wrung from Mr. Pitt, which laid the basis for the Emancipation Act of 1829, and drew that great Minister for the *first* time to adopt into his legislation the principle of *expediency*. An eminent public character stated to me, that Lord Eldon had said to him, referring to the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act, "They sacrificed the Church to save the State, but they were grievously deceived, because, by giving up the Church they ruined the State; for had the

Papists been excluded from power, the Reform Bill had never been carried." I can authenticate this statement from an unexpected quarter, for O'Connell declared, at the public dinner given to the demagogue in Dublin, at which he insulted the Liberal press, that "*England would never have got Reform, if Ireland had not got Emancipation.*" Here is a practical illustration of the difficulty of looking into the future, and the impossibility of predicting consequences which depend on contingencies in the womb of futurity. But I mention the fact to express my belief that Pitt took the false step of granting the elective franchise to the Irish Papists with precisely the same view which prompted the Duke of Wellington, in 1829, to accede to all their demands. His Grace was no sounder theologian than Pitt, but trusted to the fetters of an oath on the adherents of a Church, that since the Council of Constance has ever boasted "that no faith should be kept with heretics," believed the idle tale that Popery, ever double-faced, had relinquished her hopes of aggrandizement, and her persecuting creed, and would not henceforward seek the overthrow of the Protestant Church. On fallacies, thin-spun as attenuated cobwebs, power was given to the Irish Papists by Pitt to stave off the incipient Reform Bill, which Earl (then Mr.) Grey had introduced into the House of Commons, as well as to allay the civil discussions which prevailed in Ireland. The measure had indeed a *temporary* calming influence,



but it went directly to give fresh impulse in thirty-seven years to a Popery movement which was irresistible, save by the repeal of that Act; and to teach the people of Ireland that insubordination, rapine, and blood, were the *surest* methods to extort boons from the British legislature. The arguments of Mr. Grey at that epoch were similar to those with which the noble Earl produced the humbug of 1831. "Whatever evils" (said Mr. Grey) "did or might threaten the nation, there was no preventative so certain, no safeguard so powerful, as an uncorrupted House of Commons, emanating fairly and freely from the people: to the want of this we owed the American war, and the vast accumulation of national debt: if this had been accomplished last year, it probably would have saved us from our present distresses. No set of Britons, unless bereft of their senses, could, after recent events, propose the French revolution as a model for our imitation: but were such principles even likely to threaten danger, the surest way of preventing it was to promote the comfort and happiness of the people, to gratify their reasonable wishes, and to grant a Parliamentary reform that was so earnestly desired."

But to return to the state of Ireland from 1785 to 1793. Mr. Pitt's attempt to reconcile the commercial interests of the English and Irish nations had been frustrated. The Irish had passed resolutions no longer to import British manufactures; the right boys, or white boys, as they had

previously been called, changing the designation, with O'Connell's legerdemain, formed machinations against tithe. The Irish clergy underwent a violent persecution. The insurrection commenced in the Roman Catholic Chapel at Kerry, and soon extended to Cork, and other districts where illegal oaths were administered, and great excesses committed. These demonstrations, with the state of the Continent, and the wild projects of the Whig party regarding organic changes in the Constitution, encouraged the Papal phalanx, through Grattan, to press forward measures of a popular description, having in view the removal of the fetters that restricted the Papists from the possession of political power. The French Revolution expanded the ambition of the vassals of Rome; and for the first time, at a great Meeting at Belfast, in 1792, Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation were conjoined, vehement Resolutions were passed in their favour, and addresses voted to the French Assembly, and to the Irish nation. Then followed midnight meetings by the Association of United Irishmen, as they were styled, robberies, murders, and every species of crime, encouraged by a Secret Committee for regulating the interests of Irish Catholicism, which had existed in Dublin since 1757. In the counties of Cavan, Monaghan, Limerick, Wexford, Meath, Kerry, and Louth, life and property became totally insecure, every house was turned into a garrison, and the country shunned as an Arabian desert. The boon grasped at was

granted, the penal laws were relaxed, and the Roman Catholics of Ireland were invested with the elective franchise! The *first* step in error always involves a *second*; and Pitt was soon prevailed upon, from *trusting* Popery, to *patronize* Popery. A State endowment for heretical error was the next awful political blunder of the minister. Highly plausible and ensnaringly expedient were the arguments used to induce Mr. Pitt to found the College of Maynooth, for the education of Popish priests. It was argued that the provision of funds from Government towards erecting an edifice in Ireland, for the education of Roman Catholic priests, would preserve the Popish clergy from being brought up in Jesuit colleges abroad, thus securing (it was alleged) their attachment to British connexion. The Hon. Member for Newcastle-under-Lyme, in his celebrated speech at Exeter Hall, on the 11th March, 1836, gives an interesting account of parties in Ireland, and the views of the Pitt Administration in founding that hot-bed of sedition. We there see how *plausible* at every crisis is the language of *expediency*, and how deep the guile of the Roman Church has been throughout the appalling pages of Irish history. For Mr. Colquhoun's admirable pamphlet on the Maynooth Grant, proves that while the Roman Catholic bishops were urging on national grounds the expediency, on the part of Government, of founding the Maynooth College, they were secretly in concert with treasonable societies in Ireland, giving in their adhesion to a

conspiracy to destroy the Protestant Church, to form an alliance with France, to *murder all* the aristocracy, to confiscate all the property both landed and funded of the Protestants, to establish a Republic, supported by a strong military force, to enter into a Republican alliance with the Directory of France, and to prosecute a war with England.

The murder of the aristocracy, has been, for nearly fifty years, a fundamental resolution in the hidden machinations of Irish treason. The epoch having arrived for the perpetration of the massacre of a nobleman, Lord Norbury has fallen, and Lords Charleville and Bloomfield remain on the bloody list of proscription. But to pursue our review. Every acute observer bears testimony to the baneful influence of Maynooth. The injurious effects of this measure in the degradation of the Irish priesthood, and the oppression by them of the miserable people, were probably not foreseen, but they have been incalculable, and they remain still the strongest of all barriers against the improvement of Ireland. Previous to the establishment of Maynooth, the Papists had obtained permission to study at the University of Dublin. Inglis says—

“I entertain no doubt that the disorders which originate in hatred of Protestantism have been increased by the Maynooth education of the Roman Catholic priesthood. It is the Maynooth priest who is the agitating priest; and if the foreign

educated priest be a more liberal-minded man, less a zealot, and less a hater of Protestantism than is consistent with the present spirit of Catholicism in Ireland, straightway an assistant red hot from Maynooth is appointed to the parish. In no country in Europe, no, not even in Spain, is the spirit of Popery so intensely Anti-Protestant as in Ireland."

Mr. Crotty writes to Dr. Murray, in 1835 :—

" You have charged me with having opposed, when a student in Maynooth College, the authorities of that house. Yes, I denounced in terms of honest indignation the vicious, narrow, and ruinous system of education pursued in that house, which is the hot-bed of bigotry, intolerance, and superstition. I publicly and openly declare the College of Maynooth has never yet produced a gentleman or a scholar, and that there never was an establishment that stands more in need of a speedy reformation than that house, where 400 Popish priests are fed and educated by the liberality of a Protestant Government, and who are let loose upon the world to disseminate the unchristian and antisocial doctrines and principles of bigotry and intolerance, which they are taught in that house. To these priests, who are the busy and active agents of Mr. O'Connell, may be imputed the pernicious system of agitation, and the other numberless calamities that now distract our unfortunate country."

The opinion of that eminent Philanthropist John Wesley, whose statue will appropriately grace the New Houses of Parliament, with re-

gard to the safety of conferring political powers on members of the Roman Catholic Church, will carry great weight throughout the kingdom:—

“ With persecution I have nothing to do. I persecute no man for his religious principles. Let there be as ‘ boundless a freedom in religion ’ as any man can conceive. But this does not touch the point: I will set religion, true or false, utterly out of the question. Suppose the Bible, if you please, to be a fable, and the Koran to be the Word of God, I consider not, whether the Romish religion be true or false, I build nothing on one or the other supposition. Therefore, away with all your commonplace declamation about intolerance and persecution for religion. Suppose every word of Pope Pius’ creed to be true; suppose the Council of Trent to have been infallible; yet I insist upon it that no government, not Roman Catholic, ought to tolerate men of the Roman Catholic persuasion. I prove this by a plain argument: let him answer it that can. That no Roman Catholic does or can give security for his allegiance or peaceful behaviour, I prove thus:—It is a Roman Catholic maxim, established not by private men, but by a public council, that ‘ No faith is to be kept with heretics.’ This has been openly avowed by the Council of Constance; but it never was openly disclaimed. Whether private persons avow or disavow it, it is a fixed maxim of the Church of Rome. But, as long as it is so, nothing can be more plain than that the members of that Church can give no reasonable se-

curity to any government of their allegiance or peaceful behaviour. Therefore, they ought not to be tolerated by any government, Protestant, Mahometan, or Pagan. You may say, 'Nay, but they will take an oath of allegiance;' true, five hundred oaths; but the maxim, 'No faith is to be kept up with heretics,' sweeps them all away as a spider's web. So that no governors that are not Roman Catholics can have any security for their allegiance. Again, those who acknowledge the *spiritual power* of the Pope can give no security of their allegiance to any government; but all Roman Catholics acknowledge this, therefore they can give no security for their allegiance."

I am anxious to draw attention to the light which revelation imparts to statesmen and politicians of every grade. We have seen the blunders which Pitt made on all points where religious and political truth commingled. Yet, the ignorance of Popery, which that great statesman betrayed did not extend to his royal master, for George III. was decidedly averse to the *Irish* measures of his favourite minister. Thus a man of good sense, drawing his knowledge from the Bible, sees farther into futurity than a statesman of brilliant talents who neglects revealed truth. It may be denied that His Majesty was a man of judgment. Let us appeal to a contemporary, Mr. Wesley, on this point. "What then do you think is the direct and principal *cause* of the present public commotions, of the amazing ferment among the people,

the general discontent of the nation? which now rises to a higher degree than it has done in the memory of man: inasmuch that I have heard it affirmed with my own ears, 'King George ought to be treated as King Charles was.' Is it the extraordinary bad character of the king? I do not apprehend it is. Certainly if he is not, as some people think, the *best* Prince in Europe, he is far from being the *worst*. One not greatly prejudiced in his favour, does not charge him with want of *virtue*, (of this he judges him to have *more than enough*,) but with wanting those *royal vices* which (with Machiavel and the ingenious Doctor Mandeville) he supposes would be public benefits. 'But does he not likewise want *understanding*?' So it has been boldly affirmed. And it must be acknowledged this charge is supported by facts which cannot be denied. The first is, he believes the Bible; the second, he fears God; the third, he loves the Queen. Now, suppose the first of these, considering the prejudices of education, might consist with some share of understanding, yet how can this be allowed with regard to the second? For, although, in the times of ignorance and barbarism, men imagined *the fear of God was the beginning of wisdom*, our enlightened age has discovered it is the *end* of it; that whenever the fear of God begins, wisdom is at an end. And with regard to the third, for a man to love his wife, unless perhaps for a month or two, must argue such utter want of sense as most men of rank are now ashamed of. But after all, there are some who,



allowing the facts, deny the consequence. Who still believe, and that after the most accurate inquiry from such as have had the best means of information, that there are few noblemen or gentlemen in the nation (and we have many not inferior to most in Europe) who have either so good a natural understanding or so general a knowledge of all the valuable parts of learning." Personal courage is a quality of which none of the Royal Family were ever accused of being deficient. In the year 1795, on His Majesty's going to open Parliament, the crowd demanded peace, bread, and the dismissal of Mr. Pitt. "No king," "Down with George," resounded from all sides. At length, on the Royal carriage drawing near the Ordnance, a bullet perforated the Royal carriage window, but did no mischief. The intrepidity of the Sovereign on such an alarming occurrence was remarkable. On entering the House of Lords His Majesty merely said to the Lord Chancellor, "My Lord, we have been fired at;" and then with the greatest coolness delivered the Royal speech from the throne, without taking the slightest public notice of the attempt that had been made on his life. When returning, the King said, "Well, my Lords, one person is proposing this, and another is proposing that; forgetting there is One above us all, who disposes of every thing, and on whom we all depend." Thus we see that *good principles* are safer guides than *great talents*.

The whole tactics of the Melbourne Adminis-

tration were based on *expediency*. That Ministerial policy uniformly consisted in shifting the pea, so as to gull the nation, and captivate their interested adherents. Church and State were repeatedly the objects of assaults by the sworn advisers of the Crown. The very existence of such a Ministry could only have been occasioned by the expediency blunderers of 1793, 1795, 1829, and 1831. The creation of an *anti-British, anti-Protestant* constituency by Mr. Pitt, with a close seminary endowed by a *Protestant* State for the education of the *Romish* priesthood, involved a trust in Popery, and a patronage of Popery, which Rome has rendered subservient to her unabated ambition to obtain the possession of political power, and has ungratefully used that power to league with needy adventurers, infidels, and revolutionists, to destroy the Constitution.

The oath taken by Roman Catholic Members of the House of Commons is as follows:—

“I do swear, that I will defend to the utmost of my power, the settlement of property within the realm as established by the laws; and I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present Church Establishment, *as settled by law within the realm*; and *I do* solemnly swear that I never will exercise any privilege to which I am or may become entitled to *disturb* or *weaken* the Protestant religion, or Protestant Government in the *United*

*Kingdom*; and I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatever. So help me God."

When, therefore, in *direct violation* of this oath, the Irish Roman Catholic Members induced the Whig Government to invade the property of the Church of England in Ireland, and to vote the appropriation of the sacred revenues consigned by our forefathers for the dissemination of the Protestant *faith* to non-ecclesiastical purposes, a Protestant spirit was manifested by *Peel*, and *Stanley*, and *Graham*, in Parliament, and these three statesmen who were *then* justly styled *England's committee of public safety*, stood pledged to the nation to resist the aggressions of Rome. How are two of the mighty fallen!

The memorable words which fell from Sir Robert Peel in 1829, must not *now* be forgotten. They were these—

"I trust that by the means now proposed the moral storm will be lulled into a calm, the waters of strife subside, and the waves of discord become settled and composed. But if my expectations should be disappointed—if, unhappily, civil strife and contention shall take place—if the differences existing between us do not arise from artificial distinctions and unequal privileges—if, on the contrary, there be something in the character of the

Roman Catholic religion not to be contented with a participation in equal privileges, or anything short of superiority ; still I shall be content to make the trial. If the battle must be fought—if the contest cannot be averted—let the worst come to the worst—the battle shall be fought for other objects—the contest shall be on other ground: the struggle will be not for equality of civil rights, but for the predominance of an intolerant religion. And I say we can fight that battle to greater advantage—if indeed these more gloomy predictions shall be realized, and our more favourable hopes shall not be verified—we can fight that battle against the predominance of an intolerant religion more advantageously after this measure has passed than we could at present.”

Alas! the Caleb and the Joshua of 1835 has proved a Jonah in 1844.

I have endeavoured to trace the dangerous effects upon the Church and State, resulting from the adoption by British Statesmen of the hateful system of political expediency, consequences which are inseparable from a course of *popular concession*. I might illustrate the subject by referring to Canada as well as to Ireland, where concessions have stimulated instead of allaying rebellion. I might instance Newfoundland, and every colony in the empire where the seeds of anarchy have been laid by the relaxation of ancient principles of stern justice, and wholesome restraint on vice, which rendered the British name in a happier era the stay and the terror of the civilized world. I

might refer to the adoption in our home policy of a *wretched truckling to the hue and cry of the day*, which had weakened our means of defence against hostile invasions, reduced the efficiency of every Government department, destroyed our navy, disbanded our yeomanry, without diminishing taxation, or reducing the public burdens, while swarms of commissions and the vast expense of Canadian rebellion, entirely brought on by the adoption of measures of truckling *expediency*, had involved the nation in nearly *a million* of debt. The profligate *expediency* of the Canadian dictatorship is an item in the disbursements incurred by a *reform, economical, and retrenching* Cabinet! The appointment was created to get rid of Lord Durham. His Lordship demanded the most expensive equipment, and returned without accomplishing anything but hastening the rebellious explosion, by an inflammatory proclamation, after loading the country with the burden of an expensive mission. It is very clear that Sir John Colborne, who quelled the revolt, was the person in whom Government should *a priori* have confided.

Would that the *sliding-scale of expediency* had received no more recent indications of allegiance than the treachery of 1829. The battle of Protestantism, in 1835 and 1837, was fought and won on the vantage ground of the Irish Church, and *principle*, and *not expediency*, was then the war-cry of Peel. Yet, that Statesman, in office, has reversed his tactics, and proved the foe of his

friends, and the friend of his foes. Too strong to require to purchase the support of friends, either by advancing their interests, or adhering to their principles, he has been weak enough, to buy the good opinion of enemies, by advocating their views, and adopting their measures. For popularity among the mill-owners, the patriotic as well as philanthropic limitation of female labour was resisted; while to soothe Socinian hostility, the heresy of the deniers of our Lord's divinity was strengthened. To conciliate the implacable adversaries of the Protestant Church, Maynooth during the last Session of Parliament, received from the champion of Protestantism, an *unasked* for increase to her funds. In warding off persecution from the Protestant Church of Ireland, (as a ladder to place and power,) that Statesman dug the grave of his reputation. For during the Administration of the Right Hon. Baronet, so recently defunct, and so suddenly resuscitated, the system of concession, on the principle of expediency, to the enemies of Protestantism, whether evinced by conceding rights to Unitarians, at variance with the highest judicial decisions; in disregarding the prayers of the Church and people of Wales, for the preservation of an ancient Bishopric; or by *enlarging* and *rendering permanent* the *experimental* grant, made by Pitt, to the Popish and priestly seminary of Maynooth, the minister in taking his course, on each of these great questions, has looked solely to whether his tranquillity and power in office would

suffer, or be augmented. In such conduct, principle there is none; and the affairs of this great country can only in the long run be successfully conducted, by adhering to fixed principles of action. Public opinion is tainted, by *temporary* success following the statesmanship of *expediency*, and the legerdemain of the political chief, is applauded, with the same feelings that extort approbation of the performances of harlequin or pantaloon. This was not the principle of action that won the confidence of the people of England, and placed Sir Robert Peel in office, or recommended him as a Statesman to the confidence of the Protestant Church.

In reviewing the dangers to Church and State, inseparable from the adoption of a course of political expediency, it is important to revert to the period of the annihilation of the Melbourne Administration, while we consider the *third* consequence of the adoption of a course of political *expediency*, as injurious to the social condition of the people. With true satanic ingenuity the promoters of terrestrial evil then in the councils of her Majesty threw a bone of contention among us, at the epoch when about to receive the just reward of their deeds. With the spirit of the Israelite, when he let loose 300 foxes with fiery tails among the standing corn of the Philistines, these abettors of mischief endeavoured to draw away public attention from the cruel and anti-Christian New Poor Law (another fruit of Reform), to a repeal

of the Corn-laws. And here comes the danger of the Reform Bill. The popular mind is easily moved by any cry, and none so likely to catch the ear as the plausible sound of *cheap* bread. It is true that enlightened men knew very well that a repeal of the Corn Laws would endanger the liberties of the country, by rendering us dependant on a *foreign* supply, perhaps a *hostile* power, for the staff of life ; that we shall enrich foreigners, and ruin the agricultural interest ; despoiling the shopocracy of the home market, and sending money abroad to rear manufactures eventually to rival and destroy the commercial classes of this country, and bring down the price of labour, turning our bold peasantry into Polish or Bohemian serfs. But what care the League ? All their cares are absorbed in the interests of a party, and the only guide of our Statesmen in office is the treacherous principle of *expediency*.

The effects of expediency reigning in the councils of the Sovereign, proving dangerous to the social condition of the people, is a serious evil resulting from the policy pursued by Her Majesty's Ministers. If the Church and State have suffered from the ascendancy of *expediency* statesmen, the legislative lash is applied eventually to the extremities of the body politic, to tell with ten-fold severity on the comforts of the people. They are to endure the thumb-screw, mob clamour has raised its idols to impose. Hitherto that magic word *reform*, so often used, and so little understood, has been



mainly confined to the destruction of the fruits of the wisdom of our ancestors, in casting down those barriers against democratic cupidity and precipitation, that were placed in our nicely-balanced Constitution, for the safety and happiness of every class in the community. The love of change displayed its fickle and shallow will in propelling alterations in the Constitution of the Commons' House, both as regards the religious principles of its Members, and the class in the community by whom the representatives of the people were nominated. Tampering with the machinery of a mighty empire has poisoned the fountain of public opinion, and during the last sixteen years, has guided to the breakers by slow but sure currents the shattered bark of the British fortunes. Now, the property of the country is attacked, and revolution and anarchy may be discerned in the background, propelling farther changes, that must grind down to poverty and desperation the poorer classes of society, and bring about the overthrow of all our institutions.

What is the history of the country, in regard to the Corn Laws, the object of attack in this new movement, by the men who have risen to enormous wealth during their existence?

It is on record that protection to agriculture, since the reign of Henry VI., has been part and parcel of the laws of England. As manufactures rose, and commerce extended, in the reign of Edward III., that wise and good monarch, (although the victor of Poitiers and Cressy had no mean

claim to Continental rule,) cherished their growth, by taxing the importation of foreign goods. The prohibitory enactment of James I., and the *sliding scale* of Charles II., were framed on the same principle of protection against foreign competition, that had characterized the Acts passed in previous reigns. The Act 13 Geo. III., and the various subsequent alterations in the amount of protection, are within the memory of the present generation.

The clear result deducible from an overthrow of our laws, protecting articles of *food* and *clothing*, is ruin to all classes, and deserves no epithet less appalling, than *revolution*!

Such a catastrophe, the nation is not prepared to endure. The fusion of democracy into the electoral body, by the Grey Reform Bill, has been too partial to accomplish, by one fell swoop, our national ruin. The country may be cajoled, while dazzled by high pretensions, to be led by unsound opinions, to the same goal, by slow degrees; but Universal Suffrage and Vote by Ballot are essential to perpetrate a national *felo de se*.

Hence Lord John's inability to form a Government, on *League* principles. The real cause of Russell's discomfiture it suited not party tactics to make too palpable. It is suffered partially to transpire, to holloa on the pack to the hue and cry for another parliamentary reform. Down with the Peers, away with *small* constituencies, power should be vested in those who have no

property, wisdom is the attribute of numbers! It is the policy of the Whig-Radical camp to cast on the vanity of Palmerston, and the temper of Grey, the blame of upsetting the embryo ministerial arrangements, rather than to admit the weight of the agricultural party, within their own lines. But the noble Member for the city of London is well aware, that the defection of political supporters both Whigs and Radicals, of every class in society, in every county in the kingdom, was really the *insurmountable* obstacle to the formation of a League Administration. It cannot be denied that Peers and Commoners, who fought in the *front* rank of *liberalism*, who would have marched under the banner of the house of Russell, to pillage the Protestant Church, to endow Popery, aye, and pass Repeal of the Union, had intuitively a will of their own, when personal robbery was proposed, by a repeal of the Corn Laws. However obtuse to the ruin inseparable from revolutionary innovation, an immediate defalcation in their rentals was beyond bearing. The numbers of the remonstrants are best known at Brooke's and the Reform Clubs; but the political circles are not afflicted at such a crisis, with either blindness or deafness; and the *on dit* is universally credited, that *Arundel*, *Richmond*, *Beaumaris*, *Flint*, and *Anglesey*, in Whig hands, yet became to a *League* Government Opposition boroughs; while the counties of *Orkney and Sutherland*, and the Whig half of the *North Riding of Yorkshire*, and of *North Lincoln*, could not be

reckoned upon at a *League* Treasury, to vote the gains of the landowners, farmers, and labourers of England into the markets of foreigners. An admission of the accuracy of this view of the embarrassments before which Russell quailed, appeared in the "Sun," of the 27th December, in the following passage:—

*"If Lord John Russell, not having a majority in the present House of Commons, had been able to rely on the result of another general election, as the true index of the people's voice, would he have hesitated for one moment as to accepting the trust tendered by her Majesty, or would he ultimately have yielded to the difficulties by which he was overcome?"*

In the same paper the Grey and Palmerston *bouleversement* is carefully inserted as authentic; while the hounds are allowed to snuff the real scent, in order to cheer them on to renewed attacks on the Constitution of Parliament. And that no ambiguity may mislead, further organic changes are held forth as requisite, and the Ballot, and the destruction of small constituencies, are especially asserted as necessary. The Whig Dukes of Norfolk and Sutherland, the Earl of Zetland, and Sir Richard Bulkeley, are specially signalized, while the Earl of Yarborough escapes, merely from the extent of the constituency of North Lincoln, presenting a prey too large for the voracious maw of this revolutionary vulture.

In adverting to the Whig - Radical failure

to form an Administration I refrain from animadverting on the recent unprecedented abandonment of their post of duty, by the sworn Ministers of the Crown. For the time draws nigh when the grave responsibility will devolve on the Right Hon. Baronet of establishing, to the satisfaction of the country, a justification for throwing up, at a crisis peculiarly critical and important, the reins of power, and placing his Sovereign, his party, and his country, virtually in the hands of Popish democratic factions, the enemies of the Throne and altar, and of the integrity of the empire. Whether we look to our present relations with the United States of America, or to the probable policy of the League Cabinet in the restoration of the Repeal magistrates in Ireland, or to the power accorded to the would-be spoliators of the permanent property of the country, the increased danger of the State, of the Union of England and Ireland, and the internal prosperity of the empire, was, without question, perilled by what has appropriately been termed a *chicken-hearted* course, that has lost the Premier many friends.

We have seen the strongest Ministry the country ever saw fly before an anti-national league of traitors, under the pressure of a hue-and-cry deficiency in the potato crop, nay, it is more than surmised that its chief was about to join the pirates, and hoist the black flag against agricultural and manufacturing industry, when,

surely he discovered, by the failure of the Whigs to form a Government, that the nation was sufficiently enlightened to stem the agitation he feared to encounter. These are the fruits of the spirit of *expediency*, falsely so called, in high places. The Legislation of the day, irrespective of consequences, triumphs as the acme of wisdom; and but where Providence intervenes to arrest ruin, Statesmen, full of their paltry fears, lead on the nation to the verge of revolution, demoralizing the whole empire by their worthless example. Organic changes cannot now be accomplished, thanks to the rights of property and the good sense of the British people, through changes in the construction of the Commons' House. Hence, the attempt to throw the realm into the crucible of panic, commotion, and distress, to accomplish political changes in Church and State. But the nation refuses to work its own ruin. The real danger lies in the *sapping* process, the *gradual* surrender of the amount of protection!

Apart from the calamities that must follow the losses of capital invested in improvements in land, from the slightest diminution in the extent of protection extended, by the present system, to our unpropitious soil, and uncongenial climate, no surer method to sweep away the internal riches of the nation could be devised, no more certain means of destroying the retail traders through our towns, originated. If rents are to be lowered, the expenditure of the gentry must be curtailed, farms

on poor soils, after being, at great expense, made arable, must be thrown into pasture land, farm-houses allowed to fall into decay, the tenants and labourers turned adrift, and a few shepherds would, in the course of half a dozen years, be the only portion of the labouring population employed, where formerly so many homesteads existed, employing through the year many hands, and in harvest finding employment for the starving Irish. So small is now the remuneration to the British farmer, that I am satisfied these results would follow, within a few years, the imposition of any low fixed duty, as surely, if not as suddenly, as by a total repeal of the Corn-laws. I have, within the last two years, under the most favourable auspices, on my own property, experienced how small are a farmer's gains, after paying for the tillage, manure, and seed, together with the heavy burdens imposed on agriculture. For if a landlord, paying no rent, on turning up park land, that has laid thirty years in grass, finds it barely worth his while, save to improve the pasture, to crop the land, what must be the position of the farmer, at present prices, having his rent to pay, and his family to support?

The landlord may *live outwardly* pretty much as heretofore, without a portion of his rental. By the contraction of expenditure, in the curtailment of luxuries, and abridgement of charity, in accordance with an altered income, no visible suffering deserving of commiseration need appear in the lot

of the proprietor of the soil. But, the effect of the prudential regulations induced by straitened resources, must tell on the number of his establishment, and the amount of his household orders. Hence the shopkeepers in the vicinity, and a host of dependants are denuded of a portion of their trade, and the loss of employment, involves not the withdrawal from them of luxuries, but the removal of their former ability to procure the necessaries and comforts of life. No longer receiving the custom of the farmers and labourers of the district, the ruin of the shopocracy in the smaller towns would be inevitable; while general distress must curtail expenditure in travelling, and abridge the internal commerce of the country, consummating the loss of large portions of the capital sunk in railroad communication, in the confidence of the integral riches of the soil, and the protecting care of the legislature to guard existing interests from *foreign* competition. How truly pitiable would be the position of the small farmers, ploughmen, and day labourers, no longer required for the management of lands in pasture? Cast to seek their daily bread in manufacturing labour, with hard hands, and bodies unused to in-door confinement, to learn in middle or more advanced life, a totally new occupation? By this overwhelming change in the social condition of the people would a mass of misery be created, which no mind can fully realize, and no pen calmly indite.

The consequence of so many hands being thrown



on manufactures for support, would induce a glut the labour market, and bring down the wages the factory slaves to the Continental level. Th with half their present wages, *cheap* bread of foreign wheat, (while *unsaleable* British grain witnessed the stagnation and ruin of the home market) would be a poor compensation to the manufacturing labourer, for his weekly deficit. In a climate requiring more substantial sustenance than brown bread and sour wine, and warmer and more abundant clothing, than the partial nudity of the sun, south renders congenial, the wages of Polish serf would be totally inadequate to procure for our population the necessaries of life.

If the dictum of the noisy brawlers at the head of this iniquitous movement, is yielded to, through the pressure of *inexpediency*, the withdrawal of protection to native industry by the abrogation of the *valorem* duties, the miseries of our towns would rival the desolation of our country districts, and Nottingham, and Coventry, and the Potteries, if exposed *foreign* competition, must become charnel-houses of misery and destitution. Nothing can be more palpable than that the social condition of the people eminently promoted by the retention of protection to native industry, both in agriculture and manufactures. The nobility, gentry, manufacturers, labourers, artisans, and craftsmen of England, Scotland, and Ireland, are in one boat, and must sink or swim together.

But, I am anxious to fix public attention on the

*political* objects which the originators of these spoliation doctrines have in view, by pressing an alteration or abrogation of our protective duties; for in this view of the subject, no removal of burdens, whether the Malt Tax, Poor or County Rates, can permit us, as patriots, to sanction a diminution of protection. No doubt, the bait held out to the greedy manufacturer is the possession thereby of the foreign market; while, for this *uncertain* and *temporary* customer, the home market, taking two-thirds of our manufactures, is destroyed, when the agricultural interest is annihilated. But the foreigner will insist on receiving gold for his corn; and that wealth thus acquired will be used to foster and perfect those manufactures even now rising throughout the Continent, thereby enabling foreign nations to rival and supplant our own.

While mercenary views commingle with political expectations, it is clear that a deep revolutionary *under-current* prompts the movement to uproot the agricultural interest as the great power of the State, opposed to the overthrow of our institutions. Revolution hides its face, and concealing its objects pleads humanity as its motive, and the taskmasters of the female slaves are the philanthropists who demand for the people *cheap* bread! That their objects are *low* wages, the downfall of the gentry, their elevation in power on the ruins of our agricultural wealth, and the eventual overthrow, in times of decay and commotion, of all our great

institutions in Church and State, they carefully conceal. Such is the *League* movement of 1846; and before it let not the banner of Conservative principle remain unfurled.

Tories, Whigs, and Radicals, possessed of landed property, or renting or labouring the soil, many with property vested in manufactures, and all engaged in retail trades, are ready to put aside party differences, and fight side by side in support of protection to native industry, whether to agriculture or manufactures; for the destruction of the home market can be a subject of indifference to none of these classes. Before the power of this union, bold Russell has succumbed, and the Peel Government fell to pieces. Let the Premier take warning by the past, for an attempt to *diminish* protection to the labour of our countrymen, will be successfully resisted from Orkney to Cornwall.

As the granting Roman Catholic Emancipation brought on the Reform Bill; so has the permanent Endowment of Maynooth been as rapidly succeeded by the Corn-law agitation. But the Reform Bill, by the exposure of demagogues, the indirect influence of property, and the introduction of the Chandos clause, was capable of being practically rendered in a great measure innoxious; while the spoliation of a large portion of the permanent property of the country, brings the revolution not to St. Stephen's, but to every one's hearth, and to every one's pocket; and must eventually compel

every man of every class in the community more or less, to drink of the bitter waters of foreign servitude, and grinding poverty.

Were the destruction of the labouring classes accomplished, through legislative withdrawal of protection to native industry, the *last* scene of the drama of *political expediency*, would be played off on foreign Governments, by the surrender of our colonies for supplies of food. Then might America take possession of the Oregon territory, and demand the cession of Canada, or the West India islands; the Czar shut up the granaries of Poland, until the imperial standard floated at Delhi, or Fort William; and France prohibit exportation from Languedoc and Provence, unless "perfidious Albion," ceded Malta, or surrendered Gibraltar. What *expediency* Minister would face a starving population, by resisting these demands, however monstrous and unjust, when the land no longer produced the staff of life, to nourish its population?

The giant *hunger* would prove in these dismal days of riot and ruin, more potent than O'Connell, more omnipotent than Cobden, in moving the British Cabinet to stave off an insurrectionary populace, and save alive a remnant in the land.

This era of our legislation is pregnant with evils of portentous magnitude. Unsound opinions, in high places, prostitute high talents, by surrendering, on *expediency* arguments, vital principles. The head of the Government is *at heart* a free trader. The Prime Minister is tainted with free trade theo-

ries, opposed to the common-sense deductions of the great majority of the upper and middle classes of society. It is true that Sir Robert Peel has recently declared, that granting, that the commercial advantages arising from a repeal of the Corn Laws were established, the social evils which must ensue, would greatly counterbalance the benefits derived from the change. But, the same Minister has expressed *a doubt* whether protection to agriculture could be maintained on the ground of the danger and impolicy of rendering this country dependant for the staff of life on foreign lands ! The "English Review" sounds a well-timed alarm—

"Confidence in the Premier ought not to be placed. It will certainly be betrayed. That he will deal fresh blows on all our institutions, is as certain as he has already weakened and undermined them. One act more of the drama now opens. There are others behind, and then comes the end. In the hands that now rule the stage, what scenes and what a catastrophe is preparing !"

No *sound* thinking statesmen could fail to realize the fearful calamities that must, sooner or later, ensue from our land ceasing to nourish its population. It is remarkable that the Home Secretary, at the last General Election, recommended his opinions to the agricultural constituency of Dorchester, by drawing from the Scripture History of Tyre and Judea (Acts xii. 20) a powerful illustration in support of the very argument, that Sir Robert *doubts* is untenable. The Rev. Mr. M'Neile, of Liverpool, had previously

adduced the quotation for the instruction of the Operative Societies of that town, as containing a warning to future ages, that empires, however rich and powerful, as Tyre, may be brought to such straits for want of home-grown corn, as to sue for peace to a paltry state like Judea, "*because the state was nourished by the King's (viz. Judea) country.*" A statesman holding on protection, the *half-way* sentiments of Sir Robert Peel, is disposed to bribe the agricultural interest by the removal of burdens, to submit to a great national calamity, for which no withdrawal of taxation could compensate. Besides, can our labourers live on the food, and dress in the garb, of southern lands? Are our stiff clays to be worked at the small expense of the rich loams of southern Europe? Is our moist and unsettled climate suddenly to change to the dry heats, and the settled sunshine of Continental summers? Are wars, and famine, and pestilence no longer to visit the earth, and never shut out our population from a *foreign* supply of wheat? And do not one, and all of these reasons justify the retention of a moderate protection to home grown corn, (as has for ages been accorded to our home manufactures,) independent of the amount of taxation born by agriculturists? The country will judge whether a statesman professing to entertain *a doubt* on so *vital* a national question, can safely continue to wield the destinies of this realm!

It is matter of historical record, that the house of Derby conferred not the Premiership but the

Crown, on Henry Tudor, Earl of *Richmond*! The "Chronicle" lately prophesied the country must pass through "a *Richmond anarchy*!" It requires no divination to foretell, that if Sir Robert, on the meeting of Parliament, brings forward Free-trade projects, calculated to *undermine* and *gradually* to destroy the principles of protection to agriculture and manufactures, his *re-constructed* Cabinet must go to pieces. Beaten in the present House of Commons, his fate must be sealed in the next, while the very fact of his overthrow for proposing *partially* to legislate on unsound doctrines, must totally exclude the *League* ex-Ministers from a chance of support in either House of Parliament.

Great was the indignation of the Conservatives, in the palmy days of Whig domination, at the use made of Her Majesty's name as personally indisposed to receive into office a Tory Cabinet. Yet the Ministerial organs make no scruple to assert, with marvellous inconsistency, that the Queen is averse to an Administration composed of the supporters of protection. The august Sovereign who holds the sceptre of England, has been happily too well educated in constitutional principles not to know, as Her Majesty has twice shown, that the Royal wish is to govern the country by the leaders of the *strongest* party in the State. What party is the *strongest* a few months will show. The hope of England is in a Richmond, Stanley, Buckingham, Powis, Inglis, and Colquhoun Administration; and with these statesmen at the helm of

affairs, the Protestant religion, and the native industry of our father-land, could neither be *sapped* or *betrayed*. The descendant of the heroine of Latham House (the illustrious Charlotte de la Tremouille), of the heroes of Bosworth-field, and Flodden, the representative of the martyred Earl slain at Marston-moor, whose last injunctions to his son, "to cling to the crown while it hung upon a bush," is had in everlasting remembrance, will find in the Duke of Richmond, Lennox, and Aubigny, in his Grace of Buckingham and Chandos, and in the conqueror of Sir Robert Peel at Oxford, men of *sound* opinions and *high* honour, in whom the country confide,—who have pursued a *consistent* political course, unsullied with the *veering* tactics and *plebeian* timidity of Peel.

The sound sense of the noble Duke at the head of the ancient house of Lennox is well known to the agricultural interest. His Grace, possessed of a large stake in the landed interest, is endowed with resolution and nerve which he exhibited at Waterloo, in office, and in Parliament, and is eminently fitted, by great personal popularity, for guiding the helm of the State. In the Duke of Buckingham, the *leading* interest of the country has equal confidence. The Duke retired disinterestedly from Sir Robert Peel's Cabinet, when measures were proposed, which his Grace justly considered injurious to the agriculturist. The head of the powerful house of Clive, enjoys the confidence of the Church and country. Mild and



unassuming, learned, affable, and perspicuous, no speaker commands more readily the attention of the House, than the Member for the University of Oxford. A more practical and efficient statesman the Senate does not possess. The first-rate business talents of the Member for Newcastle-under-Lyme, are well-known to the country; while bearing in mind that almost the whole Whig and Tory nobility of the three kingdoms, consider free trade *without reciprocity*, a *dangerous fiction*, the Richmond Cabinet, would have no difficulty in finding Peers, at least, as remarkable for ability, as the Earls of Haddington, Lincoln, and Ripon, to fill their respective places in the Administration.

What the country wants is men of sound and honest hearts, who will guide public affairs for the good of the whole community, on principles that can bear the test of investigation, in accordance with the opinions of the great majority of the constituencies. One of the most illustrious of our ancient Barons has receded from the Ministry. The nation looks to his high talents, his great experience in office, his frank and noble character, for guidance and support. When did England ever call on the house of Stanley to lead her sons to victory, and call in vain?

---

“On, Stanley, on!  
Were the last words of Marmion.”

**CONTRIBUTIONS**

**TO**

**RAILWAY STATISTICS,**

**IN**

**1845.**

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**BY HYDE CLARKE, ESQ.**

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TO

GEORGE HUDSON, ESQ., M.P.,

THIS WORK,

THE FIRST SKETCHES OF WHICH WERE ADDRESSED TO HIM,

IS NOW INSCRIBED,



HYDE CLARKE.

RAILWAY REGISTER AND RAILWAY HERALD OFFICES,

42, BASINGHALL STREET,

30th September, 1846.



## PREFACE.

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THIS small work has been gradually enlarged from three brief letters to MR. HUDSON, in the *Railway Herald*, to some articles in the *Railway Register*, and thence to their present form, at the request of some eminent railway functionaries, who took an interest in the subject of practical railway statistics.

These materials were early pirated by Monsieur Edmond Teisserend, the eminent French engineer, in a recent work called *Etudes sur les Voies de Communication*, and the piracies were, particularly by the *Journal des Chemins de Fer*, a subject of laudation. The attention of M. Teisserend has been called to these facts by a mutual friend, Mr. Whitelock, the Directeur Gérant of the *Journal des Chemins de Fer*, and this publication has been delayed in the hope that M. Teisserend would have made a proper acknowledgment. This he has had full time to do, and a special opportunity by his visit here lately with M. Dumon, the Minister of Public Works, on a tour of railway inspection.

It is to be regretted that in the portion taken from section 1 of the present work, Monsieur Teisserend has, by gross inattention, made the matter worse; for, by treating the calculated amounts as actual quotations, he has exposed the accuracy of the data to severe comment, whereas the explanations of the original text are most precise.

An author is the servant of the community, and his exertions are devoted to the public service, but he has at least a right to require that his labours should be acknowledged, the more particularly when, as in the present case, that acknowledgment is his only reward.



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## CONTRIBUTIONS ON RAILWAY STATISTICS.

BY HYDE CLARKE, ESQ.

IN no department of business scarcely has the value of statistical studies been more shown than in railway administration, nor in any department have they been so much pursued. In private affairs, in many branches of trade, from the inability to get at an extended knowledge of facts, experience becomes merely local or individual, and in the infancy of the railway system the same defect was felt. The establishment of the railway press, and the facilities afforded for communicating information, presented the means of overcoming this evil, and as facts accumulated, so were their results systematised, and brought to bear practically on the advancement and direction of the railway system. Though of course there has been an indisposition in some quarters to communicate information, and an inaptitude in others, yet the general feeling of energy and public spirit in railway chairmen, directors, and officers has overcome difficulties, and masses of figures have been brought together from time to time, closely canvassed, and ably analysed.

There is this incentive to the prosecution of railway statistics, that whereas in other branches of statistics, the student is reduced to a mere theorist, from the inaptitude of carrying out the results he may obtain, in railway administration, it often lies within the power of the operator to ensure their immediate application. There is also a large public joining and sympathising in the same pursuits, and a truth once developed is never allowed to be smothered or crushed. While, in politics, popular ignorance is made an instrument of party warfare to impede the progress of sound views, the railway public are always attentive to any statement of figures and facts, whether in writing or by speech; and being men of business, have such practical acquaintance with the forms of analysis, as to be able to arrive at a sound judgment and conclusion. At the same time, the study of railway statistics, though sometimes taken up elsewhere as a popular subject, never thrives so well as among its own attached circles, who have not merely motives of science or of curiosity to urge them, but the strongest influence of interest.

Railway men are essentially men of figures, and it is by their attainments in this respect that most of them are distinguished, and without such qualifications the heavy responsibilities they bear could never safely be entrusted to them. When, however, they are mentioned as men of figures, a popular expression is used which includes the characteristics of a proper and practical application of the results to be deduced from figures—not a pure mathematical turn of mind, for that is too apt to show more attachment to forms than to results, while it is rarely capable of combining the true moral results. Mr. Hudson, for example, is neither a mathematician, nor a man of a mathematical turn of mind; but as a man of figures, and as a calculating man, a character like his is well understood by English and Americans. The study of figures of itself no more makes a practical man than anything else; other qualities must be added to make the business man, and those fortunately are to be found, to a great extent, among railway administrators.

The desire of shareholders to know the state of traffic in new undertakings, led to the weekly publication of traffic returns, and these have furnished constant elements for study and for practical application. It was found, at an early period, that the development of railway traffic depended chiefly on the extension of railway accommodation; and hence, in order to realize profitable results as lines or portions of lines opened, it was self-evidently necessary that extensions should be carried out. This powerfully influenced the great exertions which were made in 1838, and the subsequent panic years, for the promotion of the railway system, and it has also constituted the policy on which the great companies are now acting of pushing branches and extensions in every available quarter. It is from no insane desire of speculation, for it is well known the companies have always held back rather than moved forward, and have never been urged by rash views. Another important result has been the undertaking by the great companies of branches, poor or unprofitable in themselves, which, however, repay the investors by bringing increased traffic on the main line. The extent of railways in connection with any particular line has always a great effect on its traffic; thus the London and Birmingham, and Grand Junction traffic has reached a high pitch, while the Great Western and Eastern Counties have been kept back, and the results of extension constitute an important consideration as to the prospective value of these latter undertakings. The London and Birmingham is the trunk of lines reaching to Newcastle and Carlisle, sending off vigorous branches in every direction, while these results have to be obtained on the Great Western and Eastern Counties from the works in progress.

Again, in the obtainment of a per centage government tax on railways in lieu of the tax per head on passengers, railway statistics exercised a great influence; but their chief effect has undoubtedly been in the promotion of cheap fares. Those who advocated such a doctrine as that cheapness would bring the greatest revenue, might have naked theory to support them, but they had powerful popular prejudices to contend with on the part of directors and shareholders; and it was only by a careful collection of facts and figures, and by the closest analysis of them, that a safe and undeniable foundation was obtained for the general establishment of cheap fares as a doctrine. The establishment of this fact has been of late brought to bear valuable fruits in every branch of traffic, more particularly in goods traffic, which having been long neglected from want of accommodation, and from too high charges, has been lately prosecuted with much vigour and effect.

The discovery of the mean months of railway traffic by Mr. Houldsworth, the chairman of the Manchester and Leeds Railway, afforded a convenient mode of ascertaining the rate of progress of traffic in advance on reaching the mean period.

The prosecution of these studies will no doubt afford equally valuable and interesting results, for the field is wide, and the railway system in its infancy. With regard to two subjects hitherto little studied statistically, but most important in reference to the value of the railway system, the fluctuations in investment, and the development of internal resources, I have in the present paper recast and systematized some observations, which I have published in a restricted form elsewhere.

## No. 1.—THE FLUCTUATIONS OF RAILWAY INVESTMENT.

A most important consideration in railway financial operations, which has been fully appreciated by Mr. Hudson, Mr. Glyn, and other leading men, but, unfortunately, not well understood by the public, is the effect of fluctuation in shares consequent upon periods of prosperity and depression. Undoubtedly the more a company is advanced, the more its value is developed, the greater is its intrinsic value; but the market value, depending upon other circumstances, may not only be materially depreciated, but brought very much below the real value. In railway matters "the value of a thing" is not always "the price it will bring," the very contrary—being often exorbitantly swollen by premiums, or absurdly depressed to a discount. Railway madness, it should be borne in mind, is not restricted to periods of what are called speculations, but shows itself much more remarkably in periods of depression. There is a mania for buying extravagantly, so there is a mania for selling improvidently, and the losses have been more in the latter way than in the former. Assuredly those who invest in railway undertakings with the view of obtaining a permanent and steady market, are exposed to the greatest disappointment; for, as we have lately seen, a great extravagant panic may parallel most extravagant speculation.

By a proper observation of facts, holders will be warned against the dangers which threaten them in future panics, while an encouragement will be given to investors to seek those periods for purchase most favorable for a low price, with the strong assurance of being amply rewarded by a future rise. In time, perhaps, we may hope that reason will bear a greater part in share operations; but, certainly, hitherto, speculation, without regard to judgment, has had a greater ascendancy. Directors had greater knowledge or greater firmness, heavy sacrifices of expediency, depreciation and preference shares would be less resorted to; and shareholders possessing a greater confidence would not have their property to be so run down, and their resources, consequently, seriously damaged, when, by waiting a due time, not merely a value, but an enhanced value would be obtained.

One of the best lessons for railway shareholders, speculators, and investors is to be found in the following table, showing the lowest price which the shares of established lines have fallen of late years, and maximum price which they have reached. In order to show this effectually, and to afford better means of comparison, as well as to avoid complexity, and save the reader the trouble of calculation, the amounts, instead of being given in shares of £20, £50, or £100, with so much paid up, have all been reduced to one standard, £100 being taken as the par price:—

	Date.	Price.	Date.	Price.
	£		£	
London and Selby - - -	1839	25	1845	212
North Counties - - -	1840	35	1845	150
Manchester, Bolton, and Bury -	1840	37	1845	120
Exeter and Exeter - - -	1840	37½	1845	136
Nottingham and Derby - -	1843	38	1846	115

	Date.	Price. £	Date.	Price. £
London and Greenwich - -	1841	40	1845	111
Northern and Eastern - -	1839	43	1845	160
South Eastern - -	1842	46	1845	143
London and Blackwall - -	1841	48	1845	60
Birmingham and Gloster -	1843	48	1845	134
Manchester and Birmingham -	1841	50	1845	188
Edinburgh and Glasgow -	1840	55	1845	150
Midland Counties - -	1840	60	1846	145
London and Brighton - -	1840	60	1845	152
Great North of England -	1843	60	1846	215
Glasgow, Kilmarnock, and Ayr -	1843	64	1845	134
Dundee and Arbroath - -	1843	64	1845	144
London and Croydon - -	1839	70	1845	164
North Union - -	1839	70	1846	208
Chester and Birkenhead - -	1845	73	1845	120
North Midland - -	1841	74	1846	142
Manchester and Leeds - -	1841	75	1845	260
Lancaster and Preston - -	1842	85	1845	120
Dublin and Drogheda - -	1844	85	1845	160
London and South Western -	1839	88	1845	192½

To render these figures more accessible for reference, they are, in the following tables, given with the names of the companies arranged alphabetically:—

Birmingham and Derby -	1843	38	1846	115
Birmingham and Gloster -	1843	48	1845	134
Bristol and Exeter - -	1840	37½	1845	136
Chester and Birkenhead - -	1845	73	1845	120
Dublin and Drogheda - -	1844	85	1845	160
Dundee and Arbroath - -	1843	64	1845	144
Eastern Counties - -	1840	35	1845	150
Edinburgh and Glasgow - -	1840	55	1845	150
Great North of England - -	1843	60	1846	215
Glasgow and Ayr - -	1843	64	1845	134
Hull and Selby - -	1839	25	1845	212
Lancaster and Preston - -	1842	85	1845	120
London and Blackwall - -	1841	48	1845	60
London and Brighton - -	1840	60	1845	152
London and Dover - -	1842	46	1845	143
London and Greenwich - -	1841	40	1845	111
London and South Western -	1839	88	1845	192½
Manchester and Birmingham -	1841	50	1845	180
Manchester, Bolton, and Bury -	1840	37	1845	180
Manchester and Leeds - -	1841	75	1845	260
Midland Counties - -	1840	60	1846	145
Northern and Eastern - -	1839	43	1845	260
North Midland - -	1841	74	1846	145
North Union - -	1839	70	1846	208

It is seen that the range between these discount and premium prices

is very great in almost every instance, and in some cases realising a very large per centage, which is shown below:—

North Midland, fluctuation, per cent.	-	-	71
Midland Counties	-	-	85
Birmingham and Gloucester	-	-	86
London and Brighton	-	-	92
Edinburgh and Glasgow	-	-	95
Bristol and Exeter	-	-	100
London and South Western	-	-	104
Northern and Eastern	-	-	117
North Union	-	-	138
Manchester and Birmingham	-	-	138
Manchester, Bolton, and Bury	-	-	143
Great North of England	-	-	155
Manchester and Leeds	-	-	185
Hull and Selby	-	-	187

While the fluctuation ranges so high the basis necessarily varies; and to get the true extent of fluctuation, as influencing investment, we must calculate it not on the par price, but on the discount price, when the results are still more extraordinary. To show the practical working of investment at a discount price, in a given number of years, the following table has been calculated, in which, in all cases, the discount price is taken as £100, and the ultimate price realised is shown, the original purchase price of £100 being of course included in the sale price. This table is founded on the preceding tables, where the operations are taken as a purchase at a discount in the low years, and the sale at a premium in the high years. An investment

In 7 years of £100 produced £800, £375, £300, £230, £220

In 6     "     100     "     400, 350, 250, 240

In 5     "     100     "     360, 340, 275, 200

In 4     "     100     "     340,

In 3     "     100     "     350, 300, 280

It will be seen that in all these cases the capital was more than doubled in seven years, and in some cases doubled in three years, while in many cases it was trebled, and sometimes even quadrupled. This is also independent of the profit on extension shares, which has accrued of late years, and generally fallen to the lot of purchasers at a discount. These parties have also received enhanced dividends.

In this way, and not by gambling and time-bargains, have those large fortunes been made by railway men, which have been the cause of so much misapprehension among the public. We know of more than one case where an investment of five-and-twenty thousand pounds, six or seven years ago, has now produced a hundred thousand pounds, while the gains of the large holders of that period have been enormous. While this state of affairs is to be regarded as a certain fact it is no miracle, but only the sure result of long experience in the money market, and it well deserves the steady attention of all those who have made railway investment one of the subjects of their study or ambition.

## No. 2.—PASSENGERS AND FARES.

The total number of passengers, as given in the Board of Trade returns for the year ending 30th June, 1844, is 27,763,602½, and for the year ending 30th June, 1845, 33,791,253½, being—

	1844.	1845.
1st class - - -	4,875,332½	5,474,163
2nd class - - -	12,235,686	14,325,825
3rd class - - -	8,583,085½	13,135,820
Mixed - - -	2,069,498½	855,445½
	<hr/> 27,763,602½	<hr/> 33,791,253½

It is very evident, from the number of third class passengers below that of the other classes, that the due extension of railway travelling among the less wealthy portion of the population has not yet been reached; but still the returns shows a great progress in this direction, for whereas the increase on the

1st class is - - -	-	-	12 per cent.
2nd class is - - -	-	-	17 per cent.
3rd class is upwards of - - -	-	-	50 per cent.

And exhibiting the disposition which exists, on the part of railway companies to give increased accommodation to all classes of society.

The amount received for each class is as follows :—

	1843-4.	1844-5.
1st class - - -	£1,432,688	£1,516,805
2nd class - - -	1,375,679	1,598,115
3rd class - - -	483,069	651,903
Mixed - - -	147,858	209,518
	<hr/> Total - - - £3,439,294	<hr/> £3,976,341

The increase of returns on the year 1844-5 was, therefore, upwards of half a million on passenger traffic alone. On gross receipts from all sources it stood thus :—

1843-4 - - -	-	-	£5,074,674
1844-5 - - -	-	-	6,209,714

Increase - - - 1,135,040

The rate of fares on the lines included in the above returns stands thus at the end of the year 1845 :—

	Ex- press. d.	1st. Class. d.	2nd. Class. d.	3rd. Class. d.
Great Western - - -	3.00	2.74	1.60	1.
London and Birmingham - - -	2.88	2.45	1.81	1.
Grand Junction - - -	2.44	2.08	1.71	1.
Midland - - -	—	3.21	2.19	1.
Birmingham and Gloucester - - -	—	3.16	2.37	1.
Chester and Birkenhead - - -	—	2.00	1.60	1.
Great North of England - - -	3.46	2.93	2.13	1.
Hull and Selby - - -	—	1.93	1.54	.967

			Ex- press. d.	1st. Class. d.	2nd. Class. d.	3rd. Class. d.
Lancaster and Preston	-	-	-	3.30	2.10	1.
Leeds and Selby	-	-	-	2.66	2.00	1.
Brighton	-	-	2.97	2.37	1.78	1.18
Croydon	-	-	-	1.42	1.14	.85
South Western	-	-	2.87	2.48	1.91	
Manchester and Birmingham	-	-	2.47	2.11	1.62	1.
Manchester and Leeds	-	-	-	2.28	2.00	1.
Newcastle and Darlington	-	-	3.23	3.07	2.15	1.
Newcastle and Carlisle	-	-	-	2.40	1.80	1.
North Union	-	-	-	2.45	1.63	1.
Preston and Wyre	-	-	-	2.52	1.89	1.
South Eastern	-	-	2.45	2.04	1.36	.82
York and North Midland	-	-	-	3.00	2.25	1.

The reductions made by the several companies in the two years included in the Board of Trade returns are as follows :—

			1st. d.	2nd. d.	3rd. d.
London and Birmingham	-	-	.74	.32	.48
Grand Junction	-	-	.92	.41	.59
Great North of England	-	-	.53	.26	.60
London and Brighton	-	-	.47	.11	
South Western	-	-	.70	.42	.26
Manchester and Birmingham	-	-	1.12	.77	
Manchester and Leeds	-	-	.94	.23	.41
Midland	-	-	-	-	.41
Newcastle and Darlington	-	-	.15	.30	.38
North Union	-	-	.54	.54	.36
South Eastern	-	-	.48	.28	.10
York and North Midland	-	-	.50	.25	1.00

The relative numbers of first, second, and third class passengers in the first half of 1845, was as follows :—

			1st. Class.	2nd. Class.	3rd. Class.
Great Western	-	-	239,710	648,906	141,134
London and Birmingham	-	-	169,963	298,132	147,809
Grand Junction	-	-	78,861	112,741	85,437
South Western	-	-	108,459	203,501	70,810
Bristol and Gloucester	-	-	63,474	153,684	65,921
Eastern Counties.	-	-	122,202	253,743	104,318
Great North of England	-	-	19,075	29,489	47,353
Liverpool and Man	-	-	119,483	158,415	257,489

### No. 3.—CATTLE TRAFFIC.

It is not so easy to get at the total of the cattle-traffic as it is of the passenger-traffic ; for the returns from many Companies are very defective, and it is difficult to separate the several branches of traffic. The following table will show the number of cattle of each class conveyed.

Number of cattle carried in the year beginning 1st July, 1844, and ending 30th June, 1845 :—

			Cattle.	Calves.	Sheep.	Figs.
Bristol and Birmingham	-	-	1,488	—	5,514	21,596
Bolton and Leigh	-	-	—	—	—	2,355



## RAILWAY REGISTER.

		Cattle.	Calves.	Sheep.	Pigs.
Chester and Birkenhead	- -	1,293	10,075	5,478	926
*Dublin and Drogheda	- -	800	—	2,000	4,000
Dundee and Arbroath	- -	298	—	19	66
Eastern Counties Old Line	- -	18,092	—	87,794	3,996
Ditto ditto N. and E.	- -	2,569	—	3,770	232
<hr/>					
Total Eastern Counties	- -	20,661	—	125,564	4,228
Glasgow and Greenock	- -	573	—	1,518	—
Glasgow and Ayr	- -	2,274	—	4,786	292
Grand Junction	- -	14,348	—	7,574	148,650
*Liverpool and Manchester	- -	8,500	—	18,000	108,123
London and Birmingham	- -	31,055	1,661	166,719	59,196
<hr/>					
Total London and Bir. Amal.	- -	53,903	1,661	192,293	315,969
*Great North of England	- -	19,685	—	20,000	5,000
Great Western	- -	14,058	—	172,264	52,443
Hull and Selby	- -	1,998	—	36,328	699
South Western	- -	2,763	—	53,441	3,089
South Eastern	- -	1,559	—	28,747	218
Brighton	- -	1,244	202	7,910	142
Manchester and Leeds	- -	9,686	—	149,022	27,485
Maryport and Carlisle	- -	20	134	227	221
*Midland	- -	30,000	—	120,000	30,000
Newcastle and Carlisle	- -	3,782	—	36,525	5,116
Newcastle and Darlington	- -	10,096	—	6,621	730
Brandling Junction	- -	726	—	6,500	3,700
Newcastle and North Shields	- -	1,649	606	23,777	493
North Union	- -	2,811	2,891	26,952	20
Preston and Wyre	- -	377	—	948	736
Sheffield and Rotherham	- -	172	602	39,006	756
Stockton and Darlington	- -	966	—	1,026	281
Ulster	- -	550	—	372	17,912
York and North Midland	- -	15,364	—	87,639	31,708
Whitby and Pickering	- -	—	—	504	—
<hr/>					
Total	- -	210,000	16,000	1,150,000	530,000

For the reason before assigned this does not represent the total conveyed on railways, which may be fairly assumed as follows in the year 1844-5:—

Cattle	- -	220,000
Calves	- -	16,000
Sheep	- -	1,200,000
Swine	- -	550,000

1,986,000

being nearly two million head of animals.

The amount of revenue derived is large, and was in the year ending 30th June, 1845, as follows:—

	Cattle. £	Sheep. £	Pigs. £	Total. £
Bristol and Birmingham	—	—	—	1,159
Chester and Birkenhead	381	45	19	445
Dublin and Drogheda	—	—	—	300
Dundee and Arbroath	—	—	—	30

\* Estimated amounts.

	Cattle. £	Sheep. £	Pigs. £	Total. £
n Counties Old Line - - -	1,786	2,185	94	4,065
ditto, N. and E. - - -	299	929	10	1,238
n Counties total - - -	2,085	3,114	104	5,303
ow and Greenock - - -	99	20	—	119
ow and Ayr - - -	242	114	12	368
l Junction - - -	3,027	469	15,057	19,553
ool and Manchester - - -	—	—	5,581	6,770
ester and Birmingham - - -	—	—	—	777
n and Birmingham - - -	9,827	7,690	2,980	20,497
n and Birmingham total - - -	12,854	8,159	23,618	49,997
North of England - - -	2,507	—	—	3,204
Western - - -	5,855	7,839	3,066	16,760
Western - - -	1,496	2,266	299	4,061
Eastern - - -	—	—	—	2,159
on - - -	401	324	12	737
ester and Leeds - - -	966	1,376	1,539	3,881
id - - -	—	—	—	7,883
stle and Carlisle - - -	521	938	159	1,618
stle and Darlington - - -	1,276	199	15	1,615
stle and North Shields - - -	76	148	6	230
n and Wyre - - -	47	23	31	101
ld and Rotherham - - -	—	—	—	305
on and Darlington - - -	80	17	3	305
- - -	94	9	394	497
and North Midland - - -	1,082	1,848	351	3,293
	30,000	26,440	30,000	102,000

rates per mile charged are as follows :—

	Cattle. d.	Sheep. d.	Pigs. d.
ow and Grenock - - -	1.85	.18	—
r and Birkenhead - - -	1.75	.12	.33
Western - - -	1.75	.20	.50
n and Wyre - - -	1.75	.50	.50
on - - -	1.64	.21	.36
nd Selby - - -	1.66	.14	.18
Western - - -	1.53	.15	.18
ld and Manchester - - -	1.50	.12	.12
n Counties (old line) - - -	1.31	.17	.33
o (N. & E.) - - -	.98	.20	.40
ds - - -	1.25	.50	.50
stle and North Shields - - -	1.25	.22	.44
Eastern - - -	1.22	.20	.40
n and Birmingham - - -	1.02	.16	.16
ester and Leeds - - -	.87	.25	.25
stle and Carlisle - - -	.87	.16	.15
North of England - - -	.80	.16	—
l and Birmingham - - -	.75	.21	.26
stle and Darlington - - -	.75	.18	.12
and North Midland - - -	.50	.20	.50

The rates for calves are—Newcastle and North Shields, 1d. per mile; Chester and Birkenhead, .42d. ; London and Birmingham, .3d. per mile.

The lowest rates of charge for cattle traffic are on Mr. Hudson's lines; those on the York and North Midland, for beasts, being less than one-third of the maximum charge.

The largest cattle traffics are as follows :—

	Cattle.	Sheep.	Pigs.
London and Birmingham Amalgamation	61,466	229,245	315,989
Great Western - - -	14,058	172,264	52,443
Eastern Counties Amalgamation - -	20,661	125,564	4,228
Midlands - - -	30,000	120,000	50,000
York and North Midland - - -	15,364	88,143	31,708
Manchester and Leeds - - -	9,686	149,022	27,485
South Western - - -	2,763	53,441	3,089
Great North of England - - -	19,685	20,000	5,000
Newcastle and Carlisle - - -	3,782	37,525	5,116

The gross amounts received range as follows :—

London and Birmingham - - -	-	-	-	£50,000
Great Western - - -	-	-	-	17,000
Midland, and Bristol and Birmingham - -	-	-	-	9,000
Eastern Counties - - -	-	-	-	5,300
South Western - - -	-	-	-	4,000
Manchester and Leeds - - -	-	-	-	4,000
York and North Midland - - -	-	-	-	3,200
Great North of England - - -	-	-	-	3,200

The traffic in beasts was in 1844-5, at least 220,000 head, and must be now much larger. It is chiefly carried on upon the London and Birmingham lines for the London market, the charge being little more than 1d. per mile. The Eastern Counties cattle traffic is 20,000 head, charged 1.3d. per mile. Great Western traffic seems to be charged too high, 1.53d. per mile, and does not much exceed 15,000 head. A very large traffic is carried on upon all the lines leading from the northern counties, where the rates are generally very low, sometimes as little as a halfpenny per mile. They amount to about 70,000 head.

It is very evident that the traffic in beasts is far from being carried to its full extent, and that the charges are too high; 1d. per head is certainly a high charge, and the general rate should be lower.

The sheep traffic is chiefly on the Great Western Railway, and this is promoted by a low rate of charge, .15d. per mile, so that nearly 180,000 head are carried on that line. On the Eastern Counties 125,000 head are carried; on the South Western 60,000; and on the London and Birmingham lines 230,000; most of which are supplied to the London market, making in the whole about half a million of sheep brought up to London by railway, out of a gross supply of a million and a half or two millions of sheep yearly sold in Smithfield.

The total sheep traffic is about a million and a quarter head, and this class of traffic is large, because the rates are generally low, but there are still great openings for management.

The pig traffic is almost solely from the ports communicating with Ireland, to which 400,000 of the 550,000 head may be traced, and

which are carried on the London and Birmingham, and Great Western lines at .18d. per head. A great many pigs are, however, brought from Buckinghamshire and the Midland Counties. The charges on the other lines are far too high, and are unsuited to the traffic, so that an inconsiderable number of swine are carried on most of the lines.

The traffic in calves must be one of some importance, as it will pay a good price for transit, but the returns afford no sufficient *data* for an estimate.

The great importance of cattle traffic in a national point of view is, that it saves the loss of meat consequent on driving the animals on the common roads.

The saving by conveyance of cattle on railways cannot be reckoned at less than 5lbs. a quarter for beasts, 2lbs. for sheep, and 2½lbs. for pigs, taking an average. This will give 20lbs. per beast, 8lbs. per sheep, and 10lbs. per pig, representing a gross saving as follows:—

On 220,000 beasts	4,400,000lbs. of beef.
1,250,000 sheep	10,000,000lbs. of mutton.
550,000 swine	5,500,000lbs. of pork.

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19,900,000lbs.

forming a total of about twenty millions of pounds of animal food, saved in the course of one year. It must be observed, that this saving is a saving on the net weight of the animal, and is, therefore, more important than if on the gross weight.

Reckoning the average net weight of a beast as one hundred stone, or 800lbs.; of a sheep as 20lbs. per quarter, or 80lbs.; and of a pig as 200lbs., the saving would be equivalent to the following numbers:—

5,500 beasts, or 2 per cent.
125,000 sheep, or 10 per cent.
27,500 pigs, or 5 per cent.

Reckoning the whole saving as in sheep of the average net weight of 20lbs. per quarter, or 80lbs., the saving of animal food annually would be equivalent to a quarter of a million of sheep—a number which would supply London with its two millions of inhabitants for about two months, or would furnish animal food to about two hundred thousand people for a year, or total subsistence for about one hundred thousand people for a year.

This calculation is quite independent of the quantities of killed meat and poultry sent up by railway, which would certainly more than double the amount.

Certain it is that, so far from the railway system having caused any diminution of the resources of the country, it has caused a large increase; for reckoning ten acres per mile as required for a railway, four sheep to an acre, and three thousand miles of railway, this would still leave a saving equivalent to one hundred and thirty thousand sheep per annum, leaving also the labour on thirty thousand acres of land available for other purposes, and increasing the net saving.

Supposing the whole supply of meat for the London market to be driven up by the roads, the loss would not be less than thirty millions of pounds in a year; and as a comparatively small portion only of this

is as yet conveyed by railway, a large opening for cattle traffic exists, and a consequently large saving to the community.

Already the increase on the net weight of the animals conveyed by railway to the London market is so large, as to be the subject of remark by the dealers in Newgate and Leadenhall markets, while the benefit to the agricultural interests can scarcely be calculated. In the case of a lean beast driven from one district to another, for fattening, there is always a loss on the driving, and this weight has to be made up in the fattening. Again, when the fatted beast is driven to market, a further loss takes place on the driving. As the management of cattle traffic improves, so the benefit to the grazier is more and more becoming felt; as he gets a better command of the markets, he is able to take a momentary advantage of any change in price, can send up to the salesman a greater or less supply, and can himself better superintend the sale. When animals are several days on the road, they always require a greater degree of superintendence, and a large quantity must be sent to meet the expense, and thus the turn of the market is often lost. Further, the loss is not confined to the waste on each individual animal, but in driving from a distance a number of animals always drop, which are generally those in a superior condition, and which are obliged to be sold and slaughtered under most disadvantageous circumstances.

The horse traffic on railways is also very large, and is found of great convenience to dealers and private individuals. Many horses are brought up by railway from the country fairs, but more are conveyed for sporting purposes, this branch of traffic being greatly promoted on some lines by the system of day tickets; so that a horse is often taken down to a hunting country, and returned home after his exercise, or carried to another hunt.

The number conveyed is as follows :—

Bristol and Birmingham	-	-	-	2,879
Chester and Birkenhead	-	-	-	664
Eastern Counties	-	-	-	2,160
Northern and Eastern	-	-	-	2,796
Grand Junction	-	-	-	4,267
Manchester and Birmingham	-	-	-	785
Great North of England	-	-	-	2,709
Great Western	-	-	-	10,504
London and Birmingham	-	-	-	10,749
London and South Western	-	-	-	5,570
London and South Eastern	-	-	-	2,714
London and Brighton	-	-	-	4,303
Manchester and Leeds	-	-	-	1,409
Midlands	-	-	-	9,595
North Union	-	-	-	989
York and North Midland	-	-	-	4,197

The largest traffic in horses is on the following lines :—

London and Birmingham	-	-	-	10,749
Great Western	-	-	-	10,504
Midlands	-	-	-	9,595

London and South Western	-	-	-	5,570
Eastern Counties and Northern and Eastern	-	-	-	4,956
London and Brighton	-	-	-	4,303
Grand Junction	-	-	-	4,267
York and North Midland	-	-	-	4,197

There is also a considerable traffic in dogs on some lines, chiefly for sporting purposes.

The London and Birmingham, in one half year, carried 2,551, for which they received £401; but the returns generally do not afford means of getting at the details of this traffic.

#### NO. 4.—COAL TRAFFIC.

If cattle traffic on railways is the means of saving a large amount of produce, which would otherwise be wasted, coal traffic affords the means of supplying a larger amount of produce to the population than was before supplied. Unless coal could be carried by railway cheaper than by any other conveyance, it would not be so carried; for, however it may be asserted that the railway has superseded other means of communication in the case of passenger traffic, it has not done so with regard to coals, for the canals and common roads remain open. Therefore, as has just been said, unless the railway can carry coal more cheaply, it will not carry it at all. Now, by carrying coal more cheaply, the consumption must necessarily be extended; for the consumption of coal, regulated by the price, very much depends upon the rate of land-carriage, which in some parts of the country carries the price of coal up to forty shillings a ton, the price at the pit's mouth being five shillings or ten shillings. However popular may be the charge of monopoly against railways, certain it is that, with regard to coals, so far from having favoured monopolies, the railways have broken them down. In many country districts, the canals are chiefly in the hands of the coal merchants and wharfingers, who constitute local and family cliques, working the canals for their own benefit, and making a monopoly of the wharfs. Two or three parties will divide among themselves the supply of a town, and if any stranger attempts to come into the trade, they put him down by underselling for a time. Thus, not only are heavy canal charges kept up, but a monopoly price is added, which grievously increases the cost of coal to the poor. The railways have done much to alter this state of affairs, and to reduce the price of coal. In one case, at Wellington, the arrival of a single waggon-load of coal at the Great Western Railway station was a sufficient summons to the local coal-merchants to lower the price five shillings per ton at once, proving that a large population had been subjected for a long time to a heavy and oppressive tax on a most necessary article of life. If food be of importance to mankind, so is warmth in the shape of clothing or fuel; but the value of this is vulgarly apt to be underrated. Indeed, to supply an increased quantity of fuel to the population, is to increase the comforts of the population, and to add to the value of human life. The effects of monopoly in limiting the use of fuel have hitherto been little investigated; but they require to be so, as an essential among the steps to be taken for the improvement of the condition of the people.

Many manufacturing pursuits are totally checked in country districts by the high price of fuel, and the progress of small towns is thus restricted, and the population made dependent on other localities for supplies, the price of which, again, is enhanced by the cost of conveyance. The evil of an insufficient or high-priced supply of fuel for manufacturing purposes is therefore double; first, by towns being deprived of the resources of a local manufacturing population, and next, by being subjected to the payment of a higher price to strangers. What effect an abundant and cheap supply of fuel produces, we know by such examples as the removal of the iron works from Surrey, Sussex, and the southern districts, where wood-fuel formerly abounded, to Staffordshire, South Wales, and the coal countries. The effect of the present monopoly prices of coal is often to prevent ironfoundries, brickfields, potteries, breweries, and many common works from being carried on in parts of the country, although there are large populations to consume the produce.

Wherever an increased supply of coal is brought, the benefit to the population is great, by the better provision of fuel, and by the establishment of such home manufactures as before were kept away, by the inability to produce at such low rates as to suit the markets, and to compete with other wares.

In flat countries, where there is a want of mill-power by water, cheap coal will enable steam-power to be applied, and here again the opportunity is afforded for new branches of manufacture to be established.

The agricultural interests have benefited greatly from these advantages, and must benefit still more as agricultural science advances. At present the result may be felt in cheaper bricks, tiles, sawn timber, ironwork, mill-produce, &c.; but as steam-power is more extensively applied in the south of England, as it is in the Scotch districts, the steam-engine will become as necessary an appurtenance of the corn manufacturer as the barn is now. In those districts of Scotland where fuel is cheap, the steam-engine is employed with advantage to drive the thrashing machine, to pound bones, cut chaff, raise water, grind corn, and turn many of the farm machines. Coals at thirty, five-and-thirty, and forty shillings a ton, afford but poor encouragement to the energetic agriculturist to resort to additional machinery, and he must wait the advent of cheaper fuel. As the consumption of coal extends, the agriculturist also profits by the supply of ashes as manure, and of breeze, or small coal, at a cheap rate, for burning bricks on the London plan.

The coal statistics, like most portions of the returns of the railway department, form not merely a

rudis, indigestaque moles,

but are shamefully defective, as most of the great Companies have not felt themselves called upon to make any returns.

This list includes the London and Birmingham, Great Western, Grand Junction, Eastern Counties, South Western, Edinburgh and Glasgow, Glasgow and Greenock, Hull and Selby, Manchester and Leeds, Manchester and Birmingham, and Lancaster and Preston.

The materials supplied by other lines can, therefore, only be cited to show a minimum of accommodation afforded, and we must estimate the maximum in the manner we best can.

The following shows the gross tonnage of the undermentioned lines in the year beginning 1st July, 1844, and ending 30th June, 1845:—

	Tons.
Arbroath and Forfar - - - -	12,000
Ardrossan - - - - -	42,144
Ballochney - - - - -	282,622
Bristol and Birmingham - - - -	70,000
Canterbury and Whitstable - - - -	13,000
Clarence - - - - -	300,000
Dunfermline - - - - -	28,477
Durham and Sunderland - - - - -	372,714
Edinburgh and Dalkeith - - - - -	118,340
Glasgow and Ayr - - - - -	120,000
Glasgow and Garnkirk - - - - -	1,761,000
Great North of England - - - - -	181,012
Hartlepool - - - - -	796,486
Hayle - - - - -	20,000
Leicester and Swannington - - - -	178,566
Liverpool and Manchester - - - - -	133,396
Llanelly and Llandilo - - - - -	92,381
London and Croydon - - - - -	6,000
London and South Eastern - - - - -	22,519
London and Brighton - - - - -	30,000
London and South Western - - - -	4,000
Manchester and Bury - - - - -	49,826
Maryport and Carlisle - - - - -	119,375
Midland - - - - -	313,854
Newcastle and Carlisle - - - - -	205,500
Newcastle and Darlington - - - - -	400,000
Newcastle and North Shields - - - -	26,936
North Union - - - - -	321,923
Pontop and South Shields - - - - -	662,829
Preston and Wyre - - - - -	21,538
St. Helens and Runcorn Gap - - - -	229,775
Sheffield and Manchester - - - - -	58,668
Sheffield and Rotherham - - - - -	16,000
Stockton and Darlington - - - - -	900,000
Taff Vale - - - - -	125,986
Ulster - - - - -	807
Whitby and Pickering - - - - -	1,708
Wishaw and Coltness - - - - -	390,240
York and North Midland - - - - -	47,529

These amounts constitute an aggregate of seven millions of tons of coal conveyed by railway in the year 1844-5; but the correct amount cannot be defined on account of the omissions of so many returns, and because large quantities are conveyed over several lines.

The amounts received are as follows:—

Arbroath and Forfar - - - -	£1,700
Ardrossan - - - - -	2,106
Ballochney - - - - -	3,206
Bristol and Birmingham - - - -	3,768



				£
Canterbury and Whitstable	-	-	-	1,188
Clarence	-	-	-	20,000
Dunfermline and Charlestown	-	-	-	3,142
Durham and Sunderland	-	-	-	22,712
Edinburgh and Dalkeith	-	-	-	4,800
Glasgow and Ayr	-	-	-	8,000
Glasgow and Garnkirk	-	-	-	7,600
Great North of England	-	-	-	13,079
Hartlepool	-	-	-	32,627
Hayle	-	-	-	2,400
Leicester and Swannington	-	-	-	15,827
Liverpool and Manchester	-	-	-	9,414
Llanelly and Llandilo	-	-	-	6,067
London and Brighton	-	-	-	2,400
London and Croydon	-	-	-	500
Manchester, Bolton, and Bury	-	-	-	3,332
Maryport and Carlisle	-	-	-	7,244
Midland	-	-	-	42,000
Newcastle and Carlisle	-	-	-	19,476
Newcastle and North Shields	-	-	-	1,198
Pontop and South Shields	-	-	-	49,591
Preston and Wyre	-	-	-	4,289
St. Helen's Runcorn Gap	-	-	-	9,762
Sheffield and Manchester	-	-	-	2,447
Sheffield and Rotherham	-	-	-	977
Stockton and Darlington	-	-	-	80,000
Taff Vale	-	-	-	19,939
Ulster	-	-	-	130
Whitby and Pickering	-	-	-	241
Wishaw and Coltness	-	-	-	9,969
York and North Midland	-	-	-	2,419

This constitutes a total of upwards of four hundred thousand pounds, so that the gross total is most probably near six hundred thousand pounds for the sum received by railways on account of the conveyance of coal.

The rates of charge vary very much on the several lines, depending on many circumstances, so that it is impossible to institute an accurate comparison, in some cases the coalowners supplying their own locomotives and waggons, and being charged toll only; in others supplying their waggons only; in others being charged with an additional rent for waggons; and in many cases the Company hauling and supplying waggons.

Rate per mile for toll only, and for total charges :—

	Toll.	Total Charges.
	d.	d.
Canterbury and Whitstable	-	6.00
Dunfermline and Charlestown	-	4.29
Bodmin and Wadebridge	-	4.25
Hayle	-	4.20
Dundee and Newtyle	-	3.37

	Toll.	Total Charges.
	d.	d.
Maryport and Carlisle - -	1.16	3.33
Arbroath and Forfar - -	-	3.30
Monkland and Kirkintilloch - -	-	3.00
South Western - -	-	3.00
Wishaw and Coltness - -	2.27	2.90
Manchester and Bury - -	-	2.30
London and Croydon - -	2.00	2.25
South Eastern - -	-	2.12
Brighton - -	.25	2.10
Newcastle and Carlisle - -	-	2.00
Leicester and Swannington - -	-	1.57
Llanelly and Llandilo - -	1.00	1.50
Bristol and Birmingham - -	-	1.43
Durham and Sunderland - -	-	1.40
St. Helens and Runcorn - -	.7	1.40
Pontop and South Shields - -	.75	1.30
Garnkirk and Glasgow - -	-	1.27
Newcastle and Darlington - -	-	1.25
Edinburgh and Dalkeith - -	-	1.25
Preston and Wyre - -	-	1.25
Taff Vale - -	.66	1.16
Manchester and Leeds - -	1.00	-
Clarence - -	-	.91
Hartlepool - -	.75	-
York and North Midland - -	-	.75
Great North of England - -	-	.50

The above are not in all cases the average charges, but the maximum charges ; as on some lines, a higher rate is charged for going up hill than for going down hill.

The chief coal lines are the following :—

	Tons.	£
Stockton and Darlington - -	900,000	80,000
Pontop and South Shields - -	662,829	49,591
Midland - -	313,854	42,000
Hartlepool - -	796,486	32,627
Durham and Sunderland - -	372,714	22,712
Clarence - -	300,000	20,000
Taff Vale - -	125,986	19,939
Newcastle and Carlisle - -	205,500	19,476
Leicester and Swannington - -	178,566	15,827
Great North of England - -	181,012	13,079
St. Helen's and Runcorn - -	229,775	9,762
North Union - -	321,923	-
Wishaw and Coltness - -	390,240	9,969
Liverpool and Manchester - -	133,396	9,414
Ballochney - -	282,632	3,206
Newcastle and Darlington - -	400,000	-

The coals conveyed by railway from the several fields, and the amounts received, are as follows :—

	Tons.	£
Northumberland and Durham -	3,850,000	260,000
Cumberland - - -	250,000	10,000
Leicester, Nottingham and Derby	616,000	65,000
Lancashire - - -	900,000	55,000
Bristol - - -	50,000	5,000
South Wales - - -	220,000	26,000
Glasgow - - -	760,000	35,000

This traffic is exclusive of the traffic in coke.

## CONTRIBUTIONS TO RAILWAY STATISTICS.

By HYDE CLARKE, Esq.

## No. 5.—IRONSTONE AND IRON TRAFFIC.

NEXT to coal, iron forms one of the chief branches of mineral traffic ; but the returns of the Board of Trade do not allow the complete development of the full extent of the traffic in ironstone, pig iron, bar iron, and castings.

The traffic in ironstone on the following railways, in the year ending 30th June, 1845, is shown below in tons, with the amount received in tons, and the rate of charge per ton per mile in pence :—

	Tons.	£	Rate. d.
Ballochney - - - - -	239,010	6,931	2.25
Taff Vale - - - - -	58,850	6,786	1.16
Wishaw and Coltness - - - -	32,240	191	

The traffic in pig iron for the same period is also shown in tons, with the amount received, and the rate of charge:—

	Tons.	£	Rate. d.
Ardrossan - - - - -	7,881	305	...
Ballochney - - - - -	3,610	46	1.66
Glasgow and Ayr - - - - -	25,000	2,400	...
Taff Vale - - - - -	38,493	4,901	1.00
Wishaw and Coltness - - - -	73,429	2,096	...

As to the traffic in bar iron and castings, there are only two returns, which are those of the Ballochney, and the Wishaw and Coltness Railways :—

	Tons.	£	Rate. d.
Ballochney - - - - -	10,000	200	3.82
Wishaw and Coltness - - - -	5,202	151	...

The traffic of the Scotch iron district seems to be as follows :—

	Tons.	£
Ironstone - - - - -	27,125	7,121
Pig Iron - - - - -	109,920	4,847
Bar Iron - - - - -	15,202	351

Total - - - - - 152,247 £12,319

The traffic of the Welch iron district is as follows, from which it appears that very little produce goes by railway at present :—

	Tons.	£
Ironstone - - - - -	58,250	6,786
Pig Iron - - - - -	38,493	4,901
Total - - - - -	97,343	£11,687

## No. 6.—COPPER AND TIN.

The traffic in copper and tin ores is confined to the Cornish lines :—

	Tons.	£	Rate. d.
Bodmin and Wadebridge - - -	3,000	200	3.00
Hayle - - - - -	20,000	4,000	4.20

## No. 7.—LIME AND LIMESTONE.

Lime and limestone are such important items of consumption, and the railway system has done so much for their increased distribution, that it is much to be desired for the benefit of Railway Companies, that more information should be obtained as to the extent of produce carried. The apathy on the part of railway secretaries as to the publication of good information and useful returns, often proves a very great obstacle in the way of those who advocate the railway cause. And it is also detrimental to the individual Companies, by depriving them of the materials for judging of the working of their traffic and the field for its extension.

Nearly every railway carries lime, but the following are the only Companies which give separate returns of the traffic in lime and limestone; and which serve to show that it is a very extensive branch of revenue.

Number of tons of lime and limestone carried in the year, ending 30th June, 1845, with the amount received, and the rate per ton per mile in pence:—

Company.	Tons.	£	Rate. d.
Arbroath and Forfar - - -	2,000	300	...
Great North of England - - -	2,500	18	...
Leicester and Swannington - - -	4,800	220	1.50
Llanelly and Llandilo - - -	294	12	1.00
Maryport and Carlisle - - -	2,261	82	1.30
Midland - - -	56,290	5,800	...
Newcastle and Carlisle - - -	40,260	3,774	1.25
Whitby and Pickering - - -	1,659	167	2.
Wishaw and Coltness - - -	13,482	124	..
York and North Midland - - -	8,998	762	1.50
Total - - -	132,544	£11,259	

Most of this produce is used for agricultural purposes, except some for building; perhaps that on the Wishaw and Coltness Railway, part of which is for the iron furnaces. The following may be taken as a minimum estimate of the quantity of lime carried on railways for agricultural purposes.

District.	Tons.
Scotland - - -	40,000
Northern - - -	50,000
Yorkshire - - -	25,000
Midland - - -	120,000
Lancashire - - -	25,000
Southern - - -	50,000
Total - - -	310,000

The rates for the carriage of lime are generally low, ranging from 1½d. per ton per mile, on the Newcastle and Carlisle, to 1¼d. per ton per mile, on the York and North Midland. The greatest traffic in lime, according to the returns, is as follows:—

	Tons.	£
Midland - - -	56,290	5,800
Newcastle and Carlisle -	40,260	3,774

Much of the lime carried on the Midland is obtained from the pits which have been opened of late years by Mr. Stephenson and others, in consequence of the facilities afforded by the construction of the Midland Railway.

#### No. 8.—STONE TRAFFIC.

The traffic in stone, though large, cannot be ascertained in its full extent, on account of its not being specified in the returns.

Number of tons of stone carried in the year ending June 30, 1845, the amount received, and the rate per ton per mile :—

Company.	Tons.	£	Rate. d.
Arbroath and Forfar - - -	20,000	1,100	2.12
Great North of England - - -	4,000	800	2.12
Leicester and Swannington - - -	10,412	269	2.50
Preston and Wyre - - -	852	91	1.25
Saint Helen's and Runcorn - - -	17,169	674	1.12
Whitby and Pickering - - -	30,465	1,116	2.50
Wishaw and Coltness - - -	6,492	151	..
Total - - -	90,000	£4,500	

Part of this stone is for building purposes, and part for paving. Stone is also carried on the Midland, Great Western, South Eastern, and other lines, and the total quantity of stone carried on railways does not probably fall short of 200,000 tons per annum.

The rates may be taken generally as above 2d. per mile, which seems rather too high for the due development of the traffic.

#### No. 9.—SAND TRAFFIC.

Sand is carried extensively on railways. The amount in the year ending 30th June, 1845, was as follows, on some of the lines :—

Company.	Tons.	£	Rate. d.
Bodmin and Wadebridge - - -	12,227	1,310	3.00
London and Croydon - - -	3,000	450	3.75
Wishaw and Coltness - - -	2,921	21	...

Part of this sand is used for agricultural purposes, and part for building. A great deal of gravel and sand is also carried for railway purposes, to be laid down as ballast on the permanent way.

On the Durham and Sunderland Railway, in the year ending June 30th, 1845, ballast was also carried to some extent for shipping purposes.

Company.	Tons.	£	Rate. d.
Durham and Sunderland - - -	30,356	506	4

#### No. 10.—MISCELLANEOUS MINERAL TRAFFIC.

Among miscellaneous articles of mineral traffic carried on railways, are salt, to a large extent, lead ores, copper, brass, lead and tin metal,

iron slag, cement, stone, glass, &c. There are no data for estimating this traffic accurately.

#### No. 11.—BRICK TRAFFIC.

The distribution of bricks and tiles, at a cheaper rate, is one of the benefits conferred by the railway system, and in consequence of which a great many new brick fields and tile works have been opened.

The only returns of traffic in bricks and tiles, are the following;—

Return for the year ending 30th June, 1845, of the numbers of tons of bricks and tiles, amount received, and rate per ton per mile.

Company.	Tons.	£	Rate d.
Leicester and Swannington - - - - -	746	92	3.00
London and Croydon - - - - -	500	50	3.00
Maryport and Carlisle - - - - -	370	40	2.14
Wishaw and Coltness - - - - -	291	12	..
Total . - - - - -	1,907	£194	

It is very evident that this is but a very small part of the total produce, for large quantities of bricks are produced on nearly every line, and the traffic is certainly therefore ten times as much.

The rates, it will be observed, are generally high, so far as the information goes, for 2d. per ton per mile would seem ample.

#### No. 12.—TIMBER TRAFFIC.

The conveyance of building materials at a cheap rate is, as we have observed, a great boon conferred on the community, and particularly on the agriculturists, and we cannot estimate the total amount of building materials carried at a less extent than 320,000 tons, namely:—

	Tons.	Rate. d.
Stone - - - - -	200,000	2.12
Bricks and Tiles - - - - -	20,000	3.00
Timber - - - - -	40,000	3.00
Lime - - - - -	50,000	1.50
Sand - - - - -	10,000	3.00
Total - - - - -	320,000	

Of this quantity at least one-half must go for agricultural purposes, effecting a very great saving at a time when there is an evident disposition to increase on scientific grounds the extent of agricultural buildings and apparatus.

Quantity of timber carried in tons, in the year ending 30th June, 1845, amount received, and rate per ton per mile:—

Company.	Tons.	£	Rate. d.
Whitby and Pickering - - - - -	911	506	5.
Wishaw and Coltness - - - - -	148	130	..
Great North of England - - - - -	1,000	160	..

A great deal of timber is carried on the Cornish and Northern lines, for mining purposes; and hop poles, bark, and small timber are also conveyed, but the relative proportions are not known.

## No. 13.—FISH TRAFFIC.

Fish has been relied upon as a great branch of railway traffic, and there is no reason to doubt it, though the means of estimating it are very defective. Already, in the midland towns, fish is cheap and abundant, and as the traffic gets better understood, it must greatly extend.

The only separate returns of fish conveyed are the following:—

Number of tons of fish carried in the year ending 30th June, 1845, amount received, and rate per ton per mile:—

Company.	Tons.	£	Rate. d.
Great North of England - - - -	867	970	5.55
Whitby and Pickering - - - -	1109	330	5.00

The rates charged for conveyance are high, and there is no doubt the traffic is remunerative.

The following is an estimate of the number of tons of fish conveyed on the several lines, which may be taken as much below the real amount rather than above it:—

Districts.	Tons.
Scotland - - - - -	2,000
Northern - - - - -	3,000
Midland - - - - -	2,000
Southern - - - - -	4,000
Western - - - - -	2,000
Total - - - - -	13,000

## No. 14.—PROVISION TRAFFIC.

The quantities of meat, fish, and vegetables conveyed on our railways is notorious; and the effect this has produced on the larger and smaller markets is one of the most striking effects of the railway system.

The only distinct returns under this head are those of the South Eastern and Preston and Wyre Railways, which show that it is of very large extent.

Tons of meat, fish, fruit, and vegetables conveyed in the year ending 30th June, 1845, amount received, and rate per ton per mile:—

Company.	Tons.	£	Rate. d.
South Eastern - - - - -	10,000*	..	..
Preston and Wyre - - - - -	8,521	2,591	4

The quantity of provisions supplied to the London markets by the Metropolitan railways may be estimated at a minimum calculation, as follows:—

Company.	Tons.
South Eastern - - - - -	7,000
Brighton - - - - -	5,000
South Western - - - - -	20,000
Great Western - - - - -	30,000
London and Birmingham - - - -	30,000
Eastern Counties and Northern and Eastern - - - - -	15,000
Total - - - - -	107,000

\* Fruit, meat, and vegetables, half-year ending 31st December, 1844, 3583 tons, besides fish, bacon, hams, &c.



Being upwards of 100,000 tons of produce brought into metropolitan consumption under the most favourable circumstances, and exclusive of live stock. The quantity enumerated includes killed meat brought from great distance by railway, whereby the unnecessary waste in driving is avoided. Fruit and vegetables brought fresh to market, and many of that delicate nature that they can only be carried by such a rapid means of conveyance; fresh fish, milk, butter, &c. All these are articles which can be most advantageously and most economically conveyed by railway.

#### No. 15.—GRAIN TRAFFIC.

The conveyance of grain and flour by railway forms a very irregular kind of traffic, as such large quantities had to be conveyed when foreign corn was entered for home consumption.

The only returns for the year ending 30th June, 1845, are as follows, showing the number of tons carried, the amount received, and rate per ton per mile :—

Company.	Tons.		Rate.	
		£	d.	
Great North of England - - -	5,901	1,284	2.00	
London and Croydon - - -	45	5	...	
Maryport and Carlisle - - -	229	31	2.50	
Whitby and Pickering - - -	407	142	4.00	

The amount of grain and meal carried by railway is certainly not under a quarter of a million of tons, and most probably exceeds three hundred thousand tons.

#### No. 16.—MANURE TRAFFIC.

This is very important to the agricultural interests, but like many other branches of traffic, it is left by the returns a matter of pure conjecture as to its real extent.

The following are returns of tons of guano and manure carried in the year ending 30th June, 1845, with amount received, and rate per ton per mile.

Company.	Tons.		Rate.	
		£	d.	
Leicester and Swannington - - -	496	49	2.00	
Wishaw and Coltness - - -	1,056	27	..	

Lime, as has been already shown, is carried extensively for agricultural purposes, and so is sand, and the quantity cannot be less than as under :—

	Tons.
Lime - - - - -	300,000
Sand - - - - -	50,000
Manure - - - - -	20,000

The total quantity being taken as four hundred thousand tons.

#### No. 17.—AGRICULTURAL TRAFFIC.

The foregoing calculations afford data for calculating the vast extent of accommodation afforded to the agricultural interest by the railway system, and which may be thus tabulated :—

## BROUGHT TO THE FARM.

Raw Materials.	Tons.
Building Materials, Draining Tiles, Hop Poles, &c. - - - - -	160,000
Manures - - - - -	400,000
Also Hay, Turnips, Rapeseed, &c., for feeding stock.	
Also Seeds.	
„ Salt.	
„ Lean Stock.	
„ Implements and Iron.	

## PRODUCE CARRIED TO MARKET.

Cattle - - - - -	220,000
Calves - - - - -	16,000
Sheep - - - - -	1,200,000
Swine - - - - -	550,000
Also Horses.	
Grain - - - - -	200,000
Killed Meat, Bacon, Hams - - - - -	}
Poultry, Eggs - - - - -	
Milk, Butter, Cheese - - - - -	
Fruit - - - - -	
Potatoes, Vegetables - - - - -	200,000
Also Hides, Horns.	
„ Hops.	
„ Ale, Beer.	
„ Cyder, Perry.	
„ Hay and Animal Food.	
„ Timber, Bark.	

This synopsis will show how vast is the extent of agricultural traffic; and it will readily suggest itself that a great saving is effected in the conveyance of raw materials, and a still greater saving in the conveyance of produce to market.

## No. 18.—MAIL TRAFFIC.

The conveyance of mails affords a large return to the Companies. The amount of this has had to be estimated like that of parcels, as the Board of Trade return is only for one half year.

Amount received for the conveyance of mails in the year ending 30th June, 1845.

Company.	£
Arbroath and Forfar - - - - -	40
Ardrossan - - - - -	30
Chester and Birkenhead - - - - -	827
Dublin and Drogheda - - - - -	1,600
Dundee and Arbroath - - - - -	318
Eastern Counties, Cambridge - - - - -	150
„ „ Colchester - - - - -	3,000
Grand Junction - - - - -	20,000
Great North of England - - - - -	2,800
Hull and Selby - - - - -	1,000
Lancaster and Preston - - - - -	4,600
Liverpool and Manchester - - - - -	1,000

Company.			£
London and Birmingham	-	-	- 15,000
London and South Eastern	-	-	- 7,200
London and Greenwich	-	-	- 50
London and Brighton	-	-	- 260
London and Blackwall	-	-	- 60
Manchester and Bolton	-	-	- 100
Manchester and Leeds	-	-	- 2,200
Midland	-	-	- 11,000
Newcastle and Carlisle	-	-	- 1,000
Newcastle and North Shields	-	-	- 50
North Union	-	-	- 4,400
Preston and Wyre	-	-	- 170
Stockton and Darlington	-	-	- 370
Total	-	-	- £77,000
Add for omissions	-	-	- 23,000
Gross total	-	-	- £100,000

This must be considerably under the mark, as there are no returns for the Great Western, South Western, Bristol and Birmingham, Edinburgh and Glasgow, &c.

#### No 19.—GOODS TRAFFIC.

Although goods traffic is a term generally applied to all traffic, not passenger traffic, it is also strictly applied to the conveyance of produce, other than mineral.

The following table shows the number of tons of goods conveyed in the year ending 30th June, 1845, the amount received, and the rate per ton per mile :—

Company.	Tons.	£	Rate d.
Ardrossan	17,360	871	..
Bristol and Birmingham	74,000	38,000	2.27
"	20,000	3,756	..
Chester and Birkenhead	7,000	2,768	..
Clarence	15,000	2,000	2.39
Dublin and Drogheda	9,000	2,400	3.00
Dunfermline and Charlestown	4,145	518	7.05
"	9,453	1,186	2.75
Eastern Counties, Cambridge	44,572	11,645	..
" Colchester	31,669	9,553	..
Garnkirk and Glasgow	20,883	1,204	2.18
Glasgow and Ayr	45,000	15,000	..
Great North of England	45,966	15,411	..
Hartlepool	28,337	1,658	..
Great Western	..	..	..
Hayle	1,537	289	6.03
Liverpool and Manchester	216,237	95,479	..
South Western	93,425	56,080	..
South Eastern	64,365	..	..
London and Brighton	49,308	32,037	..
London and Croydon	3,600	480	..

Company.	Tons.	£	Rate d.
London and Blackwall - - -	13,891	2,306	..
Manchester and Bolton - - -	97,612	12,356	..
Manchester and Leeds - - -	403,618	150,297	..
Maryport and Carlisle - - -	793	112	..
Midland - - -	371,154	139,334	..
Newcastle and Carlisle - - -	67,859	26,633	..
Newcastle and Darlington - - -	50,500	11,512	..
Newtyle and Cupar Angus - - -	9,507	592	..
" - - -	91,332	..	..
Pontop and South Shields - - -	26,019	1,256	..
Preston and Wyre - - -	20,672	6,271	..
St. Helen's - - -	10,872	676	..
Sheffield and Manchester - - -	32,000	4,000	..
Sheffield and Rotherham - - -	11,800	1,539	..
Stockton and Darlington - - -	70,789	12,339	..
Taff Vale - - -	19,662	8,363	..
Ulster - - -	..	9,097	..
Whitby and Pickering - - -	2,329	958	..
Wishaw and Coltness - - -	4,101	272	..
Yarmouth and Norwich - - -	..	1,005	..
York and North Midland - - -	279,012	30,041	..

The chief Companies concerned in the pure goods traffic, exclusive of minerals, are the following, besides the Birmingham and Great Western :—

	Tons.	£
Manchester and Leeds - - -	503,618	150,297
Midland - - -	371,154	139,334
Liverpool and Manchester - - -	216,237	95,479
London and South Western - - -	93,425	56,080
Bristol and Birmingham - - -	74,000	38,000
London and Brighton - - -	49,308	32,037
York and North Midland - - -	279,012	30,041
Newcastle and Carlisle - - -	67,859	26,633
Eastern Counties - - -	76,241	21,198
Great North of England - - -	45,966	15,411
Glasgow and Ayr. - - -	45,000	15,000
Manchester and Bolton - - -	97,612	12,356
Stockton and Darlington - - -	70,789	12,339
Newcastle and Darlington - - -	50,500	11,512

The extent of gross goods traffic, including minerals and all kinds of produce, is shown by the following table :—

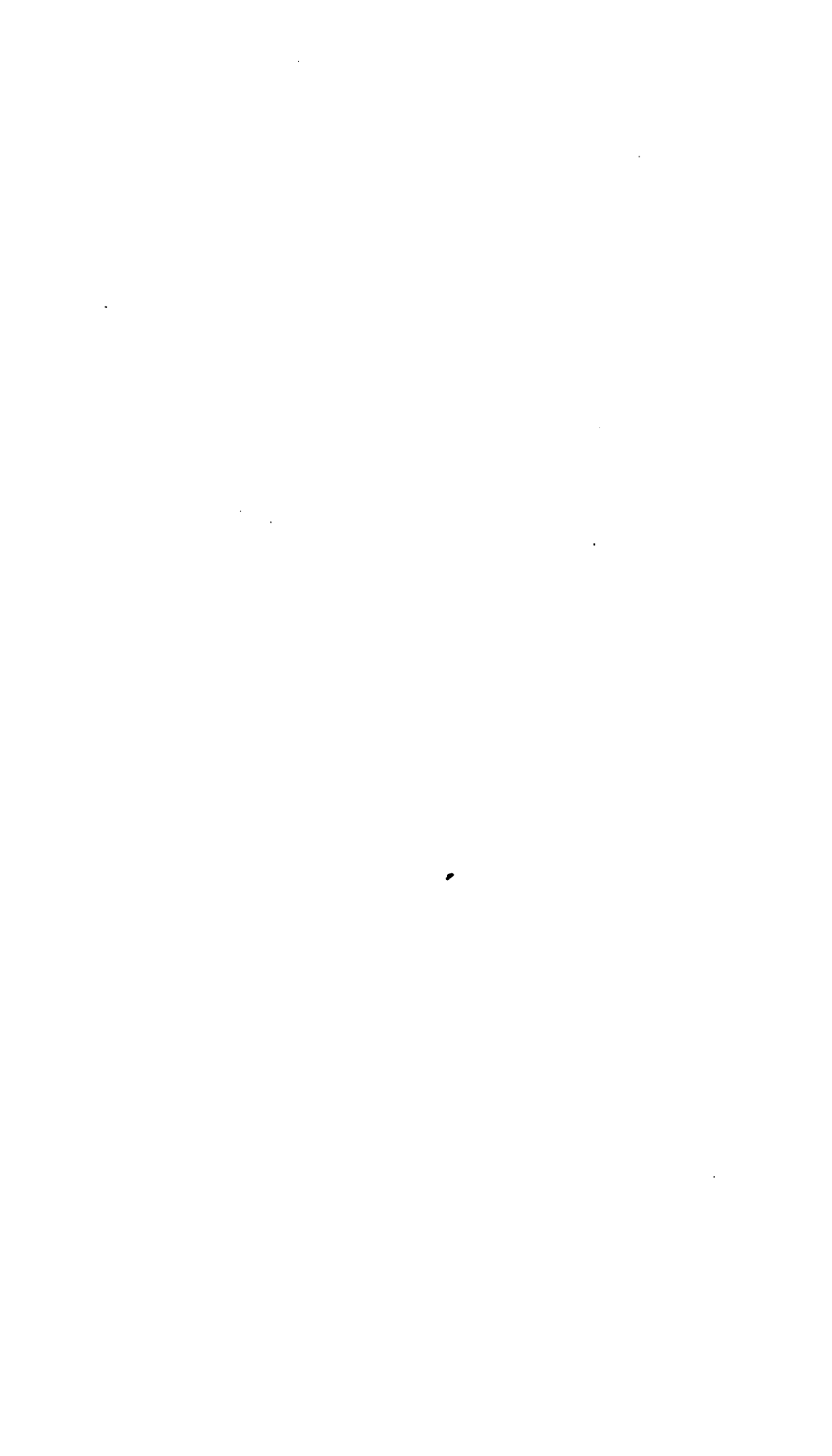
Number of tons of goods conveyed in the year ending 30th June, 1845, and amount received :—

	Tons.	£
Arbroath and Forfar - - -	59,844	5,701
Ardrossan - - -	67,385	2,283
Ballochney - - -	377,068	10,527
Bristol and Birmingham - - -	166,701	54,929
" - - -	20,376	2,122
" - - -	25,000	6,062
Chester and Birkenhead - - -	7,000	2,788

	Tons.	£
Clarence - - -	150,000	22,000
Dublin and Drogheda -	9,000	2,400
Dunfermline and Charlestown -	33,622	3,680
Dundee and Arbroath -	81,484	4,722
Dundalk and Newtyle -	34,744	3,923
Durham and Sunderland -	412,523	24,404
Eastern Counties, Cambridge -	44,572	11,645
Colchester -	32,867	9,692
Edinburgh and Glasgow -	..	34,654
Edinburgh and Dalkeith -	125,274	5,093
Garnkirk and Glasgow -	297,715	12,067
Glasgow and Greenock -	79,413	14,301
Glasgow and Ayr -	168,376	29,116
Grandhurst - - -	266,000	118,971
Great North of England -	234,198	28,561
Great Western - - -	209,563	154,176
Hartlepool - - -	724,824	34,185
Hayle - - -	66,871	9,487
Lancaster and Preston -	26,099	2,891
Leicester - - -	197,447	16,756
Liverpool and Manchester -	349,633	104,894
London and Brighton -	65,747	33,326
London and Birmingham -	211,590	204,104
London and South Western -	93,425	56,080
London and South Eastern -	87,119	...
London and Croydon -	9,600	866
London and Blackwall -	13,891	2,306
Manchester and Bolton -	149,245	15,708
Manchester and Leeds -	507,859	150,705
Maryport and Carlisle -	128,730	9,416
Midland - - -	715,272	181,456
Monkland and Kirkintilloch -	1,146,116	14,224
Newcastle and Carlisle -	306,176	48,282
Newcastle and Darlington -	268,086	24,132
Newcastle and North Shields -	26,936	1,198
Newtyle and Cupar Angus -	9,507	592
North Union - - -	413,256	13,000
Pontop and South Shields -	719,734	51,448
Preston and Wyre - -	43,062	8,654
St. Helen's - - -	255,816	11,715
Sheffield and Manchester -	70,000	6,000
Sheffield and Rotherham -	30,151	2,516
Stockton and Darlington -	900,000	85,000
Slamannan - - -	64,236	1,808
Taff Vale - - -	342,991	39,969
Ulster - - -	..	9,227
Whithy and Pickering -	36,101	2,483
Wishaw and Coltness -	560,150	16,597
Norfolk - - -	...	1,005
York and North Midland -	351,022	34,692
Total - - -	11,600,000	

The chief Companies engaged in the conveyance of minerals and goods rank as follows :—

London and Birmingham	-	211,590	204,114
Grand Junction	- -	266,000	118,971
		<hr/>	<hr/>
Midland	- - -	477,590	323,085
Great Western	- - -	715,272	181,156
Manchester and Leeds	- - -	209,563	154,176
Liverpool and Manchester	- - -	507,859	150,705
Stockton and Darlington	- - -	349,633	104,894
London and South Western	- - -	900,000	85,000
Bristol and Birmingham	- - -	93,425	56,080
Pontop and South Shields	- - -	166,701	54,929
Newcastle and Carlisle	- - -	719,734	51,448
Taff Vale	- - -	306,176	48,282
York and North Midland	- - -	342,991	39,969
Edinburgh and Glasgow	- - -	354,022	34,692
Hartlepool	- - -	...	34,654
London and Brighton	- - -	724,824	34,185
		65,747	33,326



# CONTRIBUTIONS TO RAILWAY STATISTICS.

By HYDE CLARKE, Esq.

## No. 20.—PARCELS TRAFFIC.

The conveyance of parcels is justly looked upon as a lucrative branch of revenue; while its working has led to much greater accommodation on the part of the public.

The returns for the conveyance of parcels, and for passengers' extra luggage as here given, are not complete, and are not quite accurate, as the returns in most cases give only the amount for the half-year ending 30th June, 1845, so that the annual amount is mostly a calculated sum.

Amount received for parcels, and passengers, extra luggage, in the year ending 30th June, 1845 :—

Company.	£
Arbroath and Forfar - - -	250
Chester and Birkenhead - - -	700
Dublin and Drogheda - - -	1,800
Dublin and Kingstown - - -	471
Dundee and Arbroath - - -	346
Dundee and Newtyle - - -	36
Durham and Sunderland - - -	220
Eastern Counties, Cambridge - - -	3,000
Colchester - - -	6,984
"                  " - - -	71
Glasgow and Greenock - - -	20,000
Grand Junction - - -	2,800
Great North of England - - -	30,000
Great Western - - -	172
Hartlepool - - -	2,800
Hull and Selby - - -	29
Hayle - - -	1,200
Lancaster and Preston - - -	338
Llanelly and Llandilo - - -	56,000
London and Birmingham - - -	6,400
London and South Eastern - - -	11
London and Greenwich - - -	280
London and Croydon - - -	860
Manchester and Bolton - - -	4,074
Manchester and Leeds - - -	158
Maryport and Carlisle - - -	21,000
Midland - - -	28
Monkland and Kirkintilloch - - -	1,266
Newcastle and Carlisle - - -	1,346
Newcastle and North Shields - - -	2,800
North Union - - -	340
Preston and Wyre - - -	70
St. Helen's and Runcorn - - -	700
Sheffield and Manchester - - -	360
Stockton and Darlington - - -	
	£156,910
Add for omissions - - -	30,000
Total - - -	£186,900



The number of parcels carried is distinguished in some of the returns :—

Company.	Number of Parcels.	£
Eastern Counties, Colchester - - -	184,545	6,984
Hartlepool - - - - -	15,104	172
Lancaster and Preston - - - - -	32,000	1,200
Llanelly and Llandilo - - - - -	5,597	338
Manchester and Leeds - - - - -	88,571	4,074
Newcastle and Carlisle - - - - -	36,385	1,266
<b>Total - - - - -</b>	<b>362,202</b>	<b>£14,034</b>

It thus appears that the average rate for the conveyance of parcels is 9·29d., or a little more than 9½d. per parcel, or rather more than 25 parcels to the pound. Taking this as the average, it would give us a total of 4,600,000 parcels conveyed in the year 1844—5. Of this number, above one million and a half of parcels are conveyed to and from the metropolis.

The probable number of parcels to and from the great towns is as follows :—

Towns.	No. of Parcels.
London - - - - -	1,500,000
Manchester - - - - -	250,000
Liverpool - - - - -	160,000
Bristol - - - - -	100,000
Leeds - - - - -	100,000
Newcastle - - - - -	75,000
Hull - - - - -	50,000
Preston - - - - -	50,000
Sheffield - - - - -	50,000
York - - - - -	25,000
Dublin - - - - -	25,000
Cambridge - - - - -	25,000
Dover - - - - -	25,000
Lancaster - - - - -	20,000
Carlisle - - - - -	20,000

The chief parcels traffic is on the following lines :—

Company.	No. of Parcels.
London and Birmingham - - - - -	56,000
Grand Junction - - - - -	20,000
<b>Ditto Amalgamated - - - - -</b>	<b>76,000</b>
Great Western - - - - -	30,000
Midland - - - - -	21,000
Eastern Counties - - - - -	10,000
South Eastern - - - - -	6,400
Manchester and Leeds - - - - -	4,074

#### No. 21.—CARRIAGE TRAFFIC.

The number of private carriages conveyed by railway is larger than is supposed.

The following fixes the number of carriages conveyed in the year ending 30th June, 1845, the amount received, and the rate per mile charged :—

Company.		Number.	£	Rate
Bristol and Birmingham	-	1655	1933	7·85
Chester and Birkenhead	-	208	75	...
Dublin and Drogheda	-	600	500	...
Dundee and Arbroath	-	46	23	...
Eastern Counties, Cambridge	-	3211	1405	3·60
Colchester	-	1171	1713	7·76
Glasgow and Greenock	-	....	49	...
Glasgow and Ayr	-	249	....	...
Grand Junction	-	2181	3573	...
Great North of England	-	1120	1397	6·00
Great Western	-	6641	10792	6·01
Hull and Selby	-	129	109	6·32
Lancaster and Preston	-	488	410	10·50
Liverpool and Manchester	-	652	495	...
London and Birmingham	-	5759	11524	4·68
London and South Western	-	3511	5257	6·60
London and South Eastern	-	2763	5042	5·65
London and Brighton	-	3557	2612	6·25
Manchester and Bolton	-	90	20	5·40
Manchester and Leeds	-	458	572	...
Stockton and Darlington	-	118	30	...
Manchester and Carlisle	-	17	7	5·37
Midland	-	4063	6869	6·00
Newcastle and Carlisle	-	522	454	4·75
Newcastle and Darlington	-	818	—	...
North Union	-	615	471	...
Preston and Wyre	-	117	79	10·00
Ulster	-	144	59	...
Whitby and Pickering	-	41	41	...
Yarmouth and Norwich	-	98	46	...
York and North Midland	-	1427	1089	8·00
Total	-	—	£56,646	
Add for omissions	-	42,469	—	

Gross total - - - 50,000 £60,000

The general rate for the conveyance of carriages is about 6d. per mile.

The chief carriage traffic belongs to the following Companies:—

		Number.	£
London and Birmingham	-	5759	11524
Grand Junction	-	2181	3573
		7940	15097
Great Western	-	6641	10792
Midland	-	4063	6869
South Western	-	3511	5257
South Eastern	-	2763	5042
Eastern Counties	-	4382	3118
Brighton	-	3557	2612

## No. 22.—DISTRIBUTION OF REVENUE.

The total revenue of the Railway Companies for the year *en* 30th June, 1845, was, according to the returns published by the B of Trade,

Total	-	-	-	£	6,209,714
Whereof passengers	-	-	-		3,976,341
Goods, &c.	-	-	-		2,233,373

The two millions and a quarter for goods, cattle, parcels, mails, may be thus distributed :—

## Goods—

Goods	-	-	-	£	842,000
Timber	-	-	-		7,000
Total goods	-	-	-		£849,000

## MINERALS—

Coal and coke	-	-	600,000
Iron and ironstone	-	-	35,000
Copper and tin	-	-	4,000
Stone	-	-	10,000
Lime and limestone	-	-	33,000
Sand	-	-	10,000
Bricks	-	-	2,000
			<hr/>
Total minerals	-		694,000

## AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE AND PROVISIONS—

Cattle, sheep, and pigs	-	150,000
Grain and flour	-	75,000
Meat, fruit and vegetables	-	50,000
Fish	-	8,000
Manure	-	500
		<hr/>
Total provisions, &c.	-	291,000

## MISCELLANEOUS—

Parcels	-	-	-	£	186,000
Mails	-	-	-		100,000
Carriages	-	-	-		60,000
Horses	-	-	-		60,000
Total miscellaneous	-	-	-		£406,000

The distribution of the tonnage is as follows :—

Goods—				Tons.	Tons.
Goods	-	-	-	3,283,000	
Timber	-	-	-	40,000	
Total goods	-	-	-		3,323,000

**MINERALS—**

Coal and coke	-	-	7,000,000
Iron and ironstone	-	-	400,000
Copper and tin	-	-	25,000
Stone	-	-	200,000
Lime and limestone	-	-	400,000
Sand	-	-	100,000
Bricks	-	-	20,000
Total minerals			8,145,000

**AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE AND PROVISIONS—**

Cattle, sheep, and pigs	-	150,000
Grain and flour	-	300,000
Meat, fruit, and vegetables	-	200,000
Fish	-	13,000
Manure	-	20,000
Total provisions, &c.		683,000

**MISCELLANEOUS—**

Parcels	-	-	-
Mails	-	-	-
Carriages	-	-	-
Horses	-	-	-
Total miscellaneous—no returns			_____
Total goods traffic			12,000,000

**No. 23.—STATE OF THE RETURNS.**

The manner in which the statistical returns are got up is equally discreditable to the majority of the companies and the Board of Trade, but the chief fault rests with the latter department, which does not require the necessary information, and does not see that what it does require is supplied, while there is no attempt at the digestion or analysis of the returns. With what individual the responsibility lies is not clear; but surely, if we are to have statistical returns, we should have such as will be of use for practical purposes. A blue book is, it is true, produced, which contains scattered and fragmentary information; but if we are to have statistical returns, a statistical department, and a railway department, it is to be expected that we should have something which is available. As it is, the railway manager who wants information on any particular point has to wade through nearly two hundred pages of tabular matter, when a week's labour, by a competent party, and the space of half a dozen pages, would be ample for the analysis and classification of the returns.

Railway statistics have been shown in the introduction to these articles to be of particular value in management, and the opportunity of promoting this object is one which should not be lost sight of by the scientific members of the statistical department of the Board of Trade.

The only improvements in the last returns are the specifications of the receipts for parcels and mails. Many of the companies have given a distinct return of coal traffic, but this seems to be optional.

The present returns, among other things, do not provide for the discrimination of the quantity and charge of each class of goods traffic, unless the companies choose to give the information spontaneously; and it is to the zeal of particular secretaries, and not to the energy of the Board of Trade, that the statistician owes what extra information he obtains.

An inspection of the present returns suggests the following, among other improvements and amendments in the returns:—

An inspection of the returns, and the filling in of additions in places where they are useful, as in the tonnage of goods traffic.

Number of soldiers conveyed.

Number of parcels conveyed, and rates of charge.

Number of dogs conveyed.

Number of calves conveyed.

Number of lambs conveyed.

Quantity of coals and coke carried, amount received, and rate of charge.

Quantity of lime and chalk, ditto, ditto.

Quantity of iron and iron-stone, ditto, ditto.

Quantity of stone and slate, ditto, ditto.

Quantity of sand, ditto, ditto.

Quantity of salt, ditto, ditto.

Quantity of glass, ditto, ditto.

Quantity of bricks and tiles, ditto, ditto.

Quantity of timber, ditto, ditto.

Quantity of fruit and vegetables, ditto, ditto.

Quantity of meat and poultry, ditto, ditto.

Quantity of fish, ditto, ditto.

Quantity of grain and flour, ditto, ditto.

Quantity of potatoes, ditto, ditto.

Quantity of wool, ditto, ditto.

Quantity of cotton, ditto, ditto.

Quantity of hops, ditto, ditto.

Quantity of manure, ditto, ditto.

As many of these articles are not carried on the same line, and as the accounts and returns of well-conducted companies already give the particulars required, no objection could be made on the ground of labour and trouble, while a great deal of light would be thrown on the working of the goods traffic.

As to the traffic in parcels, fish, provisions, lime, and many other articles, it may be said that at present nothing certain is known.

On examining the individual returns of companies, it happens from some unexplained circumstances, that those of the Scotch companies are the worst. The returns of the Edinburgh and Glasgow are disgraceful, and their accounts must be in the same condition. They are kept on the *non mi ricordo* principle, with the note "No books kept" frequently repeated. The Ballochney accounts are bad; so are those of the Wishaw and Coltness, and Monkland and Kirkintilloch Railways. Some of the Scotch accounts are, however, very well kept.

Among the best and most useful returns are those of the York and North Midland, Midland Great North of England, Eastern Counties, Colchester line, Great Western, Leicester and Swannington, Maryport and Carlisle, Preston and Wyre, Taff Vale, and Whitby and Pickering Railways.



## NOTE.

DE CLARKE reckons the average loss by driving, and conveying by conveyance on railway, at 5 lbs per quarter for beasts, or 2 lbs. per quarter, or 8 lbs. for sheep; and 2½ lbs. per quarter, for hogs. This is believed to be a low estimate.

Mr. Handley, M.P., one of the heads of the agricultural interest, states the loss on driving from Lincolnshire to London at 8 lbs in a sheep (*Railway Portfolio*, p. 238), and 25s. to 30s. in money. The time for sheep he calculates at eight days for getting up to market, which is equivalent to three or four market days, during which the chances of the market may be much affected.

The promoters of the Northern and Eastern Railway, in their report (*Railway Portfolio*, p. 199), take the loss, on driving beasts, at 40s. for beasts, and 5s. for sheep.

If it is considered, how many beasts and sheep are driven from a longer distance than 100 miles, the above data may be taken as a basis; and they show the propriety of the calculations in the various reports to Railway Statistics. Mr. Handley reckons the same of loss for sheep, viz., 8 lbs., and allows a higher rate for

Northern and Eastern promoters state the supply of the London market at 150,000 beasts, and 1,500,000 sheep per annum, the saving in, by railway conveyance, they take at £675,000.

The saving might be fairly taken at 40 lbs. for beasts; 8 lbs. for sheep, and 20 lbs. for swine; which would give a gross saving of animal food on the present number conveyed on railways, as

220,000 beasts	-	-	8,800,000 lbs. of beef
1,250,000 sheep	-	-	10,000,000 lbs. of mutton
550,000 swine	-	-	8,250,000 lbs. of pork

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27,050,000 lbs.

would give a total of 27,050,000 lbs., or 11,000 tons of animal food saved even at the present moment in the infancy of the railway system.

It is much to be regretted that no accurate returns exist of the quantity of killed meat conveyed by railways, as such information would tend to throw much light on the question of the economy of animal food by the railway system.

It can be no doubt, by the testimony of the cattle salesmen, that the weight of dead carcasses brought up to market is much heavier than used to be under the old system; and this is the best practical proof that the saving is a real and effective one.

The practice of bringing the dead carcasses to market has contributed to the extent of cattle-driving as much as the conveyance of the animals by railway has done; but though we can show the extent of the saving in one operation, we cannot of the other.





THE WAY  
TO  
MAKE RAILROAD SHARES  
POPULAR.

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IN presenting my plan to the public, relative to the mode of making railroad shares popular, I shall not preface it by stating the causes that have made railroad shares unpopular; such a statement would do no good, and would uselessly irritate that part of the public who are, unfortunately, provisional committeemen and who are now suffering sufficiently. Mankind is liable to err, and particularly where gain presents itself, and it is very probable that ninety-nine out of one hundred of those persons who abuse committeemen would have fallen into the very same error if the same opportunity had presented itself to them. We must therefore be charitable, and not cast a reproach on others for doing an act, which, in every probability, we should have committed had we had it in our power so to do. I shall, therefore, at once proceed to present my statement for making railroad shares popular.

1st. A certain per-centage of the capital raised shall be given to the provisional committee.

2nd. The provisional committee shall, in consideration of that per-centage, engage to indemnify the shareholders against all liabilities beyond the amount of the instalments paid up by each individual on his shares.

3rd. That the shares shall be made 10*l.* each.

4th. That the instalments shall never be more than 5*s.* per share, and the periods of payment shall be one month or two months, as may be required.

5th. That until the road comes into operation, four per cent. shall be paid by the company on the paid-up capital of the shares.

First—A certain per-centage of the capital raised shall be given to the provisional committee.

The late decisions of *Walstab v. Spottiswoode* and *Wontner v. Sharp* having made provisional committee-men responsible for all expenses incurred until every share is taken, it follows that future committee-men will not accept that post unless some inducement is held out to them to risk their time and money in promoting a public undertaking. The mode by which committee-men of past companies remunerated themselves was, by getting the shares to a premium, and then to retain a great number in their hands, which proceeding gave great dissatisfaction to the public, for it excluded them from that division of gain so essentially necessary to make every undertaking succeed. To prevent, therefore,

this clashing of interests of the committee-men and shareholders, I beg to propose that a certain percentage upon the paid-up capital of the shares shall be given to provisional committee-men, for risking their money and for the trouble they will have in promoting the views of the undertaking.

Let us assume that the subscribed capital is 1,000,000*l.* sterling, and that 200,000*l.* is annually paid up by the shareholders; if three per cent. be given to the provisional committee, they will receive annually 6,000*l.*, for five years, which certainly is not too large a sum for their trouble and the indemnity they offer in the second proposition.

The 7 & 8 Vic., c. 110, s. 25, requires that there shall be three directors; and if they are men of property, that number will be quite sufficient. Each director would then get 2000*l.* a year; which remuneration will be a sufficient incentive to make each exert himself for the welfare of the undertaking, and it will prevent that clashing of interests there now is between private committee-men and the public when the shares are at a premium.

The committee must be obliged to hold a certain number of shares; and may be allowed to take one-tenth, or one-fifteenth, or one-twentieth of the number of shares, but the number they take must be stated in the prospectus.

The committee might be allowed also to purchase any shares that have not their first instalments paid up, or they might go into the market and purchase shares.

Secondly—The provisional committee shall, in consideration of the above per-centage, engage to indemnify the shareholders against all liabilities beyond the amount of the instalments paid up by each individual on his shares.

The principal cause that prevents the public from making investments in new railroad companies is, the 66th section of the 7 & 8 Victoria, c. 110, which declares that “every shareholder is liable for the debts of the company;” for let us suppose a person possessing 10,000*l.*, he will probably reason in the following manner:—“If I invest 1000*l.* in shares in a railroad company, what security have I that this money will not be misapplied? and if it should be misapplied, and the company get into debt, what security have I that my remaining 9000*l.* may not be taken from me?” The above section answers,—“None;” and that his property may be taken from him. He then replies,—“I will not invest my capital.”

To obviate the effect of this section, and to render the remaining 9000*l.* secure, the provisional committee must, in consideration of the three per cent. on the paid-up capital, engage to indemnify the shareholders as above, and the indemnification must be offered by persons who collectively possess property to the amount of 50,000*l.*;—that is, if one of the committee possess the whole sum, there would be no occasion for the other members of the committee to be wealthy men; and these persons acting under the responsibility of their wealthy patron, would be the working men, or junior partners of the committee.

Thirdly—That the shares shall be made 10*l.* each.

My motive in proposing that the shares should be 10*l.* each, is, that every individual in the empire who earns money may be able to purchase a share; for to make the railroad measure popular, the profits, whether by way of premium or interest, must be attainable by all classes.

The smallness of the shares may be disagreeable to capitalists and brokers, but if they wish to make profits in future railroad shares, they must not be exclusive as to the pretensions of the more humble classes, upon whom principally depend for the future the raising these shares to a premium. Nobody ever complains of the inconvenience of a 10*l.* note, and why should a 10*l.* share, bearing interest at four per cent., be complained of? After the formation of the railroad, half of the shares might be consolidated into larger shares; but another act of parliament for that purpose must be obtained, for the 7th section of the 7 & 8 Vic. c. 110, compels a division of the capital of the company into equal shares.

Fourthly—That the instalments shall never be more than 5*s.* per share, and that the periods of payment shall be one and two months, as required.

Calls at the present moment are generally one-tenth the amount of the share, and if a call is made every four months on one hundred 10*l.* shares, the shareholder will have to pay to the company 100*l.* This amount, though small to a capitalist, is large to a person who is not a capitalist; and the latter, not being able to find the required sum, is compelled to

send some of his shares into the market and sell them, to enable him to pay the call on those that remain in his hands. As the bulk of mankind are not capitalists, it follows, that when a large call is made every four months, a great many shares are immediately sent into the market, and down goes the value of them, and the unfortunate non-capitalist is a great loser thereon: whereas all this may be obviated by having the instalments paid more frequently, and in smaller amounts, obtaining in the end the same sum of money, but with a little more trouble. Let us suppose a shareholder holding a hundred 10*l.* shares, and the call 5*s.* per share monthly; every month, therefore, he would have to pay to the company the sum of 25*l.*, which sum he could more readily meet monthly than he could 100*l.* every four months.

The frequency of calls would cause the shares to be continually in the market, (the same as the three per cents.) and they would rise and fall according to the progress and success of the undertaking; so that when a monthly call was made, the non-capitalist being compelled to sell a few of his shares, would not sell them at a great sacrifice.

I cannot illustrate the advantage of small payments better than the present universal mode of purchasing books among the middling and lower classes; for instance,—the People's Family Bible comes out in weekly numbers, at one shilling each, and when completed, the purchaser will have paid about 5*l.* I have known these numbers to be purchased by persons in the most

humble classes, who, out of their earnings, readily give one shilling per week, and but for this mode, would never be able to obtain that valuable work. In the same manner I recommend the payment of the second and every successive instalment on shares; and instead of paying 1*l.* on every 10*l.* share, every four months, I recommend 5*s.* every month, or 2*s.* 6*d.* every fortnight, or 1*s.* 3*d.* every week. By the above proceeding, money will be easily obtained, and railroad shares will become popular, for the possession of shares will be within the reach of the humblest individual;—for, let us suppose that A is a mechanic or person in the humbler classes; he sees in the paper that a railroad company advertises its 10*l.* shares, deposit 5*s.* per share; he goes to the company, and obtains possession of a 10*l.* share for 5*s.*; and when the Act of Parliament is obtained (probably in six months) he will then have to pay 1*s.* 3*d.* per week only for his instalment on the 10*l.* share, and for which money, when it amounts to 1*l.*, he will receive his four per cent. interest.

This mode of collection may be deemed too troublesome by companies, but it is not deemed too troublesome by those who instituted the national banks for savings, for the receipt of the shillings and half-crowns of the humbler classes: and what enormous sums are collected at those banks! I beg further to add, that nearly all the large fortunes made by the retail ready-money houses in London are made principally by the receipt of shillings, half-crowns, and five shillings, over



the counter, and not by the receipt of pounds. For one person that lays out a pound, fifty will come in and lay out shillings, half-crowns, and five shillings.

I will also endeavour to prove that it is to the interest of provisional committees that the first call should be small. Let us assume that a company is formed to construct a railroad, requiring a capital of 1,000,000*l.* divided into 100,000 shares of 10*l.* each, deposit, 5*s.* per share; and let us suppose that the whole of the 100,000 shares are not taken, and that 10,000 want purchasers. According to the late decisions of *Walstab v. Spottiswoode* and *Wontner v. Sharp*, the provisional committee would not be able to proceed unless they found purchasers to take these 10,000 shares, and they would be saddled with all the expenses. What, then, must the committee do? They must themselves purchase these 10,000 shares, the instalments on which would be only 2500*l.*, which they could do, being wealthy; and then they could commence operations, and be relieved from the whole of the expenses.

It may be said that the sum of 25,000*l.*, the amount of the first instalment on the hundred thousand shares, would not be enough to get the Bill through Parliament. My answer to that is, that the great expense in the first instance consists in paying engineers, advertisers, counsel, and solicitors; and to make this expense less onerous upon the first call, I beg to suggest that only one half of these expenses shall be paid out of the first instalment, the other half to be paid out of the second.

**Fifth.**—That until the railroad comes into operation, four per cent. shall be paid by the company on the paid-up capital.

A large bulk of persons in this country consists of persons of small property, varying from 500*l.* up to 5000*l.* Now B, possessing 500*l.*, would not embark 100*l.* of his capital in a railroad if he thought he was to get no interest for it for four years. The interest of 100*l.* for three years, at three per cent., is 3*l.*, and he cannot afford to lose that. The same with C, possessing 5000*l.*; he would not embark 1000*l.* of his capital in a railroad, if he were to lose 30*l.* a year, for four years.

To accommodate, therefore, so large and influential a body as B and C, and those possessing sums between B and C, the interest of their respective sums paid in must be paid to them regularly, until the completion of the railroad. This interest will, of course, come out of the respective sums paid in by them; but what does that signify to B and C, who invest 100*l.* and 1000*l.* in the railroad? The railroad is made by means of 90*l.* out of the 100*l.*, and 900*l.* out of the 1000*l.*; the interest is paid to them through the remaining 10*l.* and 100*l.*; and during the four years their comforts have not been in any way diminished.

D, possessing 20,000*l.*, could afford to invest 4000*l.* without receiving interest for four years, and E, possessing 40,000*l.*, could afford to invest 8000*l.*, and not receive interest for the same period. But persons like D and E are so few, that the construction of future railroads will not depend upon them; their construction

depends upon persons of the class of B and C, and those intervening between B and C. They are numerous over the land; they possess a large bulk of the property—they are the enterprising, industrious, and speculative part of the community; and they are desirous to increase their rent-rolls, provided they can do so upon solid bases; and among this class of fortunes are numerous private individuals who live quietly in the country upon their small incomes, and would be happy to invest their money upon legitimate undertakings; and what undertaking is more legitimate, or more safe, than a well-conducted railroad?

A railroad completed by means of a frugal expenditure, must eventually answer; for the facility of communication begets traffic, and traffic produces money; and if it pays two per cent. the first year, it will pay three per cent. the second year, and four per cent. the third year, and will continue increasing. The introduction of railroads into this country will increase the value of property at least four or five fold; this value of property must add to the comforts of the people, and the population will increase most rapidly in consequence thereof; and I have not the least doubt that the population of Great Britain and Ireland, in twenty years will equal the population of France in twenty years, which at the present moment exceeds ours by at least 7,000,000.

Again; another class of people, still more numerous than the above, are those mentioned in the fourth proposition, under class A: they possess property

from 20*l.* up to 500*l.*, which they now properly invest in the National Savings Bank, obtaining for it from two to three per cent.\* These persons will not fail to invest their small earnings in railroads. And why? Because they can not only get a superior rate of interest from railroads, but the very earnings they are investing will aid the means by which they are kept in active employment; for they are the class of persons who are employed upon them, namely—smiths, carpenters, bricklayers, masons, labourers, and numerous others. There is another advantage independent of the interest which they may gain, namely—the increase of the value of the share—for the share would probably rise to a premium, either while the railroad was being constructed, or when the railroad was in action; and whatever that might be, whether 1*l.*, 5*l.*, 8*l.*, or 10*l.*, that would be a gain to the holder of the share.

It may be urged that the security of a railroad is not equal to the government security, offered to those who invest their weekly shillings in the national bank for

\* Extract from St. Mary-le-Bone Bank for Savings:—  
“Deposits amounting to one shilling, or to any number of shillings, not exceeding the sum prescribed by law, will be received; but they will not bear interest until they amount to one pound. Upon one pound, and every additional one pound, up to thirty pounds, interest will be allowed, and paid at the rate of two pounds per centum per annum. Upon thirty pounds, and every additional one pound, within the limit prescribed by law, interest will be allowed, and paid at the interest of two pounds seventeen shillings and fourpence three farthings per annum.”

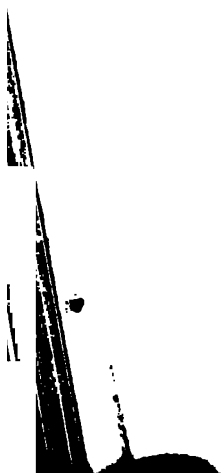
savings: in reply I beg to state that the security of the land, the rails, the machinery, the stations, and the traffic of an economically-constructed and well-conducted working railroad, is quite equal in point of security to any government security that can be offered; and I am borne out in that by the premiums attached to the railroads, daily quoted in the papers:—for even in the present depressed state of the market, I counted on Friday, July 7th, 93 railroads out of 160, at a premium; some more than 100 per cent., others only five per cent., but averaging about twenty per cent. premium.

I have now briefly presented my plan to the public, which I think contains within it the great incentive to make every undertaking successful, namely, the division of profits. If a premium is upon the share, the public will benefit by it, as well as the provisional committee-men; and the public knowing that their profits are considered, will not fail to respond to so equitable a proceeding.

The public will be protected from being called upon for more than the instalments on their shares, by the indemnity given by the provisional committee-men, whose property will be a guarantee to the shareholders. The provisional committee-men, in return for this, will receive a fair compensation, in the shape of a percentage on the capital received. The smallness of the instalment will enable the humblest in the nation to possess a share, and the four per cent. paid on the capital will prevent any diminution of comfort to the small

proprietor. By this combination of advantages, namely—the guarantee given in the second proposition, the smallness of the share mentioned in the third proposition, the facility by which they may be acquired by the fourth proposition, and the interest of four per cent. mentioned in the fifth proposition, the railroad share will become a popular investment: not invested solely for the sake of the premium, but invested on account of the great profit and security attached to it. No wars with foreign countries can affect it in the same manner they do the funded debt of this country. External wars would rather improve it,—for hundreds of thousands of wealthy persons now residing in France, Germany, Italy, and other parts of Europe, would then be compelled to return to this country, and expend their fortunes here, which must consequently increase the traffic on railroads.

Railroad shares, whether in war or peace, would inevitably be the favourite investment, and would be retained by their owners until they actually wanted the capital to embark in commercial transactions. They would then find their way into the market, in the same way as the government stock of this country, and would be equally, and probably more valuable.



PROJECTED NEW RAILWAYS.

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AN

EPI'TOME

OF THE

NEW LINES OF RAILWAY

IN ENGLAND,

WHICH

PARLIAMENT WILL PROBABLY SANCTION,

WITH

REASONS FOR THEIR DOING SO.

---

BY C. J. COLLINS.

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LONDON :

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## THE NEW RAILWAYS.

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DEEP as was the anxiety that was felt in the Railway World at the commencement of the last Session of Parliament, that which is experienced now, in the same quarters, is of much greater intensity, and is much more extended. It is, however, our opinion that though the labours of Parliamentary Committees will be greater this year than they were last Session, yet the results will not be more important than those which were exhibited at the close of the Session of 1845.

The array of "private business" which this year presents itself is certainly enormous, and far more extensive than that which awaited the consideration of the legislature in February last; but it is our belief that many causes have yet to transpire which will vastly reduce the present incongruous mass which almost threatens destruction to the Members of Parliamentary Committees. Already has a very extensive movement taken place amongst the projectors of the new lines which are awaiting the consideration of the legislature, for we hear on all sides of amalgamations of rival interests having judiciously taken place. This movement of itself will relieve Parliament of a great deal of its labour, and the contending parties of much useless expense.

Another and a still more powerful cause will operate to curtail the heavy labours of the legislature, and that cause will be the dreaded Standing Orders Committees. These tribunals will sweep away the new schemes, if not by hun-

dreds at least by scores. The Standing Orders, imperfect as they are, and in many cases almost useless in their present shape, will be strictly adhered to. The Members of the House of Commons who may be selected to sit upon these terrible tribunals must, in self-defence, be most rigid in the performance of their duty, and we have no doubt that they will energetically strive to be so.

At the commencement of the last Session of Parliament the functions of the Standing Orders Committee were not generally understood, and at first but little interest was taken in the proceedings of these tribunals. In the coming Session, however, the case will be different, for all eyes will be turned with anxiety upon the deliberations of these Committees. In the last Session some of the Standing Orders Committees, or rather Sub-Committees on Standing Orders, were strict in the observance of the rules which had been laid down for their guidance. Others, on the contrary, exhibited a laxity in their proceedings which created any thing but a feeling of respect for the decisions that were come to. The consequence of this was, that a decision in one Committee upon any important point was no guide as to the probable result of a consideration of a similar point by another Committee. In many cases the decisions of the Standing Orders Committees at the commencement of the last Session appeared to be governed by caprice, and not by any fixed rules. Such, however, we believe will not be the case in the present Session, for although no principles have since last year been established for the guidance of Sub-Committees upon Standing Orders, or for the Standing Orders Committee itself; yet the Members who will compose these Committees will see the imperative necessity of adopting some fixed rule to guide them all in their deliberations, and will act accordingly.

With these preliminary observations we proceed to the performance of the task we have undertaken—a task which

doubtless will be misconstrued by some, and denounced by others, but in the performance of which we shall be actuated by no selfish or sinister motive, for it is a task which has been undertaken by us without reference to private interests, or the desires of a party.

In considering what English Railway Bills Parliament is likely to sanction we shall exclude of course small branches of existing lines, and only take those which from their locality, extent, and importance, may be considered as affecting the country generally, and a very large number of individuals who until the past year never dreamed of speculating in such vast adventures as railway undertakings.

## LONDON TO YORK.

As first in importance, both as to extent, amount of capital, and general interests affected, we will take what is called the London and York district. The struggle for these lines will be fearful in its intensity. Three powerful combatants will meet upon a wide and extended field. The resources of these combatants, though all will be great and extensive, will be unequal. The three parties to which we have alluded are the London and York, the Direct Northern, and the Eastern Counties Extension, or what was heretofore known as the Cambridge and Lincoln, and its extensions. In our opinion the London and York party, although they have gained a doubtful triumph, and a partial success, will have to recommence the struggle upon equal terms with their opponents, and if this should be so, the triumph of which they think so much, will have become to them a partial defeat. We doubt the genuineness of their new deed. The engineering difficulties of the London and York line are enormous—terrific in extent, and if encountered, will take years and years to surmount; and to meet those difficulties the existing capital would prove miserably inadequate. With these difficulties

to be laid before the Committee of the House of Lords, is it possible for success to attend the shattered army which is led by Mr. B. Dennison, a general quite inexperienced in railway warfare ?

Then there is Mr. Hudson's Eastern Counties line, *via* Cambridge. What are the claims which Mr. Hudson will urge upon the Legislature ? He cannot come forward and say, " here is a direct line," or a "short one." If we are to have a new York line, surely it should have the requisites of shortness, and directness. Now the Eastern Counties line will be no better than the existing route to York. In fact, we see no essential difference between the two. They will describe the two sides of an egg, while that which is required is something to go right through the centre. Had the offer of Mr. Hudson to the London and York shareholders been accepted, in all probability the prospects of this line would have been brightened, but even then success, in our opinion, would have been doubtful.

We now come to the DIRECT NORTHERN, and the reader must have anticipated our opinion with respect to this line. If we are to have a new line to York it must be a direct one. The DIRECT NORTHERN is that line. It is shorter by many miles than any other line, it has few engineering difficulties, comparatively speaking, and the capital sought to be raised will be sufficient for the construction of the works.

From the Report of the engineer, Mr. Miller, it appears that the main line commences at King's Cross, thence it proceeds by Barnet, Hatfield, Stevenage and Baldock to Biggleswade. From Biggleswade it proceeds by Sandy, Eaton-Socon, St. Neots, Buckden, Alconbury, Sawtry, Stilton, Wandsford, Uffington, Ryhal, Corby, and Ponton to Grantham. From Grantham it proceeds by Beckingham, New-

ton-upon-Trent, Gainsborough, Misterton, Thorne, Snaith, Selby and Bishopthorpe to York ; and about a mile north of York it joins the Great North of England Railway.

Mr. Miller says, “ the length of the line from King’s Cross to the Great North of England Railway is 177 miles and 3 chains, and by it the distance between London and York is 176 miles.”

“ The distance between the Cross of St. Paul’s, in London, and the centre of the Great Tower of York Minster, measured along the surface of the earth, is, I am authorised to state by the officers of the Ordnance Survey, 920,108·7 feet, or about 174½ miles.”

The gradients on the line are very favourable—no gradient along the line being steeper than 1 in 200.

As Mr. Clark, the Secretary to the Direct Northern Company, says in his address, which precedes the Engineer’s Report :—“ By the scheme promoted by the Direct Northern Railway Company, it is proposed to bring York (to the north of which city there is a population exceeding five millions,) within the distance (as measured by time) of four hours and a half from London ; to reduce by 42 miles the distance now traversed by the existing means of railway communication between those termini ; to lessen the distance as projected by the competing plan least favourable to the public (that of the Eastern Counties Extension by Cambridge and Lincoln) by 30½ miles, and as projected by the most favourable rival scheme (that of the London and York) by 10 miles ; and yet so to reconcile this result with local wants, as to place, without in any instance sacrificing the principle of directness, every town of importance in the districts to be served by this Company’s main line, nearer London, either by means of the main line itself or of well-devised lateral lines, than they are by the scheme

of the London and York, which, for the sake of passing through certain towns, pursues a devious route to York, thereby inflicting a serious injury on the country north of the Humber."

These are great advantages, which cannot fail to be appreciated by Parliament. The Direct Northern too will reduce the distance to Leeds by 28 miles, a vast advantage in itself.

*Comparison of Distances by the proposed Direct Northern Railway, and by the Eastern Counties scheme by Cambridge, Lincoln, Doncaster, and South Milford, to York.*

From London to	By the Direct Northern Railway and its Branches, and existing and authorised Railways.		By the Eastern Counties Scheme by Cambridge, Lincoln, Doncaster, and South Milford to York, and existing and authorised Railways.		Difference in favour of the Direct Northern Railway.	
	Miles.	Chains.	Miles.	Chains.	Miles.	Chains.
Peterborough . . . . .	73	47	88	40	14	72
Lincoln . . . . .	126	10	140	25	14	16
Gainsborough . . . . .	133	73	155	32	21	39
Doncaster . . . . .	150	19	173	20	23	1
Hull, by Selby . . . .	194	65	230	0	35	15
York and the North. .	176	0	206	26	30	26

N.B.—If the Tottenham and Farringdon-street Extension is made, the distances by Cambridge and Lincoln will be about two miles less than as above stated.

The DIRECT NORTHERN is short, is cheap, will be easy of construction, and that, we believe, will be the new line to YORK.

## CORNWALL AND DEVON.

One of the heaviest contests of the Session will be that for the CORNWALL AND DEVON district. For this line of country two powerful Companies are in the field, namely, the CORNWALL RAILWAY COMPANY, and the CORNWALL AND DEVON CENTRAL RAILWAY COMPANY.

Both these Companies were before Parliament last year, or rather before the public, for only one came before Parliament, and that was the Cornwall Railway Company. The Cornwall and Devon Central Company was prevented coming before Parliament by a non-compliance with the Standing Orders which relate to the subscription of the requisite capital. This non-compliance arose from circumstances over which the promoters of the Company could have no possible control. The South Western Company had agreed to subscribe a large portion of the capital, but an agreement having been entered into between that Company and the Great Western, having for its object the arrangement of difficulties which existed between those two powerful, and at that time hostile Companies, the South Western support was withdrawn from the Cornwall and Devon Central Company, one of the terms of this arrangement being the withdrawal by the South Western Company of the support it had afforded the Cornwall and Devon Central Railway Company. This of course was a severe blow to the Cornwall and Devon Central, and immediately upon it came an adverse Report of the Board of Trade, which caused many persons who had applied for shares to abandon them after they had been allotted.

Without going into the motives which induced the South Western Company to withdraw its support it will be sufficient to state that the Directors of the Cornwall and Devon Central Railway determined upon not proceeding to Parliament with their Bill in the then Session.

The other Company, the Cornwall Railway Company, having the support of the Great Western Company, which support was continued, was more successful. A strong Report from the Board of Trade had appeared in its favour, and it was introduced into the House of Commons under



very auspicious circumstances ; it passed all the stages of that house, but was rejected by the House of Lords.

These two Companies are about to try their strength in Parliament upon more equal terms than those of last year, and we feel confident as to the result of the appeal that will be made to the legislature.

The Cornwall Railway Company has been amalgamated with the West Cornwall Railway Company, but we do not think it has gained any advantage by the step. The Cornwall and Devon Central may be considered as a portion of a great scheme called the London, Salisbury, and Yeovil Railway, a line which must succeed in Parliament, supported as it is, and urgently called for as it has been by the district through which it passes.

The Report of the Board of Trade upon these lines appears to us to be singularly contradictory in itself. The Commissioners of the Board of Trade object to the Cornwall and Devon Central Railway on account of the magnitude of the works upon it. They say " at the Falmouth end there is a gradient of 2 miles 10 chains in length at an inclination of 1 in 60 terminating in a curve of 20 chains radius. In the central portion of the line there is a continued ascent to the summit on one side of 11 miles, at an average inclination of 1 in 92, and on the other side of 10 miles, at an average inclination of nearly 1 in 100." On these grounds they reported against the Cornwall and Devon Central, the steepest gradient being 1 in 60, and that for a distance of little more than 2 miles.

After stating their opinion in favour of the Cornwall or coast line, they have in their Report this remarkable paragraph, in reference to the favoured line.

“The principal objections to the line arise from the nature of its curves and gradients. The ruling gradient of the line is one in 60, at which high inclination there are no fewer than 28 planes, whose united length amount to very nearly 26 miles. There are four planes even steeper than this; one of a mile in length, being at 1 in 45, and three others at 1 in 50. Generally speaking, these steep inclines are for short lengths, and undulating, the longest being an incline of 1 in 60 for 2 miles six chains.”

“The curves of the line are also very severe, there being about 60 curves, of 15 chains radius, and several others approaching to the same degree of curvature, and many of these curves are upon steep gradients.”

It is true that the Cornwall coast line was to be an Atmospheric line, but suppose the Atmospheric system were to be found impracticable for long lines and for very heavy traffic, a contingency not remote, what becomes of this line constructed with such frightful inclinations upon it? Why, it would be utterly useless unless worked by stationary engines.

The Committee of the House of Commons, however, supported the Board of Trade in their decision, and gave their sanction to the Bill. Mr. Macauley who was the Chairman of the Committee, in his Report says, “THE ONLY PECULIAR ENGINEERING difficulty in the proposed line arises from the necessity of crossing the Hamoaze,” and yet immediately after he says, “the steepest gradient in the line is ONE IN 29.” What does Mr. Macauley consider an engineering difficulty? We should be glad to know. What do our readers think of the following:—

“Mr. Locke says, speaking of the safety of the line— ‘All the questions of safety are comparative, but it is unquestionably the *most dangerous line I ever saw.*’ He says,

‘On the inclinations and curves being pointed out to him, that a speed of 20 or 30 miles an hour on that inclination would be dangerous to whatever was in the train.’ Mr. Stephenson says, in answer to the question whether the line could be worked by locomotives, ‘*that it is just feasible and that is all.*’ Again, ‘that if 1 in 60 be the prevailing gradients, they will not work *at more than 12 miles an hour.*’ In cross examination, he says, ‘12 to 15 miles.’

“Mr. Bidder gives evidence of a similar description.

“Then as to Hamoaze, Mr. Rendal says, ‘*That the ordinary working of the bridge, with reference to the safe conduct of trains over it, would be next to impracticable.*’ Mr. Locke says, ‘a floating bridge is a possible thing, but it is a thing I would go a great many miles to avoid.’ Mr. Stephenson says, ‘that the process would be equal to 15 miles going round, and that large ponderous masses cannot be put in a boat, and freighted over in the manner proposed, without great difficulty.’”

The Bill however found its way into the House of Lords, but was there immediately rejected. After the defeat in the Lords the promoters seem to have opened their eyes to their actual position, for at a meeting which they held shortly afterwards we find Mr. Gill, the Chairman of the South Devon line saying that, “if the Cornwall line had been carried it would doubtless have been a subject of regret for ever, it would not have given the greatest accommodation to the county, it would have been on Captain Moorsom’s survey a dangerous and inconvenient line.”

This line is again to be introduced to Parliament, whether improved or not, remains to be seen.

THE CORNWALL AND DEVON CENTRAL RAILWAY will also

go before Parliament, but under very different circumstances to those in which it was last year placed. With the capital fully subscribed, and with powerful support, it will occupy a strong position before the Legislature. If not supported by the open alliance of the South Western Company it will have amongst its subscribers a very large number of the shareholders in the South Western Railway, while it will have the advantage of the services of the eminent Engineer of that line. The agreement between the South Western and the Great Western Companies has fallen to the ground, and the position of the Cornwall and Devon Central Railway Company has been improved in consequence.

In the House of Lords the line will be looked upon with peculiar favour as we gather from what fell from certain noble lords sitting upon the Committee of the Wilts, Somerset, and Weymouth Bill. On the 18th of June last the Chairman of that Committee, Lord Kenyon, appealed to the promoters of the Wilts, Somerset, and Weymouth Bill to give a pledge, that in case that Bill should be passed, the promoters of it should not oppose any *direct* line to Falmouth that might thereafter be proposed. In the course of the discussion which ensued, the Chairman addressing the advocates for the Wilts, Somerset, and Weymouth Bill said—

“I beg to explain to you that the question which I put to you by the desire of the Committee, was simply on account of the view entertained by the Committee of the great national importance of any such project,” (*i.e.*, a central line through Cornwall and Devon), “and they wish to know whether by agreeing to the Bill now under their consideration they will create any impediment with regard to such a measure, or whether they could have the assurance of this very great and powerful Company that, so far as they are concerned, it will not be their endeavour to prevent such a measure from being brought forward. If the Committee had

such an assurance, it would tend, of course, to lessen the apprehensions which they now entertain as to the consequences of passing this Bill."

Earl Lovelace. "I think I understood both Mr. Austin and Mr. Slade, in the course of their observations alluding to the possibility of the direct line—the red line as it is upon the map—to say they had no sort of objection to the promoters of that line bringing it forward the next session. Now we should like to convert that into something like an assurance."

Earl Cadogan. "Circumstances have occurred to put a great deal of power into the Great Western Company, and we are only fearful lest that should in any way influence them in preventing what we conceive to be actually necessary; that is, that a communication between Salisbury and Yeovil, should eventually be carried out as connected with its further progress west. That is the sort of feeling that the Committee have, and I do not hesitate to tell the learned Counsel that, as far as my opinion is concerned, *if the red line, (i. e. the Direct line) had stood as a competing line, I should decidedly have given the preference to that line.*"

Earl Lovelace. "And so should I."

The whole of these observation apply to the Cornwall and Devon Central Railway.

The Report which the Committee made to the House contained the following paragraph:—

"Twentieth.—That in making their Report the Committee feel it their duty to state, that the great difficulty with them in deciding on the Bill referred to them has arisen from the fear they have entertained, whether, in allowing the Great

Western Railway to come down to the Sea at Weymouth, or below Yeovil, they may not be creating a difficulty as to making a railway in the most direct and desirable manner to Falmouth, the most western port in the Channel. But they have received from the promoters of the Wilts, Somerset, and Weymouth Railway Company an assurance that the extension of the line to Weymouth shall not be set up hereafter to defeat a direct line from London to Falmouth, as expressed below through Mr. Austin, counsel for the Bill.

“ The promoters of the Wilts, Somerset, and Weymouth Railway Company are willing to assure the Committee that the extension of the line to Weymouth shall not be set up hereafter to defeat a direct line from London to Falmouth.”

We think we have shown that the Cornwall and Devon Central Railway is the one which ought to be sanctioned by Parliament. A reference to the map will immediately prove that by it an almost straight line will be accomplished from London to the Land's End ; and with such an advantage, with powerful support in the railway world, with scarcely any opposition from the inhabitants of the districts through which it is intended to pass, who generally are particularly anxious for its construction, we do not see how the line can fail of success in Parliament.

### NORTH KENT.

The next district in importance is that which is known as the NORTH KENT.

The parties contending for this field are the South Eastern, the Great Kent Atmospheric, (promoted by the Croydon Company,) and the North Kent Company.

These three parties have also tried their strength, but the

battle was drawn. The conflict, however, was chiefly between the Croydon projects and the North Kent, the South Eastern having been placed *hors de combat* early in the fray.

Here, again, will be a most fierce and violent struggle. There is, however, no parallel between the circumstances connected with the London and York case and those affecting the North Kent projects.

That scheme which is styled the NORTH KENT RAILWAY is really what it purports to be, a railway for supplying the wants of the North of Kent. Here, however, the praise of the scheme must stop. A scheme of such magnitude to be really useful should embrace more than a mere frontier of such a county as Kent. The expense of making a railway through the North of Kent would be as great, as the cost of a railway in any part of the Kingdom, while the traffic in the district would be only of third rate importance and magnitude. A scheme, therefore, to be effective, remunerating, and useful in the county of Kent, must embrace a plurality of lines stretching out like arms from a main trunk. This the North Kent line is not intended to do. It is a line difficult and costly to construct, is violently opposed by the inhabitants and Government authorities, and if made would be subject to fierce competition on both sides of it. The North Kent line, therefore, will in our opinion meet with a similar fate to that which attended its career through Parliament last year.

We now come to the GREAT KENT ATMOSPHERIC RAILWAY, as promoted by the Croydon Company. This appears to us to be a nondescript line. It is neither central, direct, nor short, and if sanctioned could not stand alone, but would be compelled to fly to other parties for assistance. Strip the County of Kent of all railways completed and projected, and then place the Great Kent Atmospheric

there, and it would be laughed at. But supposing it to be a good line in itself, we believe that doubtful as the success of the Atmospheric principle at present is, the Legislature would not at present grant a line of such magnitude to be worked upon such a principle in such a situation.

We come then to the SOUTH EASTERN NORTH KENT lines. These are schemes which are calculated to be useful to the district and advantageous to the country. The lines are numerous and admirably well chosen. In a military point of view, some of them will be invaluable. By them the means will be afforded of rapid and certain communications from the metropolis to the naval and military establishments which lie in the county of Kent, while these again will have railway communication afforded them to the coast and the most important South Eastern ports, and naval and military establishments. In addition to this a direct communication with Dover will be given to London. Every town of importance in Kent will be accommodated with railway communication, and Woolwich in particular will be placed upon a main line of railway. It must be remembered, too, that portions of this great scheme, are actually completed, and the rest when sanctioned could be accomplished with rapidity. This scheme of railways more than any other calls for the consideration of Government. Government has already shown its partiality for the South Eastern schemes, and with such support, with powerful means, large resources, and great facilities for raising capital, we cannot entertain a doubt as to the North Kent lines being awarded to the South Eastern Company.

#### NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE.

Next in importance is the North Staffordshire district, and undoubtedly in this field first and foremost stands the NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE RAILWAY. It was however, in our



opinion, a mistake committed by the North Staffordshire Company in not projecting a "system" of railways for North Staffordshire rather than confining their operations to one line of railway. In this consists the superiority of the South Eastern North Kent projects. The North Staffordshire has however, in some measure, remedied the evil complained of by associating itself with the Derby and Crewe. The North Staffordshire line is one of great importance, but its importance will only be exhibited by its connection with other lines. We believe that the legislature will grant the North Staffordshire line, but it will do so in connection with others. Those others will be a portion of the Churnet and Blythe, the Derby and Crewe, and the Birmingham and Lichfield. This combination would give a perfect system of railways for North Staffordshire, and we have no doubt that the legislature will establish such a combination.

### PORTSMOUTH.

In the Portsmouth district we fully anticipate that the views of the legislature which were shown by their decision last Session will be carried out this year.

### LIVERPOOL AND LEEDS.

We now come to the district which lies within what may be called the Manchester and Leeds territory, and here perhaps we find one of the most difficult parts of our task. The Manchester and Leeds Company is one of enormous magnitude, but the grasping propensities of its managers, added to many instances of bad faith, have rendered the successes of this Company in new enterprises extremely difficult and doubtful. In the Session before last they were defeated in every encounter. In the last Session they were more than defeated, they were lured on to fancied security by a favourable decision of the House of Commons, only to meet with

more disastrous defeats and miserable failures in another tribunal. The enemies of last Session have however shaken hands, and the West Yorkshire parties and the promoters of the West Riding Union go hand in hand this Session to Parliament. The Union however has not produced security. Since the reconciliation of the once bitter foes a new combatant has appeared upon the field in the shape of the Liverpool and Leeds Direct Railway. This was a blow to the Manchester and Leeds as unexpected as it was unwelcome. The Manchester and Leeds had been caught napping. They had left the field from Halifax to Bury open to any foe, and in the time of their fancied security that foe came, bearing upon his banner the ominous words "Liverpool and Leeds." We all must remember the consternation that was caused in the Manchester and Leeds Company by the sudden appearance of so terrible a visitor. As a matter of course the new comer was denounced in unmeasured terms by Mr. Houldsworth, and fabrication was one of the instruments unscrupulously used to attack the newly armed foe. Still that foe kept up a gallant bearing and held an unchecked way.

Here then are two powerful opponents. On one side the West Yorkshire promoted by the Manchester and Leeds, and on the other, the Liverpool and Leeds, a new Company possessing all the fire and energy which confidence of success must give.

That the Liverpool and Leeds Railway is a national undertaking no one can deny. It is a line that is urgently required. The West Yorkshire will only go half way towards supplying the wants of the district, while the Liverpool and Leeds will open up a direct communication between Liverpool and Leeds, the traffic between which places is sufficiently shown by the enormous profits which have arisen out of the Canal Company called the Leeds Union, which runs into Liverpool near the northern docks.

An amalgamation of the Liverpool and Leeds and the West Yorkshire would be a most legitimate one, but unless such an amalgamation take place, the Liverpool and Leeds will pass the winning chair by many lengths.

### BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

We now turn to what are called the Buckinghamshire Railways. This is a project started by the London and Birmingham Company for this simple reason, that the traffic upon the existing London and Birmingham line is so enormous, and is so daily increasing, that the existing line is not capable of accommodating it. The Buckinghamshire lines, we believe, when completed will be used principally for the accommodation of the goods' traffic, a portion of which is being actually driven off the present London and Birmingham line, that line being inadequate for its full and efficient accommodation. This is gratifying to contemplate, but it is rather contrary to the anticipations of many a few years back, for we recollect seeing a pamphlet which had been written to show that the London and Birmingham Railway never could pay more than two per cent. at the utmost. We do not see what is to prevent the success in Parliament of the Buckinghamshire Railways.

### MANCHESTER AND NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

We now come to the district which lies between Manchester and Newcastle-upon-Tyne. For this district there are three competitors, the Liverpool, Manchester and Great North of England, the Liverpool, Manchester and Newcastle-upon-Tyne Junction, and the Lancashire and North Yorkshire. Mr. Hudson gives his powerful support to the Liverpool, Manchester and Newcastle-upon-Tyne Junction; but this line, in our opinion, is inferior to the Lancashire and North Yorkshire; and so, we presume, has Mr. Hudson thought himself, for

he has considered it wise to amalgamate the interests of the two Companies. The Lancashire and North Yorkshire is a railway that is sure to be granted by Parliament, as it is a line much required by the wants of the district through which it is intended to pass.

### MANCHESTER AND SOUTHAMPTON.

The next in importance is that which is known as the Manchester and Southampton district. At one time it was anticipated that there would be great competition for this line; but such have been the exertions which have been made by one Company, that competition may be said to have ceased.

Five Companies started for the possession of this district, namely, THE MANCHESTER AND SOUTHAMPTON, THE MANCHESTER, SOUTHAMPTON, AND POOLE, THE MANCHESTER, RUGBY, AND SOUTHAMPTON, THE OXFORD, GOSPORT AND SOUTHAMPTON, AND THE WEST MIDLAND. The only parties, however, who are in a position to go to Parliament, are those who promote the MANCHESTER AND SOUTHAMPTON LINE. It is true that the OXFORD, SOUTHAMPTON AND GOSPORT promoters have lodged their plans, but in such a manner, we believe, as to preclude the possibility of success in Parliament. Had it been otherwise, we confess that the OXFORD, SOUTHAMPTON, AND GOSPORT, would have been a very formidable opponent in a Committee of the House of Commons. It had the advantage of directness, shortness and facility of construction. A line formed upon the plans laid down by the promoters of the OXFORD, GOSPORT, AND SOUTHAMPTON RAILWAY would have given direct communication by railway right up the centre of the Island. At present, however, such a line will not be made. The Manchester, Southampton, and Poole, or as it is generally called, Lacy's Line, was looked upon with a good deal

of favor when it first came out. This was the first line which took in the important town of Poole, which was a strong feature in the project. With many advantages, and with the open support of the South Western Company, it has failed in making the necessary deposits. It may therefore be considered as defunct.

Then there are the Siamese Companies, the WEST MIDLAND OR MANCHESTER AND SOUTHAMPTON and the SOUTH AND MIDLANDS JUNCTION. These are known as James's Lines. The lines are important, and the West Midland runs by the side of the SOUTHAMPTON AND MANCHESTER to Swindon, where it joins the SOUTH AND MIDLANDS JUNCTION. The plans, however, have not been deposited ; but this has not rendered its case hopeless. It is true that the line cannot be submitted to Parliament in the shape of a Bill ; but the promoters have succeeded in getting together the sinews of war. They are therefore in this position : they have defective plans, but plenty of money. They are consequently in a situation to treat with their more favored rival, and we know that overtures have been made, and friendly negotiations have been entered into by the two parties ; we may, therefore, fully expect to see the promoters of Mr. James's line go hand in hand to Parliament with the MANCHESTER AND SOUTHAMPTON.

What then is to prevent the MANCHESTER AND SOUTHAMPTON RAILWAY being sanctioned by Parliament ; Mr. Hudson is the Chairman of the Company. The Midland Company take 25,000 shares ; the line is supported by the landowners throughout its whole length, and the plans are in a most perfect state. The MANCHESTER AND SOUTHAMPTON, therefore, is we should say safe.

### SHEFFIELD AND THE POTTERIES.

The next important district is that which lies between SHEFFIELD and CREWE, and SOUTH OF MANCHESTER.

For this district the projects are the Manchester, Buxton, Matlock, and Midlands, the Buxton, Macclesfield, Congleton, and Crewe, the Sheffield, Buxton, Leek, Potteries, and Crewe, and the Direct Sheffield and Crewe Railways.

As to the success of the first-named of these there can be little doubt. It is menaced by no competing line, is unopposed, is much regarded by the district, and will be largely remunerative. It only failed in the last Session in consequence of a trifling Standing Orders error.

A line from Sheffield to Crewe, and the Potteries is much required, and there are two good lines competing for the district, and those are the Sheffield, Buxton, Leek, Potteries, and Crewe, and the Direct Sheffield and Crewe. The former is the better line, but we have no doubt that the promoters of both will see the wisdom of union, and that an amalgamation of interests will take place. Such a course would render success certain.

### LINCOLNSHIRE.

There is one district which we would fain pass unnoticed, and that is the Lincolnshire district. The lines which have been projected to supply the wants of this county are so numerous that the most experienced hand might tremble in attempting to give anything like an outline as to their probable destiny. The county of Lincoln on the railway map is more scored than the face of an elaborately tattooed Indian, and one would think that the county had been thus visited to gratify Colonel Sibthorp, who represents the city.

The most important lines which have been projected in Lincolnshire, are the Sheffield and Lincolnshire, Boston, Newark and Sheffield, East Lincolnshire, Great Grimsby, and Sheffield Junction Extension, Manchester Midlands, and

Great Grimsby, Grand Union, Goole and Doncaster, Great Grimsby, Louth, Horncastle, Lincoln, and Midland Counties Junction, and the Nottingham and Gainsborough. These are all lines required by the districts through which they are intended to pass, and they do not, we believe, compete with any others.

The Sheffield and Lincolnshire Junction may be considered as an extension of the Sheffield and Manchester Railway. It will commence at Sheffield, pass through Worksop, Retford and Gainsborough, and will terminate at Lincoln.

The shareholders are guaranteed four per cent. by the Sheffield and Manchester Company. It is a line that will pass. The Boston, Newark, and Sheffield, has gained much strength by its amalgamation with the Nottingham and Mansfield Company. It is a line much required, as it passes through a rich, mineral, and agricultural district.

The East Lincolnshire Railway is a project of much importance, and is well supported. It runs along the Lincolnshire coast, and is intended to connect the two rising ports of Boston and Great Grimsby.

The Great Grimsby and Sheffield Junction is a short but important extension, and is sure of success.

The Manchester, Midlands, and Great Grimsby is a line of great importance, inasmuch as commencing at Massborough, one of the stations on the North Midland Railway, it embraces the important towns of Rotherham, Bawtry, and Gainsborough, terminating at Great Grimsby. This line offers great advantages, and is calculated to command success.

The Grand Union is an important line commencing at

Nottingham and gives to that town a communication with the Wash, and the ports adjacent.

The Goole and Doncaster is one of the most promising projected lines in the country. Its success was only prevented in the last Session by a want of sufficient time to consider its merits. As a remunerating line its prospects are bright indeed. When completed, it will compete with the River Don Navigation Company, the dividends of which, we understand, amount to 100*l.* per 100*l.* share per annum. The shares in this Navigation Company are consequently at 2,000*l.* premium, and the proposed line will of course come in for a slice of this. It is almost straight from Doncaster to Goole, and can be easily made. The Goole and Doncaster is certain of success.

The Great Grimsby, Louth, Horncastle, Lincoln, and Midland Counties' Junction, comprises several small railways, and is an advantageous scheme calculated to meet with the approbation of Parliament.

The Nottingham and Gainsborough is an important mineral line, and will be advantageous to the district which it is intended to serve.

These are the lines which we think are likely to be awarded to Lincolnshire.

### RUGBY TO WORCESTER.

The country between Rugby and Worcester is one of considerable importance, and several lines were projected to supply this district. There were the Rugby, Warwick, and Worcester, the London and Birmingham Extension, the Worcester, Warwick, and Rugby, the Warwick and Worcester, and the Great Eastern and Western. Of these the



Warwick and Worcester is, we believe, the only line that is perfectly ready to go to Parliament, but we understand that an amalgamation advantageous to all parties has taken place between the Worcester, Warwick and Rugby, the Warwick and Worcester, the London and Birmingham Extension, and the Great Eastern and Western. We have no doubt that the Warwick and Worcester is a line which will receive the sanction of Parliament.

### WORCESTER AND HEREFORD.

Between Worcester and Hereford many lines have been projected. There is the Worcester, Hereford, and Gloucester, the Welsh Midland, the Great Eastern and Western, and others. Of these the only line which appears to us to have any chance of success is the Worcester, Hereford, and Gloucester. The Great Eastern and Western we believe, will adopt this as part of their line. Whispers are afloat detrimental to the position of the Welsh Midland, a scheme which, however respectably it may be supported, is not one in our opinion calculated to be attended with advantage.

### BIRMINGHAM AND OXFORD.

From Birmingham to Oxford a most important line has been projected. When it came out it took the Stock Exchange by storm, and a large premium was immediately obtained for the shares. This no doubt arose from the success which had attended the Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton Railway, and the rumours of support it was to receive from the Grand Junction Company. How far the late great amalgamation will affect the Oxford and Birmingham we cannot pretend to say, but there can be no doubt that it will be considerably influenced by it. The Grand Junction has now become a portion of the London and Birmingham Company, and therefore is precluded from giving

its support to anything which may be calculated to affect prejudicially the interests of the mighty Company. The Oxford and Birmingham Railway will give to London an independent line to Birmingham. Perhaps at present it would not be so short or direct as the existing route, but with a line formed, and one is projected, from Oxford to Maidenhead, what becomes of the Birmingham traffic of the existing London and Birmingham Company. By such lines as the Maidenhead and Oxford, and Oxford and Birmingham, the distance between London and Birmingham would be performed in little more than two hours,—a vast advantage.

The proposed Oxford and Birmingham Junction will commence at the Grand Junction station at Birmingham, proceed through Warwick and Leamington to a junction with the Oxford and Rugby Railway near Fenny Compton.

This is a line which will complete the Great Western Company's system of Worcester and Oxford Railways.

### WORCESTER, TENBURY AND LUDLOW.

From Worcester an important line has been projected, and is called the Worcester, Tenbury and Ludlow. This is a short railway, but it is intended, we believe, ultimately to form a link in a long chain of broad gauge lines. Should the Great Western Company ultimately carry their line to Porthdynllaen in North Wales there is no doubt that the Worcester, Tenbury, and Ludlow will be a portion of it. Indeed, we may look upon this little line as a Great Western project, as it is supported by, if not already amalgamated with that Company. It is a line supported by the district, and is one which Parliament will in all probability sanction.

## BIRMINGHAM AND SHREWSBURY.

A very important district hitherto unsupplied with railway accommodation is that which lies between Birmingham and Shrewsbury.

For this district there are two Companies before the public, one promoted by the Grand Junction Company, and the other by a new Company, headed by Mr. Collett, the Chairman of the Chester and Holyhead Railway.

The line of the latter Company is intended to run through Wellington, Hadley, Ketley, Shiffnal, Wolverhampton and Dudley, to a junction with the London and Birmingham Railway at Birmingham.

The Grand Junction Line will run from the Wolverhampton Station of the Oxford, Worcester and Wolverhampton Railway.

The district is a most important and wealthy one, but we do not think that either of the above lines is the best that could have been chosen. A better one had been projected, but its plans have not been deposited.

We believe the two lines we have named will ultimately amalgamate, and the line will then be granted this session.

## SOUTH MIDLAND.

The South Midland is a line of very great importance, and cannot fail to receive the sanction of the legislature. It is a second Trent Valley Line, and will materially shorten the distance to the Midland Counties. The line is intended to run from Northampton to Leicester, thereby cutting off the angle formed by the London and Birmingham and Midland Counties lines. It is supported by the Midland Company,

Mr. Hudson, being its Chairman. On the Act being obtained, the shares are to become Midland Stock.

: This line we should say is safe.

### BIRMINGHAM AND LEICESTER.

Between these two towns lies a very important district. There will be no contest, however, for it, as the two Companies, the Direct Birmingham and Leicester and the Birmingham and Leicester have amalgamated their interests, and the line will go through Parliament without opposition.

We believe we have now gone through the most important districts of England; but in addition to those lines we have mentioned as being likely to receive the sanction of the Legislature, we may, at a rough guess, name the Birkenhead and Holyhead Junction and Mold Extension, an important line which gives a direct communication between Liverpool and Holyhead.

The Birkenhead, Lancashire, and Cheshire Junction, to give a communication between Manchester and the New Docks at Birkenhead.

The Cheltenham and Oxford, to give a direct line to Cheltenham from the metropolis.

The East and West Yorkshire, a short but very important line.

The West Lancashire, a coast line from Liverpool to Preston.

The York and Glasgow, being two lately amalgamated lines, and the Leeds and York.

**Trent Valley Midland Grand Junction.**

The East and West India Docks, and Birmingham Junction, to connect the Birmingham Railway with the London Docks.

The following, then, is a general summary of the conclusions to which we have come as to the success of the lines that will be submitted to Parliament. Of course, many other lines will be granted, but they will be of minor importance:—

	SHARES.	EACH.	CAPITAL.
		£	£.
The Direct Northern .....	160,000	.. 25	.. 4,000,000
The Cornwall and Devon Central	120,000	.. 25	.. 3,000,000
South Eastern North Kent, about	—	.. —	.. 3,000,000
London, Salisbury, and Yeovil Junction	40,000	.. 50	.. 2,000,000
Portsmouth, about .....	—	.. —	.. 2,000,000
Liverpool and Leeds .....	68,000	.. 25	.. 1,700,000
Manchester and Southampton....	75,000	.. 20	.. 1,500,000
North Staffordshire .....	117,000	.. 20	.. 2,350,000
Birmingham and Lichfield .....	13,000	.. 20	.. 260,000
Buckinghamshire .....	112,500	.. 20	.. 2,250,000
Lancashire and North Yorkshire..	80,000	.. 20	.. 1,600,000
Manchester, Buxton, and Midlands	100,000	.. 20	.. 2,000,000
Sheffield, Buxton, Leek, and Crewe	32,000	.. 25	.. 800,000
Sheffield, and Lincolnshire .....	26,000	.. 25	.. 650,000
Bolton, Newark, and Sheffield ..	40,000	.. 25	.. 1,000,000
East Lincolnshire .....	24,000	.. 25	.. 600,000
Grand Union .....	60,000	.. 25	.. 1,500,000
Goole, and Doncaster .....	46,000	.. 20	.. 920,000
Great Grimsby, South Horncastle, Lincoln, and Midland Counties	40,000	.. 20	.. 800,000
Nottingham and Gainsborough ..	40,000	.. 20	.. 800,000
			<hr/>
	Carried forward		<b>£32,730,000</b>
			<hr/>

	SHARES.	EACH.	CAPITAL.
		£	£
Brought forward			£32,730,000
Warwick and Worcester .....	35,000	.. 20	.. 700,000
Worcester, Hereford, & Gloucester	50,000	.. 20	.. 1,000,000
Birmingham and Oxford .....	30,000	.. 20	.. 600,000
Worcester, Tenbury, and Ludlow	8,000	.. 50	.. 400,000
Shrewsbury and Birmingham ....	28,000	.. 50	.. 1,400,000
South Midland.....	100,000	.. 20	.. 2,000,000
Direct Birmingham and Leicester .	30,000	.. 20	.. 600,000
Birkenhead, Lancashire, and Che-			
shire Junction .....	50,000	.. 50	.. 2,500,000
Cheltenham and Oxford .....	30,000	.. 20	.. 600,000
East and West Yorkshire .....			
West Lancashire .....	15,000	.. 20	.. 800,000
York and Glasgow Union .....	24,000	.. 50	.. 1,200,000
Trent Valley, Midlands, and Grand			
Junction .....	25,000	.. 25	.. 500,000
Leeds and York .....	15,000	.. 20	.. 300,000
East and West India Docks and			
Birmingham Junction .....	12,000	.. 50	.. 600,000
			<hr/>
			£45,930,000
			<hr/> <hr/>

If we allow about twenty millions for branches of existing lines, and for small extensions, the total sum which Parliament will in all probability permit this year to be applied to the construction of new English railways, will be under *seventy millions*, or less than a million and a half for each county. The sum is great, but we believe that the country will provide it, and feel no ill effects from the outlay. The money so expended will be disbursed by degrees—and to whom?—why to those who will immediately circulate it again—the labourers of the country. The calls will be made periodically, so as to meet the convenience of those who have to pay them, and we may therefore fairly assume that before the last call is made the first that was paid will have nearly

returned into the pockets of the subscribers. At all events, money spent in railways circulates the most extensively amongst the labouring population—the very sinews of the land. The construction of railways must therefore most materially benefit trade generally, and of course add to the permanent wealth of the nation. We see nothing but that which is most cheering in the extension of the railway system, for by it the labouring population will be kept continually employed and well paid, and when that is the case we need feel no uneasiness or alarm as to the prosperity of the country at large. May therefore the chief labours of the members of the legislature during the coming session consist in the consideration of the extension of railways, and may God speed them all.

**COMMON SENSE**

**FOR**

**THE PEOPLE,**

**AND**

**FACTS FOR EVERY BODY.**

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**LONDON:**

**WILLIAM EDWARD PAINTER, 342, STRAND.**

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**1846.**



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# COMMON SENSE FOR THE PEOPLE,

AND

## FACTS FOR EVERYBODY.

It happened that one winter's evening three persons met in a certain place. It is unnecessary to consider the circumstances that brought them together, or even to ask where they met—they did meet and had a conversation, and before we inform the reader of what passed between them it will not be out of place simply to state what sort of persons these were.

Well, then, the first was what is called a gentleman—that is, one who had some little independence, who did not labour with his hands to obtain his living, but who, nevertheless, employed his time in reading and thinking and observation: he went much among the people, studied their character and circumstances, was not inattentive to the various plans proposed for the improvement of their condition, did himself take an active part in devising schemes to this end, was sometimes, indeed not seldom, disappointed at the failure of his own as well as the benevolent intentions of others; and was grieved when, as was often the case, he discovered wrong views, feelings, and actions, on the part of the people themselves. It is no great wonder if he entertained peculiar views; for his experience, derived from much study, constant thought, and examination into the principles which are the main-spring as well as the test of all actions, and from which only results can be determined, continually forced him into the conviction that *truth* is not always in the proportion of general approbation: or, in other words, that commonly received opinions, which it is almost heresy to question, may, when weighed in the balance of sober judgment and reason, be far away from what is intrinsically correct—nay, may be discovered to be absolutely very hollow, without foundation, and in consequence more pernicious

when followed than in their total rejection. He had peculiar notions respecting the people, and he was not afraid to express them, although they were opposed to the prevailing principles of that class, and were looked upon as wild and unorthodox by persons in a better condition of life. Such was the first person, whom we shall call *Mr. Thoughtful*.

The second was a character very different from the former : he was not what is usually called a poor man, though perhaps at times was hard run enough for cash. He was a small tradesman, living in a certain village, could read, and write, and speak, and by ignorant persons was looked upon as a "fine scholar." He, too, had much to do with the people—that is, the working-classes; talked with them about their hardships, the injustice done them by their employers and others, and seemed to take pleasure in making them discontented. No doubt he was perfectly sincere in all he felt and said; but sincerity does not necessarily make a man wise, nor is his advice always the safest to follow; for the greatest practical fools the world ever saw, and those who have done most mischief in their day, have been very sincere—indeed, unhappily, too much so. We shall call him *Stephen Talkenough*.

The third was a man differing from the two former in every respect: he laboured hard from morning till night for his daily bread, and yet had hardly enough for the support of his family; was often indebted to private benevolence to enable him to get along; had no learning, talked very little, thought less, and heard everybody—he was one of the people: we shall call him *John the Labourer*.

Now for the conversation that passed between these three characters:—

*Stephen Talkenough* : I say, John, were you at church last Sunday? Did you hear what the parson read out of the Bible? Well, where is truth if it is not in the Bible? Did he not read about the poor being oppressed; aye he did, and if he did not feel it he said what was true. I could hardly keep my seat—I felt as though I must cry out aloud "Truth, Truth, the poor are oppressed!" What did your master say

to that, John ? I saw him there in his big pew. I'll warrant he didn't heighten your wages for all that—not he—it is not words will alter the case : words are not hard enough to make their sort feel—Isn't it true, John ?

*John the Labourer :* It looks like it, Stephen ; but what can a poor body do ?

*Stephen Talkenough :* Do ! why do your work and thank'em for what you can get. That's all you can do for the present ; but the time is coming when you must do more than that. Aye, the time is coming when you must get your due. There must be law for the poor as well as for the rich. They have it all their own way now ; but it will not be always so, John. The ox that treadeth out the corn is not to be muzzled ; but the rich look upon the poor not as oxen but asses.

*John the Labourer :* Well, I don't know—I know I feel very much pinched with my family : there's seven on us, and I know well I don't earn enough to buy them flour ; and yet I believe there are many worse than I. I don't know what will become of the poor at last. I'm sure I can't think on it—I never worked harder, and I fare nothing the better for it.

*Stephen Talkenough :* Shame ! shame ! to oppress the poor so ; and what would they do without us ? Does not every thing come from the poor. Who tills the land and gathers in the harvest—it is not the rich, is it John ? The poor are slaves ! slaves ! I'll be a slave of no man !—die first.

*Mr. Thoughtful :* Neighbour, I think you are talking too fast. You do not know what you are saying, I am sure. What is all this oppressing the poor—this slavery—this injustice on the part of the rich, and this dying, of which you speak so warmly to this working man ? It is all nonsense—it is calculated to make him unhappy, and render his situation a hundred-fold worse than it is—indeed, to put it beyond all remedy.

*Stephen Talkenough :* Ah, Mr. Thoughtful, that's your business. Of course, you don't like it. I wasn't speaking against you, for you do not oppress any man that I know ; but the poor are very unjustly used, are they not ? Is it not hard to

work for ever, and yet be no better for it ? God gave the land to us all alike, and a man ought to be able to live on his *native*. Isn't that true, John ?

*John the Labourer* : It do fare like it, Stephen.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : It appears that this honest man, whom you say the rich liken to an ass, but whom you liken only to an ox, finds it difficult to live.

*Stephen Talkenough* : I only said what the Scriptures say.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : The Scriptures never liken any of God's creatures to either ox or ass : on the contrary, they call upon them not to be as the brutes that are without reason, but to be men in understanding. And I believe this admonition is very important ; for it is in human nature to look and go down rather than up. It is so especially, I think, with the poor ; and your advice and harangue are much calculated to make them do so.

*Stephen Talkenough* : Ah ! Sir, how can a poor man look up, except, as the parson says, to pray ; but you don't get much by that, John, do you ?

*John the Labourer* : It don't look like it Stephen, does it ?

*Mr. Thoughtful* : Well, we will not mind the prayers for the present : perhaps you are as blind to that subject as to others ; it appears this honest, simple-minded man, for such I judge him to be by his manner of meeting your observations, finds a difficulty in earning enough to support his family. You think the evil should be remedied—so do I—you give him your opinion, or rather you talk to him and at him, and about others ; but I am far from having heard you say anything to encourage him : at the same time, you have spoken a great deal in a small way calculated to mislead and bring him to desperation. I have not heard a word from you that was either just or reasonable. Now, I have my opinion to give, and if you will permit me, I will endeavour to open this man's understanding, and shew him the true cause of the evil, and propose a remedy.

*Stephen Talkenough* : Oh, say what you please, sir. I'm not afraid of argument. It's a remedy you want, John, is it not ?

*John the Labourer* : Well, that's right, Stephen—isn't it ?

*Stephen Talkenough* : The remedy you want is enough to eat—is not that right, John ?

*John the Labourer* : That's right, Stephen.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : The remedy I propose will give you and your family enough to eat, and, what is still more, make them respectable and happy. But before we propose the remedy let us get at the disease. Allow me to ask you a few questions. How long have you lived in the parish of —— ?

*John the Labourer* : Lived ! why, it is my real *native*.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : Then your father lived here also ?

*John the Labourer* : Oh, yes ! and his father before him.

*Stephen Talkenough* : A real old standard family in this place for more than a hundred years, as I heard the Churchwarden say, by the writings—shame to have them begging at their own door !

*Mr. Thoughtful* : It is a shame and a sorrow to beg any where. Well, and what employment had your father and grandfather ?

*John the Labourer* : As far as I know, my grandfather was a shoemaker.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : How many sons had he ?

*John the Labourer* : Three sons ; one was a mole-catcher—he that lived you know, Stephen, in the parish of——, five miles from us ; he died not long ago, and left a large family of seven children. T'other is a labouring man, like myself ; he's almost past work now—he has five children : and my father, who is dead, was also like myself, only a hard-working man.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : Now tell me, John, exactly, how many children your own father had.

*John the Labourer* : Why, sir, there are seven on us in all.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : Well, from what I understand there are nineteen children living, the grandchildren of your grandfather, the shoemaker. His son the mole-catcher had seven, your uncle five, and your father seven children.

*John the Labourer* : That's all right, sir.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : And are there any of these eighteen married, and, if so, what children have they ?

*John the Labourer* : Married, sir—they're all married, like myself ; but it would take some time to reckon up the little uns. I know I have got five on 'em myself ; my brother Jem has the same ; my brother Bob is the biggest, he has got seven on 'em. My sister Mary—she that's in America, Stephen—by the last account she had six ; and Dick hasn't got any yet : he's only just married. Moses has only three, and one a-coming. Damaris had the mishap to have two little uns : she isn't married though—not yet.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : Well, John, you and your brothers and sisters between you have twenty-eight children, and one coming.

*John the Labourer* : Oh, more than that a-coming I expect, by all account.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : Well, twenty-eight and nineteen make forty-seven. Now, think of the cousins, what children have they?

*John the Labourer* : I think I can tell in time. Let's see: there's Nebuchadnezzar—he that's the gamekeeper to Squire Perry—sure he can't have less than five—he's married a goodish sort of years—yes, he has five ; and Thomas, what used to preach, he has five.

*Stephen Talkenough* : Five seems to be your number, John.

*John the Labourer* : Oh, there's Aaron has eight, he that is steward, like, to the Squire ; and Billy, he has three, one on 'em is simple, and the other that went to foreign parts: they say he has a good tidy family of six or seven—I don't know which.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : Well, John, these all make twenty-seven, which, with forty-seven, make seventy-four. And there is still one uncle remaining, whose seven children you say are all married. Can you tell me how many little ones they number?

*John the Labourer* : Why, sir, two of his sons went up to London, and they say off into the Shires ; but we never hear no account of them, though it has been said they are right well to do. The other four—let's see—one has three children, one has none, one has six, and one has five.

*Stephen Talkenough* : Five's the lucky number, John.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : Well, seventy-four and fourteen make eighty-

eight in all ; and of these, you tell me, there are sixteen gone to other places, which leaves seventy-two persons closely connected with you in your own neighbourhood, all, I suppose, living within a circle of five or six miles. But, perhaps, I know your pedigree better than you do yourself. I have looked into the matter : in the parish, containing a population of five hundred souls, where you live, you are related by blood and by marriage to four out of the six farmers, and with not less than twenty families of the labouring class ; and, allowing five children to each of these twenty-four families, your kindred, including the seventy-six souls already alluded to, will amount to one hundred and ninety-six persons ; and, if I were to include in my calculation a few of the surrounding parishes, I would undertake to prove that in some way or other, direct or indirect, you are connected with almost every family of your class in your neighbourhood.

*John the Labourer* : Well, that's all right enough ; but I fare nothing the better for that.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : You are much the worse for it, John. Such a state of things may serve to account for the fact that nothing can be done for the poor—for the sameness of habit, feeling, condition and expression of sentiment that we too often discover amongst your class : it may explain how it is that servants generally display the same tone of character, and that oftentimes they are changed scarcely for the better.

*Stephen Talkenough* : And I'll tell you something more, Mr. Thoughtful, on that point. They are as one, and when they determine to act as one man they'll have their right, and not till then. What have they to do at the time of harvest, but just agree among themselves, and say we will not cut an ear of corn unless we have higher wages : what do you say to that, John ?

*John the Labourer* : Why, they must give in ; mustn't they, Stephen ?

*Mr. Thoughtful* : This is leading us away from the matter before us. However, as it is of importance that you should have right views on this subject, I will now tell you what I think



Let us suppose that, at the time of harvest, the labourers refused to work—and this is not the first time I have heard this mad design—what would be the instant consequence? Why, that provisions would, in one day, rise to such a price as was never before heard of in this country. Who would suffer most then? John, the working people of this country would just live so long as is required to starve a man to death—this would be the first consequence. But, as the preservation of the food of the country concerns every man in the community, measures to that end would be instantly adopted; foreign assistance would be resorted to, and, by means of steam and railway, procured in good time, or every man in the country, rich as well as poor, would be *compelled* to work his share. For I suppose you know, John, that in extraordinary national emergencies, men can be forced into the service of the army and navy, and though forced make very efficient soldiers and sailors; and if so, it would be quite as reasonable and just, indeed far more so, to force men, even gentlemen, and if need be, ladies too, to lend their aid in gathering in the standing crops, and thus preserve the nation from famine and ruin. John, your neighbour insults your understanding: he appeals to your passions—I speak to your common sense. Now let me proceed. I was speaking about the large family your grandfather has left behind him, and of their numerous connections, all living, we may say, in the same parish. May I ask you, John, where the house in which your grandfather lived is situated?

*John the Labourer* : Why, sir, I live in it myself; it is very old, as you may suppose, and has been much altered, even in my time.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : It is not very large, John, is it?

*John the Labourer* : It has a kitchen and two chambers, not very big ones neither.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : Well, John, and if his children and grandchildren and other descendants, making in all say seventy souls, had remained in that house, do you think there would have been room enough for them?

*John the Labourer* : Oh, sir, that's not likely.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : It was necessary for them to seek some other residence—this was quite clear ; but although they went forth, they did not go far enough, John. The original house where your grandfather resided did not grow bigger as the children increased ; neither did the parish in which the house stands—that is to say, there is no more work, by some accounts less work now than formerly, but the hands, as regards your own family, have increased in an extraordinary proportion within a short space of time. This is the disease, John. Now, suppose that your grandfather's descendants, instead of being labourers, as we find them, were all shoemakers, and living in and about the parish where they were born, do you think they could find sufficient work to support themselves and families ?

*John the Labourer* : Certainly not, sir ; the few shoemakers, in comparison, that we have, are hard enough put to get a bit of bread.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : And if they had been made shoemakers, would you think it reasonable that men ought to buy more shoes than they require, simply to give them work ?

*John the Labourer* : I'm sure I shouldn't like to be forced to buy more shoes than I want.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : It would not have been greater madness to have made them all shoemakers than to allow them to become labourers, and still expect that they should obtain remunerative employment in their parish. The labouring man, John, is a merchant. Some merchants have cloth, cotton, sugar, iron, butter ; in fact, a variety of materials to sell : the labouring merchant has his *labour*. Now, attend to me, John. Suppose a merchant has ten pounds of butter to dispose of in the neighbouring market—he is the only butter merchant there, and there are ten customers who require one pound each. He can make a ready sale—the only point to settle will be the price : he will of course ask a high price and will find it, because he is the only person that has butter to sell. If his price be too high, the customers, or some of them at least, may say we cannot afford to give that price : we must

do without the butter as best we can : we must substitute it by something else ; but it is clear that he will sell his butter to advantage. The next time he goes to market he has also ten pounds of butter to sell, and there is the same number of customers ; but he finds that there are several other butter merchants, with perhaps the same or greater quantity of butter to sell ; what now will be the consequence ?

*John the Labourer :* He will find it difficult to sell his butter:

*Mr. Thoughtful :* And what does that difficulty cause ?

*John the Labourer :* Why, I suppose he must sell his butter for less money, or bring it home again.

*Mr. Thoughtful :* Or he must take it to some other market. And if the butter merchants increase, whilst the customers are still only ten in number, will not the difficulty of selling the butter at the original price, when there was but one merchant in the market, be augmented in proportion ?

*John the Labourer :* Oh, certainly, sir, I see it clear enough.

*Mr. Thoughtful :* John, do you keep bees ?

*John the Labourer :* Why, no, sir. So many on 'em has bees, we don't get nothing for the honey—in fact we can't sell it at no price.

*Mr. Thoughtful :* Then you see, John, when there is an overstocked market, there must be a reduction of price. It would not be reasonable to pay the same when provisions are plenty as when there is a great scarcity.

*John the Labourer :* That wouldn't be in reason ; its not likely.

*Mr. Thoughtful :* This is common sense, John—now let us apply it. In the time of your grandfather there were, as at present, six farms in the parish, each providing eight men with employment, in all forty-eight men. This amount of labour is absolutely necessary to render these farms profitable, and if less were employed it would be to the injury of the occupier. No farmer, anxious to make the best possible return for his money and time—and any other is injurious to the community at large—would employ a less amount of labour

than we have here specified as his proportion. Now, John, remember what we said about the one butter merchant in the market, who had a supply just equal to the demand: in the case of the labour merchant there is, let us suppose, to the amount of forty-eight hands worth of labour to sell, just the very proportion required by the six customers, the farmers, who are anxious for their own interests to buy. Here is also a supply just equal to the demand; and, therefore, the labour merchants are able, like the one butter merchant, to effect a sure and profitable sale. Is not this clear, John?

*John the Labourer* : Quite clear, sir.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : But, John, you remember that the butter merchants became so numerous—that is, the supply became so much greater than the demand—that they were forced either to take a greatly reduced price for their butter or to bring it home again. Now, the labour merchants have increased in the same proportion; and, instead of forty-eight, we have eighty, perhaps a hundred men in the market, whilst there are only the six buyers as before—six farmers requiring only forty-eight hands' worth of labour. John, what will be—what *must* be the consequence?

*Stephen Talkenough* : But, sir, there's work enough and plenty if they will but do it; but they won't do it. We have too much machinery, and our farms are too large, and that's what hurts the poor.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : John, I am endeavouring to prove to you that the labouring classes remaining in and about their parishes from generation to generation—or, in other words, from father to son, as in your case, and which I consider a very fair specimen of the entire working population of the country—is the great secret of your distress. Your neighbour is drawing our attention to other matters. I must meet his argument; but do not lose sight of the point I am most anxious you should be informed upon; for, whether his observations are just or not, your duty and interests remain the same; the evil I speak of, under any circumstances, is an evil still. Your neighbour, and, as it appears, your relative also, talks upon

the principle—and one I grieve to say too generally acted upon—that the people belong to the land, as was the case in former times when they passed into the hands of the different occupiers as a change occurred. I talk of matters as they are. Englishmen are not serfs; they are free—that is, they can employ their capital, whether talents, labour, or money, where they can and how they can, and bequeath to their children the fruit of their industry and enterprise. This is the essential difference between a serf and a servant—the serf served for another; the servant, under whatever relation he may be, serves himself. Now, if any persons in this country appear little better than serfs, it must be their own act and deed, and the result of a combination of circumstances; and just let me say that the removal by law of any of the evils Mr. Talkenough has alluded to would be, in point of fact, to legislate for the people as if they were, and that it was politic to consider them, though not to call them, serfs. If you say a farmer must employ more hands than he does, because there are people in the parish who have no work, it is just to establish two evils: the first, despotism, the very principle of which is to tell a man that others know his interests better than himself; and, in the second place, it is to make paupers—that is, serfs—of the labour merchants: it is to pay them by charity for that which should and would, in a healthy state of affairs, bring them an honest and just return—it would be in fact to degrade the people, and is a principle we have practically carried out too long. And now as to the other evil complained of—machinery. Will you tell me that hard, incessant labour is a blessing? Why, I have been all my life long taught to believe it is part of the curse consequent upon the fall of man; therefore, whatever legitimately removes the necessity for it should be hailed with delight and gratitude to the Giver of all good. Thus riches are a mercy for which we should be thankful; talents and mental cultivation, which enable us to earn a livelihood without labouring on the soil, are to be esteemed unspeakable privileges, and, if rightly used, advantages of a high moral order; and I conceive that machinery, which sub-

stitutes human labour and spares the strength of man, is not the least gracious interference of Providence in behalf of His unworthy creatures, who are so blind as to call His curse a blessing, and His blessing a curse ! It is not the mere labouring with the body, John, that keeps you alive—it is the wholesome food you put into it ; therefore, if you could get the food without the labour, you would, I suspect, be a considerable gainer. Now, if the produce of the earth could be secured, and perhaps increased, without bodily labour—that is, by machinery—how foolish would it be for the people to cry out “ We have no work,” when they would have as much (perhaps more) to eat as when they laboured hard with their hands ! Surely the produce must be consumed, and there must be a sufficient number of mouths for that purpose. John, He who made the mouth made also the threshing and every other machine, and with a relative purpose too. Therefore, if it be, and I see no reason why it is not, right to “ reverence the plough,” we must not fail to honour the other kindred agents in the regeneration of man, machinery ! Now, as to the evil of large farms—there never was a more plausible and at the same time more unreasonable delusion than this ; and, like most other popular theories, *self*, not the people’s interest, is at the bottom of it. Not only is it *not truth*—it is the very opposite of fact. If our six farms were divided into twelve occupations, the occupiers, in the course of a few years, would have three or four sons who, according to the prevailing habit of persons connected with the soil, would be brought up to the farming business. Are we again to divide the country into smaller tenements ? And, if this were to be the case, would the labour merchants be benefitted ?—the reverse. Though it is the farmer buys, yet it is to the land the labour is sold : and, certainly, there is not in proportion more steady and profitable work to be done on a small than on a large farm : on the contrary, as the small farm requires less capital, it finds more needy speculators. A man may make some stand upon a small occupation without adequate, or, as is well known to be the case, without any means at all ; but what is the result ? He is obliged to avoid every possible expense, even

though he lose, and considerably too, by his economy; his position will not admit of any other course; the money he is compelled to borrow must be paid at the time specified, or he loses his credit and his farm too; and, then, the majority of these little farmers employ their own sons on the occupation, and thus help to overstock the labour market: so, that with regard to small farms, the merchant labourer has three evils to contend against; first, he cannot expect an encouraging price for his labour, because the occupier is too needy to make the most of his land; secondly, a new set of merchant labourers, in the shape of the farmer's sons, are introduced into the market who, but for the facility of getting into a small occupation, might perhaps have been at a trade, but would not certainly have been on the soil; for, though they serve on their father's land, they are perhaps a little too high to work as general day labourers; and, thirdly, they lose the large occupier, who, from the circumstance of having a considerable capital embarked in business, is compelled to turn his farm to the very best account: he knows he must lay out money to get in his money, or let it be lost to himself and family for ever: he cannot halt—he is just like the man ascending the magic ladder, the last step of which gives way beneath his feet; his only hope is in pressing upward; if he stand he falls—if he go forward he may succeed. And, moreover, although I do not expect you will consider this of any importance, the large occupier is generally a more enlightened man; he is obliged to read, and must necessarily be more acquainted with the world, which, in some way or other, is an advantage to the labourer who, from a variety of causes, is shut out from everything but his parish. It is true, indeed, that even extensive farmers have yet to learn much; that they are not claimants upon the sympathies of their landlords, but merchants trading with their capital and skill; and when this basis of their connection with the land is acknowledged by proprietors—when, in fact, an occupier is something beyond a dependant—we shall not only have more money and science brought to bear upon the soil, but we shall hear as little about high rents and rates, &c., crippling the

agricultural interests as the freights of vessels interfering, in any prominent degree, with the grand projects of commerce. But, John, as I said before, we must keep the main point in view—the evil of remaining on the soil where we were born—of being ourselves and our children voluntary serfs from generation to generation. Let me ask you another question or two: you know where I live; perhaps you can tell me the names of the two last occupants?

*John the Labourer*: Oh, yes, sir, that I can. Squire Harmer lived there before you, and I have heard my father talk of a Mr. Dashwood, whose monument is in the church. He lived there a goodish sort of years.

*Mr. Thoughtful*: Can you tell me if these gentlemen had families?

*John the Labourer*: Squire Harmer I know had a very large family—very many sons: what, Stephen, hadn't the squire as good as five sons?

*Stephen Talkenough*: I know nothing about the squire. I don't keep minding such folk.

*Mr. Thoughtful*: And Mr. Dashwood?

*John the Labourer*: I have certainly heard my father and uncles talk of the young gentlemen and ladies—oh yes; Mr. Dashwood had several children.

*Mr. Thoughtful*: Are any of the children of these two gentlemen resident in this neighbourhood?

*John the Labourer*: No, no! sir—not one for very many years.

*Mr. Thoughtful*: And what do you think has become of them?

*John the Labourer*: I'm sure I can't tell, sir.

*Mr. Thoughtful*: I can tell you something of their history. Their fathers, though living in that great house, were poor men, at least for their position, and left very little property behind them—scarcely enough to support the female members of the respective families: the sons were scattered in various parts; some went to India, and were very successful; indeed, made considerable fortunes: others, owing to their dissipated



habits, were disappointed: several of the ladies are comfortably married, and there are not a few grandchildren of both gentlemen. I have been very particular in making enquiries respecting them, owing to the interest I feel in the result of enterprise. Now, there are not any two members of either family living within fifty miles of each other, and between most of them there is a distance of two, three, five, and ten hundred miles and upwards. John, what a contrast there is between the children of these gentlemen, and the offspring of your grandfather the shoemaker, all of whom are living within a circle of five miles! And, John, I will tell you one thing more—there is not throughout the whole extent of England to be found one family, of any respectability, whose children have all remained in the parish or neighbourhood where they were born.

*Stephen Talkenough*: To be sure—these gents know where to go; they have no need to learn geography, for the world's all their own; they never stir out of their nest until there's a perch to fly to, I'll warrant. But where would you have John or the likes of him go begging about the world? To go off ragged and hungry it is true, but to come home naked and starved outright.

*Mr. Thoughtful*: I find that all your observations are of a very superficial character, calculated only to make an impression upon ignorant minds; they are not only weak and erroneous, but they are absolutely the contrary of truth. In the first place, you say these gents know where to go—by which we understand that a situation has been provided for them previously to their leaving home. This is not true always, nor indeed even often, but the reverse: the children of respectable parents leave home for the purpose of seeking employment such as they are capable of filling, and have many difficulties to contend with that fall not to the lot of any of the working population. In the first place, they are brought up in a different manner from John or any person of his class; they are accustomed to comforts which, though not at all necessary to a happy existence, are in a certain

sense indispensable from habit ; they, for instance, whilst under their father's roof, see a respectably furnished house; the cottage of a labouring man, on the contrary, is simply provided with the barest necessities ; and, not having been familiar with any other style, it is that which, I regret to say, suits his habits and feelings best—such a dwelling as this latter can be had everywhere, and therefore the odds on this point are in favour of the poor man. Again, the child of parents moving in the middle or higher ranks of life is accustomed to have servants to wait upon him ; he is not obliged himself to do menial work—not that I think such in any way, except by conventional usage, degrading ; but it is not the habit of his class ; he is brought up with the notion that certain work is to be performed by a servant : and after a series of years, when the constitution is in some sort suited to surrounding circumstances, he would find perhaps a difficulty in bending his mind to such occupation : here also the labouring man's son has a decided advantage ; he knows not what it is to be waited upon, and therefore can never know the feelings of one differently brought up, who may be thrown into such circumstances as preclude the possibility of keeping a domestic. And so, with regard to employment itself, the working man cannot be at a loss, go where he will ; there is land everywhere, and, therefore, the probability of his obtaining work is a hundred-fold greater than that of one who cannot labour, except with the head, or in some occupation it may be difficult to meet. The working man can hardly meet with more hardship than he experiences in his own parish, where he labours from morning to night ; has at the best but a poor, I might say a *disgustingly* poor, abode ; and, I am sorry to add, not always a plentiful table. Judge, therefore, I pray you, which of the two, the gentleman's son or that of the working man, is best fitted, I may say by nature, for buffetting the world.

*Stephen Talkenough* : As to the success of some folk who leave their parish, that's a question not settled. We hear a great deal of an individual now and then succeeding ; but how few they are compared with the many we hear no account of,

who fail and perish through downright hunger and hardship!

*Mr. Thoughtful*: This is another deception calculated only to impose upon the ignorant, who are too ready to look at the dark side. I should say that the reverse is the fact: when persons, who leave their parishes, do not succeed, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred they find their way there again. Poverty will send a man back to what he calls his home far quicker than it will make him leave it at first; but their not being heard of is a sign of their success—that they have perhaps become independent.

*Stephen Talkenough*: Oh if that were the case they would soon let us know it.

*Mr. Thoughtful*: On the contrary, it is just the reason they would avoid you, and let you know nothing about their prosperity. On climbing up the hill of life, and by acquiring substance, they have gathered experience: in short, they are put into different circumstances, and these circumstances give them different notions; they now see that an extensive kindred, so extensive in many instances as to link within its range the greater part of the population of a parish, of the very poorest description, is not an agreeable circumstance, when one has by industry, and energy, and God's blessing, got somewhat beyond them.

*Stephen Talkenough*: Then success makes a man proud, and deny his origin.

*Mr. Thoughtful*: Quite the reverse; it puts a man, however, into a different train of feeling and action—it gives him new duties. Suppose a man has acquired sufficient means to enable him to give something to his children, it is reasonable that he will expect to provide better for them than if they had no such expectancy. Such would be his duty, and a positive duty too: he must keep his children in the sphere they are entitled to move in, and this object would be defeated, and this divine duty absolutely neglected, if he were to bring them into a position where they would encounter none but poor miserable relatives—it would, by depriving them of their providential advantages, and exposing them to the temptation

such privation would entail, render them, perhaps, far more unfortunate than if their father had remained in his parish a mere labouring man ; so you see it is not pride but absolute duty makes a man maintain the new position a gracious Providence has marked out for him.

*Stephen Talkenough* : Ah ! I see what you are at sir—you would drive the poor out of their native.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : I would not drive any man to do what was contrary to his interests or wishes. I am only arguing, and you said you were not afraid of argument. You cannot but admit, John, there must be inconvenience felt by somebody when there is an overstocked market, whether of butter, bees, or labour ; and that so long as the labour merchants cling to the limited market of their parish there must be too many hands—that is, too great a supply for the demand.

*John the Labourer* : I see all that plain enough, sir ; but what can a poor man do ? I am sure I do not know what I am to do to make up my rent, unless some of the gentlemen in the parish give me a trifle towards it.

*Stephen Talkenough* : Ah, the gentlemen indeed ! They know how to take care of themselves : there is a great deal of preaching about charity, but very little of it in these days.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : And, perhaps, as far as concerns the bulk of the people, the less the better. I think the evil is, there is too much of it.

*Stephen Talkenough* : What, too much charity ? What do you say to that, John ? What can you expect now ?

*John the Labourer* : Why, I don't know, Stephen. I thought as what charity made the gentleman.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : Just hear what I have to say on that subject. I do not condemn charity ; under the most favourable state of things, there will be unhappily too much room for its exercise ; but I am quite of opinion that it is more blessed to give than to receive. Now, I say it is not a blessed thing to receive charity, though it is a very good thing to have our wants relieved. When a man is obliged to receive charity he is in distress, and distress is not a blessing—is it, John ?

*John the Labourer* : That it isn't, sir ; I can tell by my own case.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : Your distress arises from the fact that you cannot obtain a sufficient return for your labour to support yourself and family in decency and comfort ; this is caused by an overstocked market of labour ; and this, again, is owing to the simple fact that, from father to son, the people remain on the same ground and look to that ground for a maintenance. Now, why is it that the people remain thus increasing upon and around the spot which gave them birth ? You say, it is because they cannot do otherwise : well ; I admit it ; but this is caused by a variety of circumstances, one of which, indeed I might say the foremost, is charity. Let us see how charity induces the people to remain in their parishes. We will first consider the Poor Law—this is charity ; for every form of relief that is not a return for value received is charity. The people look to the Poor Law as their resource when out of employment. Can you deny that this miserable provision induces them to cling to their parish ? Is it not one of the most powerful means of keeping them in what they call their *native*—that is, in an overstocked market—where it is not possible to dispose of their labour except at a considerable sacrifice ? And has not every other form of charity the same effect, at least as we see the principle applied in these days ? Does not the left hand know what the right hand doeth ? Verily, though we do not sound a trumpet before us, it strikes me that the parish mode of administering charity savours of something very much akin to it. Did the apostles ever dream of including within the influence of this divine energy the whole working population of a community ? On the contrary, they said, “ Let him that stole, steal no more : but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth.” Who would think, under the present state of things, of telling our labouring population that it is their Christian privilege and duty to give to him that needeth, when they are themselves to a man obliged, by their circumstances, to depend upon

charity for even the necessities of life? You will observe that I do not condemn charity itself; on the contrary, I conceive it to be an essential part of the Christian character—a grace so holy and so sanctifying in its nature that a proper understanding its effects, either for good or evil, is of paramount importance. Its righteous application is a *science*, the apprehension of which is not always in the measure of even sincerity and zeal; indeed these may sometimes be too refined and exalted for the due consideration of its nice proportions and distinctive subtleties; and I cannot but think that the apostles, whose aim and effort were to elevate the social and intellectual condition of God's benighted creatures, were principally moved by some such consideration when, refusing to "serve tables," they appointed certain men full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom "over the *business*" of laying out the devotions of the faithful in the way most likely to bring in the largest return to the glory of the great Head of the Church. From my own experience, I can understand why that "able minister of the New Testament," St. Paul, admonished each member of the Corinthian Church upon the first day of the week, to lay by him in store, as God had prospered him, *that there might be no gatherings when he came*: he knew that good is only good in its proper application and results; and that, especially as regards charity, a godly jealousy over ourselves and others is indispensable to its beneficial developement. The latest application of benevolence in behalf of the people is the allotment system. Now, when we set out upon a wrong principle we may expect that every change and developement of action will be worse than another, and I believe it to be especially the case with this new effort to remedy the evil of an overstocked labour market. To work from morning to night is not enough to grind down the energies of the people, and fetter their minds in such a way that they have not strength to look over the hedge that bounds their parish; they must have an allotment to occupy their idle hours; they must work from night till morning too! Forgive me, heaven, if I am wrong or do wrong! But I never see those slips of

earth, linked one with another and dotted with their motley cultivators, that I am not reminded of the galley slaves I have mourned over in other countries as they, *on their allotments*, endeavoured to labour in their chains ! Allotment ! The very name is poverty ! It is something more than *curious* that so much sympathy should be displayed in behalf of those who work in manufactories ; that their labour should be limited by an Act of Parliament, even when they are comparatively well paid ; and that at the same time, and under the influence of the same feeling, an incitement should be presented to the labourer on the soil, whose occupation is at all times of a far more slavish character, to waste the refuse of his strength for present nought and future nothingness ! Charity here seems capricious ! John, so long as you do not receive the value of your labour, the only thing you have to sell, you must live upon charity ; the labour merchant would be as independent as any other man in the community, were it not that, owing to the overstocked labour market, he is thrown upon the generosity of his neighbours to supply his deficiencies. It is the false application of charity that causes the English labour merchant to be paid, not in proportion to the value of his hands, but the size of his mouth ; he earns as much as will support life and no more.

*Stephen Talkenough* : Come, John, let us measure your mouth. If I am not greatly mistaken it would hold more than goes into it.

*John the Labourer* : Stephen, I think I begin to understand the meaning of the gentleman.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : I do not joke ; it is too serious a matter to laugh at. The estimated value of labour in England is the exact amount necessary to exist.

*Stephen Talkenough* : I often told you, John, that the farmers had it all their own way, and that they oppressed the people ; this gentleman repeats the same truth.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : By no means. The farmers cannot do otherwise : so long as the Poor Law relief extends to able-bodied men, the occupiers have no choice : if they gave high

wages—that is, more than the necessities of life demand—the equitable value of labour in a healthy community, they would have, under the circumstances of a greatly overstocked market, to provide for the support of the surplus population ; by lowering the rate of wages they, of course, reserve a certain something for this contingency. If the farmer could scarcely find a sufficient number of hands, or if there were not a very much greater supply of labour in the market than is necessary for the immediate exigencies of agriculture, he would, as a matter of course, be obliged to give the real value of labour, and would not himself be a loser ; for what he disbursed in wages he would gain in the reduction of his rates. So you perceive that the occupier is not the heartless man he is so often represented ; he is in the same position with the labourer himself—the victim of circumstances arising out of the notion very generally acted upon, although very rarely asserted, that there is a class of persons in this country for whom we are to do everything but *one* thing—that is, teach them they should depend upon themselves more than upon others. I am persuaded there are circumstances when half a loaf is *not* better than no bread.

*Stephen Talkenough* : But what would the country do if the poor were to leave it ? Are not the people the strength of a nation ? Suppose, as is the only hope of obtaining our rights, there was a war again ; and then, what would become of the tradesmen who are supported by the people ?

*Mr. Thoughtful* : In former times the strength of a prince was in his people, because he was continually going to war and required recruits ; but now the strength of a nation is in its prosperity—that is, in the individual happiness and comfort of the people. With regard to the chances of a war, which you say will be for the people's advantage in obtaining what you call their rights, we are every day getting farther and farther from it : steam navigation and railways have so brought man and man of different nations together, and opened their eyes to the fact that they are all brethren, and have been kept estranged for the purpose of private interests,



that it requires but a few years more, if even that, of intercourse ; and, depend upon it, *man* will not go to war with his fellow-man. But be this as it may, the advantage you anticipate—or say you anticipate, for I can hardly believe you to be in earnest—is just in the other direction. It is in peace, not in war, man's rights are established. In war men do not act upon the righteous principle of doing to others as they would others should do to them. He who taketh the sword shall perish by the sword : this is the most we can say for it. I know of but one good thing ever done by a sword—it was cutting off the *ear* of the high priest's servant. John, believe me, we can hear too much, and this is not the least evil of an overstocked labour market—it disposes a class of persons who, even in a healthy state of society can never be very enlightened, and must always from their position be exposed to the temptation of envying those above them, to be the victims of unprincipled men, whose great aim is to keep them poor and ignorant. With regard to the argument that tradespeople would be injured, if the labour market were not overstocked, it is quite untenable. It is not the number of individuals constitutes a flourishing trade, but the amount of money expended. A few good customers are better than a ledger-full of bad ones ; when a tradesman takes stock at the end of the year, it is not the names of his patrons, but the quantity of goods sold he enters. In an overstocked labour market, where perhaps two-thirds only, and at greatly reduced wages, are in work, it is not to be expected the idle hands can expend what they have not ; or that those in employ can do more than is unavoidable—that is, buy the necessaries of life. You may lay this down as a general comparative fact, that one man possessed of ten pounds will expend more money than ten individuals with the same sum equally distributed between them.

*John the Labourer* : Well, I begin to think as though I do see there are too many on us.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : Too many for your parish, John ; but not for the world. Now, from what I have stated, it appears

evident the overstocked labour market is a great evil for the working classes, and that, under the control of well-intentioned, perhaps, but pernicious influences, they themselves have been hitherto so blind as to overlook its degrading tendencies. There are but two remedies—a greater but legitimate demand for labour, or a transfer of some of the labour merchants to another market. That the former may one day occur is by no means impossible: when the principle that no man knows his own business and interest so well as himself is really the basis of all mercantile transactions, the English farmer will not be the puppet, tied down and directed by the leading-strings of his tenure, he now is. A new principle of interest and action will bring from the east of Temple-bar a new order of farming merchants, whose business will be *with more than on* the land. That will be the golden age for England's labourers: then, as tenfold more capital will be expended in drawing forth the hidden wealth of the earth, a proportionate amount of additional labour will be required. But, though not distant, this time is not yet, and so I pass on to the second remedy—namely, the transfer of some of the labour merchants to another market. John, have you ever heard of emigration?

*John the Labourer*: Oh, that I have, sir, my sister and her husband went out there.

*Mr. Thoughtful*: Do you know what emigration is, John?

*John the Labourer*: Is'nt it a place where poor people go from this country, sir?

*Mr. Thoughtful*: Emigration, John, is simply the act of settling in another country; but, in truth, it is not much use in explaining the meaning of the word. I do not wonder that you have only a dreamy notion about it; for there is certainly a mysterious something in its sound which gives one the idea, I know not how, of half poverty and half punishment. I suppose, John, you know that the world is much larger than your parish—than England even? Well, I can assure you there are countries where the sun shines as brightly, the birds sing as sweetly, the trees and the fields look as fresh and lovely, and corn and turnips grow in quite as great abun-

dance, as in your own *native*. They would burn me for a heretic were I to tell you that, in many lands, the sun is brighter, birds sing more sweetly (though this may be a question), fields and trees are even fresher and lovelier, and corn and turnips and all sorts of provisions far more abundant than at home ; but this I will say, John, that if it were the reverse, and that by settling on some other spot of the earth we were enabled to gain a better subsistence, and entertain the laudable, and, let me say, religious hope of comfortably providing for our children, he is not only a weak but wrong minded man would suffer any feelings we call natural, but which to my mind are very unnatural, to divert him from his positive duty of taking up his abode there. There are many such places in the world to which I could, and, on some other occasion, will be happy to direct your attention, if you determine to burst in sunder the chains that hold you to your parish. But I trust the importance of colonization on a grand national scale, such as may afford not only employment but probable future independence to the settlers, will ere long be urged upon the attention of the country. A colony of this character, embracing all the privileges of the mother country, and exempt from the difficulties one meets at home, would do more to exalt and establish England than anything (bold and noble as have been her efforts in correcting abuses) she has yet accomplished, or indeed conceived. She would, in the first place, act a parent's part in making the best provision for her distressed offspring, and renouncing the false theory, whether in respect to nations or individuals, that it is the duty of children to lay up for their parents instead of parents for their children. Secondly, she would remove much that is destructive to their souls as well as bodies, and would raise up a young and happy offspring who, unlike those now leaving her protection in discontent, disgust, and distraction, and become her determined enemies, would deem it a sacred duty and interest to uphold her as the ornament of the nations of the earth, and of whom she would not be ashamed when she speaks with her enemies in the gates.

*Stephen Talkenough* : I'll never give in to no such doctrine as

at : you cannot convince me. National indeed ! Why, what does that mean ; more taxes, more snug berths for gentlemen ?

*Mr. Thoughtful* : Believe me, I never thought I could convince you : your present train of feeling is of too disordered character for the beneficial application of what is wholesome and true. As some medical gentlemen affirm, and with great truth, that there must be an effort towards a healthy action of the body before vigorous remedial means can be satisfactorily resorted to, so I say with regard to the mind under the influence of disease—we must wait for a favourable action—a doctrine the Scriptures taught us long ago, when they admonish us not to throw pearls before swine—your time is not yet. But I am no friend to taxation when it can be avoided. The system of colonization I allude to would have a contrary effect, and benefit, in a pecuniary point of view, every individual in the community, especially the working classes. With regard to the funds necessary to carry out its details in a manner worthy the greatness of the undertaking, it strikes me that the surplus and shamefully applied incomes of some of our overgrown charities might, without interfering with the benevolent intentions of the founders, be very legitimately employed in such a philanthropic and Christian work.\*

*Stephen Talkenough* : I'll be bound to say they'll not catch on going out in the way you recommend this poor fellow.

*Mr. Thoughtful* : I do not know anything would give me more real pleasure, if it were only to be thrown into the society of men of expansive minds and honourable ambition. But I must not conceal from you, John, that there is one

\* To take one as example : In the reign of Elizabeth, Thomas Ackford, Esq., founded an almshouse for twelve poor men at Woodridge, in the county of Suffolk, leaving an estate in Clerkenwell, London at that time about one hundred pounds per annum, for its support. The rental of this estate has increased to several, certainly five thousand pounds per annum, and in the course of time will amount to many thousand more ; lately, and only lately, twelve poor men have been added to the original number, making in all twenty-four, for whom new houses, at the cost of considerably more than twenty thousand pounds have been erected !

great difficulty in your way, go where you will—you do not speak plain English; at the same time I confess you are not so deficient on this head as many others of your class. John, there is nothing separates God's creatures so much as the tongue; let a man possess the wealth of Cræsus, who was, they say, the richest man, and speak his native language as you do, he would be compelled either to live alone, or associate with persons who talk as he does. Now, it never occurred to you that this was a fetter upon your legs; yet, such it is, and a powerful one; and I suspect that education is not generally a favourite, because it removes it. I more than suspect this is the moving, but as yet secondary, motive of that untiring, hidden, and were we not in England I would say Jesuitical, but still deadly hostility, encountered by any individual aiming to elevate the moral character of the people beyond the tone of that sickly, sickening thing, the fiercest antagonists on other points have agreed to call "Education on Religious Principles." Education, John, is just the knocking off, one by one, the fetters which keep us fixed to our homes—the preparing us for the world by acquainting us with its localities, habits, maxims, arts, and sciences: in fact, by furnishing us with means to become its honourable citizens—the very end of our probationary existence here on earth: this is education in which the labouring classes are deficient, and which must be supplied before any very general system of colonization could be efficiently, or, at least, permanently promoted.

*Stephen Talkenough*: Ah! now you are at education? And Mr. Thoughtful, what has all your work about educating the people done for them? They are still the same, though they can read their chapter in the Bible.

*Mr. Thoughtful*: I admit that less than nothing has been done as yet. The compact entered into between the men of Babel, still, in spite of their being confounded, to go up to heaven by a tower, has ended in greater confusion and jargon, albeit they were so wise and so unearthly as to lay the foundations of their new building in the air. Education hitherto

has been a religious question, and, contrary to reason, Scripture, experience and their conduct in reference to their own children, maintained by the opponents of the enlightened scheme lately proposed by the Legislature, to be a matter that exclusively concerns ministers of religion—that is, that it is not, or ought not to be, a secular transaction at all. Popular education and religious instruction are widely distinct and yet perfectly *one*; their relation being that of the most apparently insignificant atom or thought with the most stupendous form of matter or developement of mind—links of the same universal chain, harmonizing and connecting every living or inanimate creature with the Great Creator Himself: such a unity of matter and spirit as is beautifully set forth in the admonition, “Whether, therefore, ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God.” But to affirm that a minister of religion is, on account of his official position, the fittest guardian of secular education is just to say it is a part of religious duty to teach the people to be shoemakers or carpenters. I firmly believe the Church, of which I rejoice to be a faithful member, has lost much of her sacredness, as an institution whose foundation is Truth *alone*, by allowing herself to be seduced into the Sectarian strivings of this question. The time will come when the people of this country, who now, in the glimmering and excitement of a little light, “see men as trees walking,” will themselves ask the question—What is truth in reference to this matter? And I doubt not, but the memory of those days, when the parish priest was used, at the Communion rails, to catechise and orally instruct the lambs of his flock, will cause the friends of true piety to mourn that ever this godly discipline was superseded by the flippancies of a Sunday schoolhouse. For my own part, advocate as I am of popular education, I would not care to spend one shilling in the cause, if the only point to be gained were to enable the people to read, as you say, their chapter in the Bible. I am clearly of opinion, that since the word of truth, for such it is, in its principles of philosophy, as well as in its manly maxims of morality and religion, has been made

a class book in our schools, the Bible itself has been lost sight of as a test of faith or motive of action: if used, it is rather a two-edged sword in our hands, than a lamp to our feet, and a light to our paths—We *read*, but do not “*search* the Scriptures:”—The books men and philosophers would study to most advantage are played with in the nursery, or read in the junior forms of our literary institutions. John, when the first principles of social and political economy form the basis of popular instruction, the poor will be raised from the dunghill, and set among the princes of the people; they will be looked upon, and what is more, they will look upon themselves, not as the “lower orders,” but links in the great chain of the national family. They will then, and not till then, be proof against the wild ravings of designing men, who have a dreamy and selfish notion that, in making them discontented, some developement of charity, whether of a public or private character, will be the issue, and they themselves, by more custom or more something, benefitted. The last words I will say are these—Charity, as at present understood, whatever form or shape it may assume, is the greatest hindrance to your prosperity. It not only *begins*, it *keeps you, at home*—blinds your eyes to your real position and rights—makes you a pauper, a bird without wings, a man without legs!

Thus terminated this important conversation: Mr. Thoughtful returned home—Stephen Talkenough took John the Labourer by the *arm*, and they went together—to the beer shop!

**TWO LETTERS**

**TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES,**

**ON THE**

**RACKRENT OPPRESSION OF IRELAND,**

**ITS SOURCE—ITS EVILS—AND ITS REMEDY,**

**IN REPLY**

**TO THE TIMES COMMISSIONER,**

**THE PREFATORY STRICTURES ON PUBLIC MEN AND PARTIES IN  
IRELAND, SHOWING THEIR PERFDY TO THE PEOPLE.**

**ALSO,**

**LORD LINCOLN'S THREE BILLS, SHOWING THEIR UNFAIRNESS  
AND UTTER FUTILITY.**

**BY WILLIAM CONNER, Esq.**

**AUTHOR OF**

**"Speech against Rackrents"—"True Political Economy of Ireland"—"The Axe  
laid to the Root of Irish Oppression"—"The Prosecuted Speech"—  
"Letter to the Earl of Devon," &c.**

**The most frightful part of the Irish system is the relation which subsists between  
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## PREFATORY STRICTURES.

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**THE** truth of the theory of the evils of Ireland—the source, or origin, of those evils—and their remedy, as propounded in the following pages, will appear the more clear and striking, the more simply and nakedly it is placed before the mind. One sentence, and that not a long one, will most fully express the evils and their source, viz :—“Exorbitancy of rent, producing the poverty, and insecurity of tenure, leading to the outrages, of Ireland, have their source in the undue competition for the non-increasing and scarce land.” This one sentence detailing the evils and their source, with the addition of the two words, “valuation and perpetuity,” to express their remedy, will not be deemed an extravagant expenditure of words to express fully what the four or five hundred thousand pages of the Land Commission, and other Commissions of inquiry into the evils of Ireland, have signally failed of expressing at all. If this assertion be charged as presumptuous, I answer, that the whole matter comes to this, is this assertion, broad and bold as it is, true or is it false? I state a simple fact, that the one sentence, and the two words, penned above, contain self-evident propositions, and that the evils of Ireland, their source and their remedy, are laid down fully and clearly in these self-evident propositions; and I submit them to as severe a test as any propositions, even of the class of self-evident, could possibly be submitted. The test is this:—I challenge for the truth of these

propositions, the full and unqualified assent of three classes of men—first, that of the tenantry of Ireland—second, that of the landlords of Ireland—and third, all besides, who are neither tenants nor landlords. And if among these three classes of men, there shall be found one man, who will not assent to their truth, I shall no longer hold them as self-evident. These propositions may be said to have been put to this test already, so far as the tenantry class are concerned. From February 1832 to 1843, I got up, perhaps, one hundred public meetings, in several counties, and in none of these meetings was there a differing voice. All were unanimous, that I had fully set forth their evils in those of exorbitancy of rent and insecurity of tenure—the source of those evils, in the undue competition for the non-increasing and scarce land—and their complete remedy, in a valuation and perpetuity of his farm to the tenant.

But in what way did I come at the real wrongs of the people? Simply by going to the people themselves, and getting from themselves—what it was that was the matter with them—where it was that the shoe pinched them. The hearts of the people, then, was the genuine spring from which gushed the bitter waters of the people's sorrow for the people's wrongs. From this spring, and from this only, I drew—and “this was the head and front of my offending”—instead of taking the account, second hand, through the polluted source of the feelings, interests and prejudices of the upper classes of all parties, whose great aim it has been to conceal the real wrongs of the people, as well as their source and remedy, through which real wrongs they have gained, or have imagined they gained, so much. The volcanic symptoms above ground, shooting their lurid flame through the air, and “affrighting the nations,” were manifest to all; while the rackrent system, which formed the angry devouring flame in the centre, was concealed from every eye. When I took up arms against this hidden foe,

all parties seemed to ask me—"are you going to kill the goose that lays for us the golden eggs?" Consequently, all parties made war against me, each, however, according to its particular instinct. The Tory party got up a prosecution against me, and thus brought the whole power of the government against me, and against the rights of the people, which ought to be the protector of both. Such was the malign aspect of the Tory party towards me and my doings. While our *patriotic rack renters*, most of whom drive a gainful trade by proclaiming, as it were, the *wrongs of the people*, used their great influence with the people against me and my efforts; so that from some of the meetings I was obliged to retreat through the machinations of these perfidious men. But even these only the more strongly illustrated the perfect soundness of my principles, for, invariably, in a short time after my defeat, on getting a fair hearing from the people, I have been drawn by them in triumph over the same ground on which a little before I was hunted like a mad dog. It was a grand scene to behold the Popularists endeavouring to get the Tories to put down the meetings with the police; and again, the tory party not being able to use the police force for such a purpose, urging the popular party to put down the same meetings—through their influence with the people! All this, it is true, was most ludicrous, but, at the same time, it was most instructive, and most illustrative of the real state of Ireland; proclaiming, as with a trumpet from the house tops—that when we come to the real grievances of the people, the aspect of all parties towards these grivances is the same—all manifesting the same wish to conceal those grievances—the same anxious desire to perpetuate them!

I feel it painful to mix my private affairs with those of the public, yet here it is unavoidable, as the reader will naturally inquire, why I gave up the meetings since 1843? Have I, myself, proved perfidious to the people—to the great and glorious cause—the bread and butter question—the

life and death question—of the people? My account of myself is, that I had from 1832 to 1843, carried on the entire agitation of this great question, by getting up public meetings, and by the publication of expensive pamphlets, at my own sole expense of time, labour, and money. In the latter year, however, my income suffered such a diminution by the fall of a life, as to put it wholly out of my power longer to maintain the contest—at least the public meetings, being attended with considerable expense, I was obliged wholly to relinquish; although in other ways, I have devoted my whole time and labour to the question. I have already alluded above to the treacherous conduct of the upper or better classes, even of the popular party, as regarded the real wrongs of the people. I would also remark here, that notwithstanding the strong and unequivocal expression of the people at meetings extending to at least seven counties, that such were their real wrongs, and such a full and complete remedy for those wrongs, that not so much as one paper has been found to advocate the cause of the people to this day!\* I do not say this in censure, or even in dispraise of the gentlemen connected with the Irish press: I have been long personally acquainted with many of them, and I know they sincerely wish for the welfare of the people, and of the country—but they are in the shackles of the better or upper classes, who are the supporters of the press, and, at the same time, the cruel oppressors of the people, through the rack rent system. Even those of the tory press, with whom

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\* “The despotism of China, let it never be forgotten, in Asia, equally with that of Napoleon in Europe, was supported by maxims propagated by the press; a clear proof that, like general instruction or military prowess, that mighty instrument is to be regarded as a means of power, not a security against iniquity; and that, according to the use which is made of it, and the spirit of the people among whom it is established, it may become either a blessing or a curse—an instrument for the extension of freedom, or a forge for the manufacture of the chains of absolute power.” Alison, Vol. i. 392.

I have spoken on my plan, have admitted that that plan alone would heal the sores of Ireland. One of these men told me in confidence, that he was earnestly enjoined by some of his subscribers—not to reason with me—but to abuse me unceasingly; and although, like the king of old, he asked, if he was a dog that he should do so—yet, like that king, he has done so, and has unceasingly abused me. The only one of the liberal papers that has abused me was the nonsensical, bombastical, and perfidious *Nation*, (so called *lucus a non lucendo*, for it *leaves out the people*, who ought to be the bone and sinew, the life and soul, of the nation,) which set out by new-vamping some of the principles of the men of '98—men of other times, and of another spirit, and of whom, standing upon their silent graves, we are not fit to judge\*—but from its treachery to the people, on their great and vital question of tenure, I am sure, had they lived at that stormy period, they would have, Judas-like, pocketed

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\* One thing, truth compels me to say, as to the men and principles of '98, because it bears on the present subject, and on the dearest interests of the people, that the men of '98 were of the upper classes, that although they brought the people to the cannon's mouth in support of matters that concerned themselves and their own class, those matters had little or no concern with the people. They had no William Conner among them, (it is with humility and truth I say it,) *rebell*ing against their own oppression and tyranny of the people, and contending for a valuation and perpetuity to their tenants—a *rebel*, in fine, and up, although not in arms, in words, for the fruits of the people's labour, for the food of their stomachs, and the coats for their backs. I say, had I then been at this work, instead of as I was in my nurse's arms, these "men of '98," would have ordered me to be piked by the very hands of the people for whose dearest interests my blood would have been shed! The people must think for themselves, with their own brains—and not with the brains of men of the upper classes, who have interests, and pursue interests the most opposite to, and distinct from, those of the people! There was no *millionaire* in the trade of politics among the men of '98. One, and he the most distinguished for talents, integrity, and influence, turned his back upon a peerage and the large fortune of his uncle. I am quite sure they were wrong, deeply wrong, in having had re-

the blood money, the price of the betrayal of the men and principles, by the vaunting of which, they now seek to make money !

As my object is to say all the truth I know respecting our real state as a people, without offence to any one, I would also say a few words as to public men. With respect to their public men, the people make a great mistake in putting the car before the horse, instead of the horse before the car. They first seek the men—and a fine coat goes as far with the people, as a red coat does with the women—and then through and from “the men,” always chosen from the upper classes, they learn what their rights and interests are; instead of first ascertaining their true rights and interests, and then choosing the men who will best support those true rights and interests. Neither do the people seek or choose “the men,” in this I was mistaken, but “the men” seek the people. “The men” aim at raising up a building such as will advantage and adorn themselves, and their own class; the people are the timber, stones, and mortar, wherewith this building is raised up. The issue of the whole matter is soon told ! The state of the people of Ireland, at this moment, tells that issue with the voice of trumpets, whose sound rings through every cabin, hill, and dale, from sea to sea. After years of noise and trouble, the once roofless heads of “the men,” are found reclining in palaces, and their once empty bags bursting their sides and bottoms with the dead weight of the people’s solid gold—while the people themselves still have roofless heads, pennyless pockets,

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course to arms. I would not, to attain the greatest possible good, break one hair of a child’s head. The patriotism of the men of ’98 should, therefore, be emulated by avoiding their deep errors, rather than by following their example—that example afforded a salutary warning to rulers, rather than a safe guide to subjects. All allusion to such men, by young Ireland, was wholly mercenary, in order to sell their trashy newspaper.

foodless stomachs, shirtless backs, and shoeless feet! And all this comes of the folly of one class choosing their guides or "men" from another and an upper class. The upper classes never make this mistake, never choose their guides from another class. And it is a most fatal mistake, for it is an instinct in men, that each man shall be for himself; and the same powerful instinct is found full as strong in each class—each class for itself. Thus while the upper class make a pretence of acting for the people's good, they strain every nerve to aggrandize themselves by the ruin of the people; and so strong is this instinct of self in men, that even in this upper class, a few will push themselves above the entire class; in this way, these few form a distinct class, and have distinct interests from the class, although ostensibly of it, and will outwit and cheat the rest of the class, as the whole class cheat the people—and thus one chain of cheating runs through the whole!

For self-interest, like the stone thrown into the lake, forms circle within circle, class within class, and each lesser circle cheating the larger, until the people, who form the outside or largest circle of all, are cheated by all the others; and yet, this outside or largest circle of the people constitute the class of most actual power in themselves; and if properly and honestly directed to the establishment of their own just rights and interests, would be most adequate to the task. But the power of this largest and most important class is drawn away from that just purpose by the superior intelligence and cunning of the lesser or upper class, for what the latter want in real power, they make up by their influence with the people, an influence always used, as I before observed, for their own aggrandizement, and the ruin of the people.

How strongly is this fatal mistake of the people, of choosing their guides from a rank outside and above their own, exemplified in the great question agitated by me. Here



were the people attending 100 meetings, extending to seven counties, pronouncing a decided and unanimous opinion as to their great grievances, the source of, and the remedy for, those grievances; and on matters too, on which it was impossible that they could have been mistaken; with every item of which they were daily and hourly, and throughout their entire lives, conversant; and yet every party, and every man of the upper classes, who have taken a part in public affairs, have been directly opposed to the unanimous wishes of the people—directly opposed to the rights and interests of the people, thus unanimously expressed at 100 public meetings, extending to seven counties! Persuaded that there ought to be no jugglery, no deceit, or treachery, in this most vital matter of the people's dearest interest, and without the least wish to offend any of the parties, I shall, in the most candid and friendly spirit, interrogate each, man by man, taking the five following as a sample of the whole class. I ask Mr. O'Connell, Mr. John O'Connell, Mr. John A. O'Neil, Mr. Henry Grattan, and Mr. William S. O'Brien, would they give the tenantry of Ireland a valuation and perpetuity of their farms? I answer, that they would not! Thus are they, as men of an upper class—a class distinct from and above that of the people, directly at issue with the people on the great questions, of whether the people are to be left a fair share of the fruits of their labour by a valuation of their farms, or are they, through the undue competition for the scarce land, to be plundered of all, by exorbitant rents? They say yes, the people are to be plundered, year after year, of the entire fruits of their labour—*minus* a dry potato! We will not give the people the protection of a valuation which they called for at 100 meetings! Again, whether are the people to be protected from extermination by a perpetuity of their farms, or by the mandate of a tyrant landlord, cast upon the compassion of the winds of heaven? These men say the people shall be extirpated—that they will

not give the people the protection of a perpetuity of their farms, which they called for at 100 meetings! And these five are *honourable, all honourable* men—they are the great managers of the people's affairs—the people have no ears to hear, except through the ears of these men!—no tongue to speak, except what is uttered by the tongues of these men! Hence, the question of a valuation and perpetuity of his farm to the tenant, is a true spear of Ithuriel, whose smallest puncture in the sides of these men—even but skin-deep—discloses the whole rotten carcass of pseudo-patriotism, gross humbug, chicanery, perfidy, and deceit—even to the low swindling of the people's money out of their pockets, under the false pretence of promoting the people's interests—while they are proved to be directly opposed to the people in that matter precisely, of all others, in which the people's dearest and best interests are at stake. I leave these men to the only defence which their most desperate case admits—which is this, that in acting as they have done, and pretending outwardly to be the friends of the people, while secretly their bitterest foes, they have only acted by the instinct pointed out above—that of every class for itself; and they, being of an upper class, have been drawn by that over-mastering instinct, to bamboozle the lower classes—and that, as well might we condemn the duck for swimming, or the lark for ascending the sky, as to condemn those men for the natural working of *their* instinct—the strong and powerful instinct of an upper class to cheat and swindle the lower.

In proof of the strength and prevalence of this instinct of self ruling each class, I noticed the fact, that the more influential of the same class will sometimes form a really distinct class, and cheat the whole class. I could refer to many examples of this in the great conservative party. At present there is the very same thing taking place in what is called the liberal party. The richest and most influential portion of that party, under the name of Old Ireland, con-

sists of the old traders, and their dependent creatures, who, being, by this time, gorged with a forty years' leeching of their dupes, the people, are disposing of the concern. The less influential of the party, however, under the name of Young Ireland, demur to this; these men, or rather boys, are, as their name would imply, very youthful—indeed so youthful, that the wholesome traces of the pedagogue's birch are hardly yet removed from their persons. As Old Ireland is about to close with full pockets, so Young Ireland are only now starting in the same race with empty pockets. In fact the respective states of their pockets—the one full, and the other empty—form the only substantial difference between them. The Young Ireland, then, seeing that the Old Ireland helped themselves well, cannot understand why they should not keep the concern standing, until they also help themselves with equal abundance—and there is some point in this.—They say that the demand for humbug is as good now, as it has been at any time for the last forty years, with the exception of a couple of late years, when the demand almost demolished the most patriotic building in Dublin, by weekly volleys of bank notes, gold sovereigns, and silver shillings, the transit, exit, and fixit of which is as great a mystery to the givers, as its cotemporary mystery of the potato disease, but which is now very clearly revealed by my doctrine of “class instinct”—viz., *the instinct of the upper or better classes to cheat the lower*. But Young Ireland say they will supply the demand for this humbug, by the very best material, and manufactured in a superior style—that by their speeches, and by their writings through their organ, the Nation, they will supply the article, not only to their “beloved Ireland,” but to the whole world—there is some truth in this boast—totally void of sense or meaning, except what is false and deceitful, they are considerable word mongers—setting out every sentence laced up tight, and dandy-like, after the newest fashion of verbal tinsel and

haberdashery—thus, the false harlot of deceit and nonsense is decked out with meretricious adornment.

“Well, Conner,” some friend will say, “you have a sting in your mind against these men, and their organ, the Nation.” True, I have, and that sting is this—let all honest Irishmen judge between us! These men profess the warmest regard—in the false and bombastical language of their organ, the Nation—“unbounded love,” for the people. *This is my first proposition.* The people are annually robbed of the fruits of their labour, their sole property, and means of support, by the rackrent system—they are, by the same system, extirpated from their farms—ruthlessly torn from their hearths and their homes! *This is my second proposition.* These men have been the heartless and insidious abettors of that system—the desolator and exterminator of the people of their “unbounded love”—for the two following base and mercenary objects. First, because by upholding that system, they secure the patronage of the rackrenters of their own party—the *patriotic oppressors* of the people—for their paper, and for the politico-literary trade of book-making carried on by them. Second, because the rackrent system of Ireland supplies combustible matter to the caldron of Irish discontent and outrage, by the heaving and boiling over of which, from time to time, they hope to derive influence, power, and pelf, as Old Ireland has all along derived them from the same source. Thus, these men perpetuate the misfortunes and calamities of their country, that they may drive a lucrative trade in those misfortunes and calamities—and thus are the “young” heads of these men crowned with “hoary” iniquity! *These are my three propositions*—and does it not demonstratively follow from them, that these are most heartless, mercenary, and perfidious men!

But does a difference exist, between the two parties in question, on the subject of a valuation and perpetuity of his

farm to the tenant ? Not the slightest difference in the world ! They are equally strenuous in their opposition to such a healing measure. In the common wish, and common cause, for the perpetuation of the rackrent system, Old Ireland and Young Ireland are huggingly locked in each other's arms—neither party will kill the goose that lays the golden eggs for both ! In his letter to the Repeal Association, on Monday, Mr. O'Connell, or Old Ireland, writes as follows :—

“ Ireland is the battle field upon which another administration has been discomfited and dispersed.” Such is the heartless game which the upper classes would play with the bitterest and sorest calamities of the people, *when they would guide them !* As their standing dish, they skin the people by the rackrent system ; they then make the disturbances of the people, arising from their own oppression, through that system, the convenient instrument of ejecting one party from power, and elevating another to it. Old Ireland has long played this nefarious game, and Young Ireland hopes to continue the playing of the same game. Since the change of administration has, at length, been made, and that Lord John Russell has got the reins of power into his hands, will he come to the rescue of the unfortunate, betrayed tenantry of Ireland, and at length save them—*by a valuation and perpetuity of their farms*—from the cruel oppression of exorbitant rents which take from them their last grain ; and from extermination which at once sinks them into destitution, and excites them to outrage—save them from coercion bills, the offspring alone of rackrent oppression—and above all, save them from the heartless political swindlers, who gorged to their false throats by the people's money, would perpetuate that rackrent system, and betray the people every day, and every hour of each day ? For Lord John Russell to save the people of Ireland, and their generations, from so many and sore evils, and to shower upon their heads, through all future ages, so many blessings

as must a valuation and perpetuity of their farms, would be an object of the highest, noblest, and purest human ambition! Sooner or later this must be done; and until done, Ireland must remain to the English minister his great "difficulty."

In the same letter, Mr. O'Connell gives an exposition of what he would give the tenant; but here the tenantry may address him after a manner of his own. "We thank you, Mr. O'Connell, for nothing!" While Mr. O'Connell makes a flourish with a few ambiguous phrases in order to make it appear that he was favourable to the tenant, he takes the best care, in the midst of all his most ardent love for the people, to preserve undiminished the entire rackrent system. In obedience to the instinct of the upper class guiding the lower class—giving that lower class all the appearance of love, and all the reality of hate—he reserves to himself, and to his own class, the great source of the rackrent system, *the undue competition for the scarce land*, through which he is enabled, Turk-like, to clutch in his most patriotic, all-grasping fist, the unfortunate tenant's "*last grain*;" but, moreover, he can, through that undue competition for the scarce land, do *more* and *worse* than the wickedest Turk ever did—he can tear "the finest peasantry in the world" from their farms, and drive them clear and clean out of existence; for the extermination of the tenantry, through Mr. O'Connell's lease system, the very worst part of the rackrent system itself, falls nothing short of driving them out of existence—extirpating them from the earth—persecuting them to the death! Tenantry of Ireland! Men of the lower classes! this is what your great friend, your gorged friend, of the upper class would do for you! What then must his hate be, when his love would not leave you a bit (unless a bit of potato to keep alive the oppressed, rackrent slave) for your mouth, nor a roof for your head. All this I say, again, is a true sample of the upper class guiding the lower—the in-

stinct of self working in an upper class, for their own aggrandizement, and for the destruction of the lower classes.

To enter on a formal refutation of Mr. O'Connell's most flimsy notions on the land question, would be to refute the rackrent system, for his notions on the subject are but the very dregs and lees of that system, it would also be to anticipate what I shall say in the following pages on Lord Lincoln's three bills; and indeed what I have said still more fully and methodically in the following two letters to the *Times*. Like Lord Lincoln's three bills, Mr. O'Connell unwittingly—for indeed his ignorance of the subject is extreme—impugns the great principle of the undue competition for the scarce land by his flimsy and abortive attempts at tinkering the rackrent system, which, with its multitudinous evils, teems from the womb of that principle. For if that principle was sound and fair, or if by any means within the range of men, it could be rendered sound and fair by regulating the balance between the demand and supply of farms, like that of most other articles, then indeed the entire bargain, between the landlord and tenant, would be sound and fair. Thus, if I hire a carriage, the competition of the market in this case being perfectly fair, I shall get the use of it for a fair sum, and what time I choose of it; and thus this fairness in the competition will be found to run, from the greatest matter even to the least, throughout our bargain. Should a spoke fall out, an axle break, or any addition, great or small, for ornament or utility, be made to the coach, as well as the time, mode, and manner, of payment, all will be arranged by our bargain with the most perfect fairness without the interference of the legislature to regulate the bargain between us. There is the utmost security of tenure in the coach, it will probably be left me so long as I pay for the use of it, and should it be taken by the owner, I am still equally safe, as being an increasing article, and no scarcity of it, I can at once hire another on the same equitable terms. Let this

case be compared with that of land, and it will be found, that the whole difference lies in the unfairness of the undue competition for the scarce land, owing to the inadequacy of the supply of land to meet the demand; this corrupts the very fountain head, and that corruption runs through the whole bargain between landlord and tenant; first, breaking out in the two great evils of exorbitancy of rent and insecurity of tenure, and these two evils producing a number of smaller evils. Instead of striking at the unfair competition, the corrupt source of these two great evils, by a valuation and perpetuity, Mr. O'Connell attempts, by leaving the source itself and the great evils untouched, to correct some of the smaller ones, a thing utterly impracticable, as I shall show more at large in the following observations on Lord Lincoln's three bills. And even though a smaller evil or two should be remedied, what would it avail, while the greater evils, of exorbitancy of rent and insecurity of tenure, were left to desolate the people by poverty and extermination, —to convulse the country with outrage and murder?

But it is not only the meager abortiveness of Mr. O'Connell's view of the question, that would show the danger and folly of one class confiding their interests to another class, but still more his conduct all along in reference to this great question. Often as he has ejaculated "Hereditary bondsmen—who would be free—himself must strike the blow;" he never once alluded to the loathsome rackrent slavery, but always to the grievances of himself and of his own class; and since these were redressed, he has cast aside this animated catch altogether. But his treatment of the tenantry question has appeared to me the most treacherous and perfidious possible. It would be long to detail the particulars, but as I have preferred the charge, I shall give a few of the heads of proofs amply sufficient to sustain that charge. I called on him at his house in 1832, he indignantly thrust my pamphlet, containing my first speech on the sub-



ject, back into my hands, saying that he had read it in the paper, and did not agree with me at all—so indignant, indeed, was he that he would not accept the copy of the pamphlet. I kept on the meetings, at intervals, until 1840–41, when I published a pamphlet on the subject with the spicy title of “The axe laid to the root of Irish oppression.” In 1841, Mr. O’Connell introduced the subject at the repeal meeting held on the Curragh, but under the lawyer’s ambiguous phrase of “fixity of tenure.” In 1842, I was prosecuted for a speech delivered by me at a meeting in Mountmelick, and spent the spring and summer of that year in prison. In January 1843, I was invited by a number of the more respectable farmers of the County Kilkenny, to a most splendid, and certainly the most important, meeting ever held in Ireland, at Thomastown. I was also entertained on the occasion at a dinner given me in the spacious school-room of that town. Mr. O’Connell alluded to this great meeting at Thomastown, in the Repeal Association; said that my speech was an excellent one, and full of the soundest reasoning; that my expenses should be paid by the Association; that I should be written to, inviting me to have the petitions from my meetings sent to Parliament, through the Association. They sent the general petition adopted at the meetings at Thomastown, and signed by vast numbers, through the Association, and, from that day to this, that petition has never been heard of! From that onwards to April and May, Mr. O’Connell clearly took up my plan, extolled it in his speeches in the Association, and declared that it was calculated to confer the greatest and most abundant blessings on the people of Ireland. And on the occasion of reading my plan to the Association, proposed a vote of thanks to me, which was carried by acclamation. Mr. O’Connell’s repeal agitation was introduced into the Corporation—that agitation then suddenly began to look up—the rent increased apace—the monster meetings were set on, the rent still in-

creasing. It was found that the great and splendid demonstrations at Thomastown, and at other places, in support of my plan, of a valuation and perpetuity to the tenant, were by no means general over Ireland—the people generally had no means of becoming acquainted with the question—they had no press—no longer public meetings—their guide and guardian of the upper class, Mr. O'Connell, observed this—he turned round, and trampled the question under his feet !

I shall now bring the simple theory, contained in the following letters, briefly to bear on Lord Lincoln's three bills. In the first place, if the principle of *the undue competition for the scarce land*, impugned by that theory, be fair, in the greater and more essential matters, it must be fair also in the minor matters, which are, for the most part, comprehended in the greater. Thus, if through that competition the rent is fairly regulated, and the permanence of the tenant's interest, or holding, is fairly regulated, and fully secured, why are not the minor matters also fairly regulated by that principle, such as the matter of improvements, that of the mode of recovery of rent, and even the very minute matter of the expense of lease? These three bills, however, clearly impugn the principle of the undue competition for the scarce land ; they pronounce, that the three matters in question, are not fairly regulated between landlord and tenant, in their bargain with one another, through that principle. Then, I ask, why should the legislature interfere to correct the unfairness of that principle in the smaller matters, while it overlooks the greater unfairness of the bargain through that principle, in its two greater evils of exorbitancy of rent, causing the universal poverty of Ireland, and insecurity of tenure, causing the universal wail of Ireland by its extermination of tenants and murder of landlords? Why not, *in the first instance*, strike at the two greater evils ; first, because they are the *greater* evils—second, because they contain the lesser evils—third, because the only mode by which the lesser evils can effectually be got rid of, is by

doing away with the greater, in which those lesser evils are bound up—and fourth, because by striking down, by a valuation and perpetuity, the two greater evils of exorbitancy of rent and insecurity of tenure, and with them, the entire rack-rent system, poverty and outrage will be for ever banished from, and peace and prosperity fully restored to, Ireland.

We shall make this whole subject plain to the dullest apprehension, by resolving the two great evils of exorbitancy of rent and insecurity of tenure, into their component parts as follows:—

Of 100 parts,

Extermination, starving, and hanging of tenants	35
Shooting of landlords and agents ... ..	25
Poverty and consequent famines of farming classes by over rent ... ..	15
Loss by over-rent of produce from want of im- provement ... ..	10
Loss of employment to labourers from over-rent	5
Loss of employment and business to trades- people, shop-keepers, and manufacturers from over-rent ... ..	5
Loss by trading politicians and false grievance mongers, (to a man opposed to a valuation and perpetuity, which would do away with the rack-rent system, the real grievance of the people, and spoil their trade.) ... ..	2
Loss by police force, jailors, turnkeys, and hangmen	1
Bribes to agents, drivers, litigation, perjury ...	1 <sup>22</sup> / <sub>100</sub>

Lord Lincoln's three Bills—

1st. — Loss by improvements, where from over-rent no improvements can be made ... ..	0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>400</sub>
2nd.—Loss by ejectment and distress .. ..	0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>200</sub>
3rd. — Loss by extra expense of lease once in every twenty years ... ..	0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>400</sub>
Parts ... ..	100

So that Lord Lincoln's three bills would lop off exactly

the one 10,000th part of the two great parent evils of the rack-rent system, or landlord tyranny and oppression in Ireland! It is thus, in this infinitely small way, landlords go to work at the grievances of tenants!—and with so tender a hand are men found to assail their own tyranny! These men arrogate great dignity and respectability, yet, ye gods! their extreme meanness! that would nibble at the 10,000th part of their own unjust gains! They put themselves forward as the makers of laws for the rest of mankind, and they would do justice on themselves in an infinitesimal degree—they would expunge the 10,000th part of their own gross injustice! They make laws to restrain other men from stealing a pheasant's egg, while they are themselves the universal plunderers of the industry of Ireland, to the amount of several millions annually! They would enact laws to punish a petty assault, while, through extermination and oppression of the people, they convulse the country with murder, assassination, blood, and outrage! Thus they would punish with imprisonment, transportation, and hanging, the whole of other men's violence and injustice, and squeamishly—evidently not having a stomach for the work—carve off the 10,000th part of their own greater violence and injustice!

Such is the mean, narrow, selfish spirit in which these men would prosecute land-reform! Their object is to make their galling yoke somewhat less intolerable from an apprehension that their slaves may throw it entirely off. For this purpose they have selected the smallest possible modicum of relief to the tenant, and that to be given in a few particulars, where the evils to be remedied would appear to militate rather against their own interests than against those of the tenant. This will appear evident when we go into particulars. Thus, they would give compensation to the tenant for improvements, while, by the heavy burthen of over-rent, they put it out of his power to make improvements! Should the tenant, however, make an improvement of the amount, say of £5, once in ten years, they secure him in that, while

they leave untouched the greater evil, by which they extract from him £50 a year in over-rent, for the ten years. So that while they rob him of £500 in over-rent, they secure him in the £5 of his own money, which he laid out in the improvement. Thus, they keep on him the great evil of £500 of over-rent which he could not avoid, and they take away the comparatively slight evil, which, by not making the improvement, he could avoid. But this improvement will be allowed for by the landlord according to the £5 laid out, and not according to the £50 which it might be worth to the farm. Thus, the landlord pockets, together with the £500 of over-rent, £45, the value of the tenant's skill in planning the improvement; which skill is as much the tenant's property as the money expended. A record of improvements must be kept, and evidence of their having been made, and at what amount of cost they were made; all these, and numerous others of the like sort, will open a pretty wide field for litigation, in which the slender purse of the tenant must soon snap, when drawn against the strong purse of the landlord.

But in place of the wretched piddling of these bills, let us go to work on the sound principle which I have laid down, that of getting rid of the lesser evils by doing away with the greater ones, of which the lesser form a part, and in which they are bound up. Let us, I say, on this just and sound principle, strike at the great *source* of evil—the *undue competition for the scarce land*—by a valuation. This valuation would leave, at least, five millions annually in the hands of the tenantry, which are now taken from them in extortionable over-rent. The portion of this sum laid out in improvements would, in fifteen years, increase these five millions to fifteen millions annually, the fund for further improvements still ever augmenting. Here, then, in doing away with the greater evil of exorbitancy of rent, we remedy all the branches of that greater evil. One of these branches was, that, by it, the very fountain of all improvement was

dried up, and we supply that fountain with the most abundant streams. Our next object will be to provide for the security of those improvements—that they may not, by any unfair or indirect means, pass from the tenant, whose skill and money made them, to the landlord. Now the tenant's present insecurity in his improvements is also but a branch of a much greater evil, I mean, insecurity in the farm itself. The bill in question would give the tenant security in the branch, that is, in the very small improvements which he could make while ground by a heavy over-rent, and withhold from him security in the great trunk, that is, in the farm. While the great grievance of the tenantry is, that the farm itself is taken from them, and they themselves thrown, with their families, in utter destitution, on the bleak common of the world! In the supremacy of this, their overwhelming calamity, they bestow not a thought upon the few little improvements they may have made, in happier days, upon the farm—the farm is to them the whole world—the bounds of it are to them the bounds of existence—and beyond those bounds they discover not a twinkling of hope, but the blackness of despair enshroud them, spreading through their inmost soul, and glared only by lurid sparks shot from the revenge of hell, and evoked by unredressed wrongs and felt affliction. Will the tenant respect laws through which every evil is thus inflicted on him in one blow—which precipitate upon his devoted head, an avalanche of woe and ruin? Will he regard the life of the man who takes from him his only means of supporting life? Here, then, in this greater matter of the farm itself, the most perfect security is called for—called for as well by a voice of thunder, as by every gentlest voice that can speak from the heart—the wail of the wife and the mother—the manly tear of the father and the husband—the weakness of the helpless infant—all would call for the most perfect security in the farm! Surely, then, we are left but one safe, as we are left but one just, mode of proceeding, and that is to give the tenant that perfect

security in the farm itself, by giving him a perpetuity. We, by this means, get rid of the greater evil of insecurity of tenure, with its bitter fruits of extermination of tenants, and assassination of landlords; and, at the same time, we lop off a branch of that greater evil by giving the tenant full security in his improvements. The same perpetuity which fully secures to him the farm, as fully secures the improvements which are incorporated with the farm, and form constituent parts of it. By this simple mode of securing the tenant's improvements, we obviate all the objections we have made to the landlords' abortive project, for the same end, by Lord Lincoln's bill. Doing away with all necessity for records and evidences of the cost of improvements, consequently with all attempts at imposition by tenants, and of litigation by landlords. It secures the tenant in his improvements, not merely according to the amount of money expended, but also according to the skill and talent employed in the planning and execution of them. Thus, to sum up all I have said on the subject, we give the tenant a *valuation* of his farm to enable him to make the improvements; and we give him a *perpetuity* of his farm to encourage him to make them, and when made, thoroughly to secure them to him.

The very same train of simple and conclusive reasoning is applicable to the whole subject of ejectment and distress for rent. These evils have their source in the undue competition for the scarce land, producing the greater evil of exorbitancy of rent—putting a rent on the tenant, which, in point of fact, he is unable to pay—putting on him, to use the words of the Times Commissioner, an eye-witness, “a rent greater than he knew he could pay”—“the utmost farthing of rent”—“more rent than the land could possibly pay.” *It is here the whole difficulty lies, in the greater evil of exorbitancy of rent—do away with this by giving the tenant a valuation, and you enable him to pay his rent. All the evils of ejectment and distress will vanish, indeed ejectment and distress would be virtually done away with; for*

the valuation and perpetuity, constituting a tenant's fee, together with the value of improvements, would amount to at least fifteen or twenty years' rent; thoroughly securing the landlord in his rent without the possibility of having recourse to ejectment or distress.

Leases, giving to landlords the power of resumption of farms, and of extermination of tenants, are part and parcel of the greater evil of *insecurity of tenure*. In doing away, by a perpetuity to the tenant, the greater evil of insecurity of tenure, and its bitter fruits of exterminations, assassinations, murders, and outrages; you do, in the most effectual way, get rid of the very petty evil of the extra expense of leases. The great giant evil of insecurity of tenure is thus swept away, and with that the system of leases, by the same healing measure of a perpetuity to the tenant.

Ludicrously small as is the nibble of the landlords at the mountain evils of the rack-rent system, by Lord Lincoln's three bills, essaying, with all their might and main, to clear from that system the jolly, robust portion of the one 10,000th part, yet, to work one of these bills will require an infinitely more complex and difficult detail, than the whole of my plan, which would overthrow the entire system, root and branch, with its innumerable evils. The entire detail of my plan would consist of *one careful valuation of the fair rent of each farm*, this valuation to be made only once. The second part of my plan, *the perpetuity*, having no detail connected with it, would be of force simply by an act of the legislature, *declaring that all tenants in Ireland shall hold their farms in perpetuity, instead of the present uncertain, evil-producing tenure of leases and terms.*

Since man's first creation, there has not been, among any portion of the race, so much agitation as in Ireland, and yet until I began in 1832, there had been no part of that agitation devoted to the interests of the people themselves. Tor-



rents of the most fervid eloquence flowed in support of all the rights, and figments of rights, of Irishmen, but their right to be fed, to be clothed, and comfortably housed, with the fruits of their own labour. Eloquence waved his hand, stamped his foot, and gave forth words, sweet as dropping honey, to the people; but reserved the fruits of their labour to himself, wisely giving them words for roast beef, sounds for good claret, and figures of speech for splendid fortunes. By public meetings, letters in the papers, and pamphlets, from 1832 to 1841, I forced Mr. O'Connell to take up the people's question. It would not do that any one should appear to love the people so much, or even more, than himself—more especially as his love for the people was bespoke, and the ready money paid down for it. Well, he, at length, took up the question, but under such a phrase—"fixity of tenure!" In the glorious, lawyer-like, ambiguity of this phrase, his darling rackrent set all the assaults of reason and justice at defiance—a phrase, in which no human being, even with all the powers of Lord Ross' monster telescope, could discover a meaning. In 1843, however, the working of my plan had attached to this phrase something of the honest, defined meaning of *perpetuity*, in the minds of the people, which, when the great guardian of Irish rackrent oppression observed, he essayed to discard "fixity of tenure," and replace it by the still more ambiguous phrase "equity of tenure." I would be bound to believe, that Mr. O'Connell's object, in making use of *ambiguous* phrases, was to deceive; but his deception has been made, as clear and manifest, as the sun brightly shining at meridian noon. A lease is virtually a sentence of expulsion of tenants from their farms—a most cruel and bloody sentence, daily executed on the people—consigning whole families, without distinction of age or sex, from the hoary head of the grandsire, to the bare and tender scalp of the new-born babe, to destitution and death—even the cruel and lingering death of starvation! Has "fixity of tenure"—"equity of tenure"—or "tenant

right" meant any thing more, on Mr. O'Connell's tongue, than that same lease, that same cruel expulsion of the people from their farms—from their hearths and homes—from existence? No, they have not!—for he has explained his meaning of these phrases, on oath, before the Land Commission; and that meaning simply amounts to the old exterminating, lease-system of long and cruelly oppressed Ireland! Was it because he has got so much of the people's money, that he would give them so niggardly of their just rights? Was it that he has got two or three hundred thousand pounds of their hard cash, that he would give them, in return, the old exterminating lease-system, and repay their solid gold, pound for pound, with iron rackrent chain?

In the game of "hide and go seek," which Mr. O'Connell has played on the land question, he has also made use of the phrase "tenant-right." This phrase, in itself simply, is full as ambiguous and deceptive as the other two, but its meaning is fixed, in some measure, by the state of tenants in the North, to which it refers. If that meaning has any good in it, it is that the tenant cannot be torn from his farm at the end of a lease, but Mr. O'Connell always speaks of "tenant-right," as in his late letter alluded to above, in connexion with a 21, or 31 years' lease, which defines the "tenant right" to be nothing more than the common lease-system, *the very worst part of the rackrent system*. That the tenant right is not so bad as Mr. O'Connell would thus make it, I am quite sure; but I am equally sure, that it is far from affording adequate security to the tenant; and in proof of its total inadequacy, I give Mr. Berwick's case; that case proving, that without a valuation, there can be no security of tenure, an exorbitant rent putting out the tenant, as surely as the expiration of a lease—and inasmuch as the other three provinces are more over-rented than the North—the evil effects of exorbitant rent, in destroying security of tenure, and the consequent necessity of a valuation, so fully

illustrated and proved by Mr. Berwick's case, render that warning case still more applicable to those provinces.—I give it from one of my letters in the papers.

"The case is that of Mr. Berwick, late of Lianabreen House, county Down. Mr. Berwick, on the faith of the 'tenant right,' purchased the former tenant's interest and improvements for the large sum of £1,000, and, on the same faith of 'tenant right,' expended the farther sum of £800, in permanent and indispensable improvements. 'When my lease,' says Mr. Berwick, in his printed statement, 'expired, my landlord, the Marquis of Downshire, was not satisfied to raise the rent of the land most enormously, but he also thought proper, contrary to all precedent, to impose a rent on the dwelling-house, a thing hitherto unknown in the country.' The rent was raised to three times its former amount, so that, in consequence, Mr. Berwick was compelled to part with the place for a small sum to some favourite of the landlord or agent, losing, on the whole, *fourteen hundred and eighty-five pounds!* When the increased high rent had thus accomplished its object, by putting the tenant out, the landlord is said to have reduced it to a more moderate sum to the new tenant—at least he had the power to do so. Now, here we see that the 'tenant right' was utterly powerless to save an honourable man, and clearly one of the best of tenants, from an awfully ruinous loss. We know that a perpetuity, even had he such, could as little have saved him, for he could not continue to hold the place at a ruinously high rent; but we know that a valuation joined with a perpetuity, would have most effectually saved him; these two combined, would have formed an impregnable wall of brass around his just rights, through which the hand of oppression could not have reached him—could not have smote him! Wherever and whenever Irish rack-rent oppression shall be spoken of, let this case of Mr. Berwick's be told. It is so full to the purpose, and speaks so home *for the honest and unmutilated plan of a valuation and perpetuity of his farm to the tenant*, that I shall not weaken its force by the addition of another word."

Hence it is time, at length, that the ambiguous phrases "fixity of tenure"—"equity of tenure"—and "tenant right," the cups and balls of political jugglers, should be discarded, and the dearest interests and fondest hopes of the people, and the peace, security, and prosperity of the country, be placed on their only solid basis—*a valuation and perpetuity of his farm to the tenant.*

## LETTER I.

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### THE CAUSE OF THE EVILS OF IRELAND.

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

SIR,

I would make a brief and plain comment on the facts communicated by your Commissioner, in his letters on the condition of the people of Ireland. In making that comment, I shall steer wholly clear of all extraneous topics on every side. I shall handle the great question of Irish grievance, as though there were no difference of party, religious or political, among us; and as though Celt and Saxon were alike in height, weight, sinew, and muscle—only hoping, by the way, that the two races, as well as every other section of the great family of man, may be spared such a measure of common sense, and common humanity, as shall enable them to see that it is for their mutual interest, as it is their great duty, to reciprocate amity and good feeling—and that to sheath the sword in each other's bowels can be the work only of wicked madmen.

In a leading article of the *Times*, written at the commencement of the labours of its Commissioner, and in reference to those labours, it was observed, that great truths have been exceedingly simple, and instanced *the falling of the apple*. The observation was more pertinent to the question of Irish grievance than probably the writer was aware; for in the wide range of science, there will be found,

perhaps, no more remarkable instance of the presence of a great pervading and governing truth than in this very question. Of the existence of such a truth, the Commissioner had not a conception, *although that truth formed the very element through which he moved from first to last.* It will, therefore, be my business to make my way through his mass of strong and admitted facts, to that truth; and having arrived at it, to show how it throws a flood of light upon those facts, and upon the entire social state in Ireland—laying bare, to the very core, the great source of Irish grievance—of Irish poverty—of Irish discontent and outrage.

We find, then, the Commissioner first struck with the great want of employment which appeared to pervade the country; and seemed to conclude that employment was the grand *desideratum*, which, if only supplied, would ensure peace and felicity to Ireland. That want of employment is a sore evil, and that it prevails to a great extent in Ireland, we grant; that there are many causes of this want of employment, and as many ways by which it might be supplied, we also grant. But we point to the immense crop annually produced from the land of the country, and which could only be produced by the very great industry of the people; and we ask, why is the large mass of *persons exercising that industry*, yet, wretchedly poor, discontented and turbulent? The Commissioner has not discovered, he has not at least pointed out in his letters, any great truth, or theory of truths, which will account for this anomalous union of industry, poverty, and outrage, which forms the great and marked feature in the social and industrial state of Ireland—and had he found the true cause, why those who work hard, and are never idle, are yet miserably poor—that cause, it is clear, would account for much of the total want of employment. It was for him to show either that the industry, so far as there was industry, of the Irish people on their rich soil produced no fruits, or if abundant fruits were produced, why a sufficient share has not remained in their hands to enable them to provide the various things necessary for their comfortable subsistence; and in providing such things for the great body of the tillers of the soil—farmers, labourers, and their families—to give increased employment to the numerous other industrious classes, and which would, besides, absorb a vast number

of the unemployed of their own classes. And in thus tracing, with a skilful and steady hand, the abundant fruits of the people's industry, as through the working of an unjust principle, those fruits were transferred from their hands to the pockets of others; he would have at once clearly accounted for the unnatural union of poverty and industry found in those who work, as well as for the total want of employment which oppresses so many others. But in what he has written, the Commissioner has just gone so far as we all know, *that those who work in Ireland have nothing for their work, and that many have no work at all*; but he has left us as dark and bewildered as ever as to the true cause of all this! What he has done, he has well done—he has drawn, with a masterly hand, an unmistakable picture of Irish desolation and woe; and long and painfully as our eyes have beheld the original, the heart's deepest pulsation has been quickened by the strong and truthful delineations of his pen; while on the cause of the evils so well depicted, he has not cast a glimmer of light; but has, like many others, quitted our shores, leaving the strange, afflicting mystery of the cause of Irish woe unrevealed. Again, the Commissioner finds a certain district of country where the system of rundale, a kind of partnership in small patches of land, prevails. The wretchedness of that district is described as proceeding from the extreme subdivision of land, and from the habitual indolence of the people—these causes, variously operating upon a soil naturally sterile and unkind, would, I think, sufficiently account for the wretched state of that district, although no other cause came into operation. I could myself point to countless localities, where not one of these causes can be said to have any existence—where the farms are of good size—where no rundale exists—where the people are of the most active and untiring industry—and where the land is about the finest and richest on the globe; and yet have these places been marked, beyond all other parts of Ireland, for the extreme poverty of the people, and for the frequency and awfulness of the outrages and murders committed by them. It will suffice to name Tipperary, as affording this climax of fertility and industry—of poverty and outrage. And again, the Commissioner has well described the successful industry of a Francis Barber, and he has placed in contrast the indolence, apathy and wretched-

ness of others. But here, as is usual with him, he has said much that is most importantly true, individually and locally, but he has said nothing towards the solution of the great question of Irish poverty and discontent. For there are numberless Francis Barbers in Ireland—men, I say, who, possessing his industry, ability and skill, are, yet, poor and discontented. What, I ask again, is the cause of this, that we may at once apply a remedy? Your Commissioner has frequently pointed out the beneficial results of good farming, and the opposite results of bad farming—great and palpable as is the difference between the two—yet, in Ireland, poverty, discontent and outrage, have been the concomitants alike of good and bad farming. I will also admit the evils of the loan system. What is the parent of the loan system? Doubtless, the general poverty of the people! And what is the great producing cause of that poverty? Here, once more, we have the old difficulty—the elephant on the back of the tortoise—for the Commissioner, it would appear, *has not yet observed the falling of the apple*. Whatever, then, is the great producing cause of the poverty of the people, must be the same that involves them in all the evils of the loan system—in its anxieties—in its losses—and in its insolvency.

My object in making the foregoing brief analysis of the labours of your Commissioner, has been to show, that a great and fatal want, or deficiency, is found to pervade the whole of those labours, by the omission of the great producing cause of so many and great admitted evils. In proceeding to supply that deficiency, by pointing out that cause of evil, I would remark, that in dealing with man, we deal with a being so constituted, as that his great wants of food, clothing, and housing, impel him to the exercise of all his powers of mind and body towards the supply of those wants—that the hope of attaining that supply, and the fear of falling short of it, constitute the great industrial mainspring which imparts active, energetic, and wholesome vigour to the entire mechanism of man. Through what fatal and powerful agency this great spring has been thrown out of place, as regards the great body of the people of this country, it will be the object of the following theory of the evils of Ireland to explain. To that theory, I now earnestly entreat your attention—a theory which I offer as affording the only key to the real state of

Ireland—and the only solid and true interpretation of the facts furnished by your own Commissioner.

I class the evils of Ireland under two heads:—first, the general poverty:—second, the numerous outrages of Ireland. These two classes of evils have their source in a very plain difference, which is found to exist between the letting of land, as a marketable commodity, and the disposal of nearly all other commodities; namely, that while the supply of nearly all other commodities can be increased up to the full demand for them, *the supply of land cannot be increased at all*—and hence arise a scarcity of land and farms, and a consequent undue competition for them.

The effects of this undue competition for the non-increasing and scarce land, are found to break out in two forms on the great body of the people—these two forms combined, constituting that landlord, or rack-rent oppression, from which have proceeded the poverty and outrages of Ireland.

The first form, in which the undue competition for the non-increasing and scarce land breaks out, is in *exorbitancy of rent*, producing the poverty of the farming classes, in the first instance, and through their poverty, producing the poverty of all the other industrious classes depending on the farming classes for business or employment, as labourers, tradesmen, manufacturers, and shopkeepers. *And this poverty forms my first class of Irish evils.*

The second form, in which the undue competition for the non-increasing and scarce land breaks out, is in *insecurity of tenure*, leading to the clearance of farms, to the most cruel extermination of tenants, and to the equally cruel retaliation of outrage, assassination, and murder. *And these outrages, assassinations, and murders, form my second class of Irish evils.*

Hence, sir, in consequence of the impossibility of increasing the supply of land and farms up to the full demand for them—the only mode by which the competition for land, or for any thing, can be rendered a fair regulator of price—I do altogether impugn the competition for land as a regulator of the rent of land—I impugn such competition, as I would the light weight, or false measure, of the fraudulent trader—I impugn it, in fine, as that enormous, outrageous, national fraud by which a few thousand oppressive landlords



have annually transferred the entire amount of the people's labour into their own coffers, producing the appalling spectacle of a whole people starving in the midst of the richest abundance raised up, and produced by their own hands! But this being the very pivot, or turning point, of my whole theory, we shall reason the matter a little further. Do you ask how it is that each perch of ground in Ireland bears a crop? But has not each perch a degree of fertility in it, the fructifying sun shining upon it, and the seed scattered by the hand of man? All this is surely undeniable—but is it more undeniable, than that, on each perch of the same ground, the undue competition for the scarce land sits brooding want and woe—extirpation and ruin to the people? And before the crop shall be sown, that competition makes its unfair bargain, through which that crop, when grown and saved, shall be sold away for the fulfilment of that unfair bargain, leaving the cultivator, for his share, only a dry potato, or a potato and water! That from this undue competition, proceeds exorbitancy of rent; and from this, again, the universal poverty of the people. That from the same undue competition, proceeds insecurity of tenure; and from that, the extirpation of tenants, and the consequent outrages and murders. Shall, then, I ask, the advocates of plunder—the abettors of the rack-rent system—the oppressors of the people of Ireland—drive me from this my grand position, that the competition for land is as unfair and fraudulent as hell; and that through that hellish principle, the hearts of the people have been torn by a far worse than eastern despotism—their spirits drunk up—and themselves prostrated by the continual stroke of oppression? Thus for the perfect soundness of this position, and for the truth of my whole theory which rests on it, I literally appeal to every perch of ground in Ireland! Produce a single perch of that ill-fated, plundered country not circumstanced as I have described—not actually set, in the manner described, for the wholesale plunder, impoverishment and extirpation of the people! If my theory, then, be false, no theory was ever more easily overthrown, for none was ever more simple, more within the scrutiny of every man's five senses, and for whose truth a more open and general appeal was made—an appeal to the rich and to the poor—to the learned and to the illiterate—to the oppressing landlord and

to the oppressed tenant. For ask any landlord in Ireland, taken at random from the entire body, how it happens that he can force up his rent to almost any sum, however exorbitant, and he will tell you—“*Because land and farms are scarce, and bidders for them numerous and pressing.*” Ask, again, the first tenant you meet, why he pays more than the fair value for his land, his reply will be the same as the landlord’s—“*Because tenants are many, and farms are few.*”

But we shall hear the decisive evidence of one who cannot be suspected of supporting a theory, of which he never heard, and of which he had no conception—I mean the Commissioner of the *Times*. What does he say? “I am informed,” he says, “by those who cannot be mistaken, that if a lease falls in here, the agents, (for there are no resident landlords here,) no matter how deserving a tenant may be, conceive they have but one duty to perform—to get as much rent as they can for their principals. Every motive of self-interest impels them to this, for according to the *quantum* of rent is the *quantum* of commission. They immediately advertise for proposals, and the land is thus let by tender, generally to the highest bidder.” “In this way more rent is often offered than the land can possibly pay. If you ask the man why he bid so much for his farm, and more than he knew he could pay, his answer is, ‘What could I do? Where was I to go? I know I cannot pay the rent, but what could I do? Would you have me go and beg?’ In this manner,” (yes, Mr. Commissioner, by the undue competition for the scarce land,) “the utmost worth of the land beyond mere subsistence—I am assured beyond dry potatoes and water—is extracted from the tenants; and the tenants seeing the inutility of productive labour, so far as they are concerned, seeing that whether they work or play, they get little beyond mere subsistence, settle down content with mere subsistence. The value of their labour is not secured to them; they have not the reward of labour; they do not find their stock, over and above paying the rent and cost of their own consumption, increase, no matter what efforts they make. It is not human nature that these efforts beyond obtaining mere subsistence, which they must and will have, will not, under such circumstances, be great. Well, reverting to the position with which I set out—if their stock,

over and above their consumption and expenditure in raising it, does not increase, their wealth as a community cannot increase; if their wealth does not increase, capital among them will not be accumulated, and will not, therefore, employ increasing labourers; and thus you may have from this cause, as certainly as one day follows another, the evils of intense competition for land, of want of employment, starvation, discontent and disturbance perpetuated. And as certainly as population increases with increasing employment, so certainly will those evils increase."

If the Commissioner will only revert with me to what he calls "the position with which he set out," namely this—"if their (the tenants') stock over and above their consumption and expenditure in raising it, does not increase, their wealth as a community cannot increase, &c. &c." I say, let him revert again to this position, and ask why does not the tenant's stock increase?—for, after all, this is the great essential question in which the entire subject matter of Irish grievance is contained—and let him, in order to find the true solution to this question, cast his eyes on another passage of his letter, quoted above, in which he will find that true solution as given by him from the lips of the tenantry themselves. "If you ask the man why he bid so much for his farm, and more than he knew he could pay, his answer is—'What could I do? Where was I to go? I know I cannot pay the rent, but what could I do? Would you have me go and beg?'" Whatever principle then had placed this man in the cruel strait, which he so passionately describes, it is clear must be the same, which prevents him, in the first instance, from paying his rent, and after that, from increasing his stock, accumulating capital, &c. &c.; involving him, and with him the country, in all the fatal consequences enumerated by the Commissioner. For that principle, we have seen, has compelled the tenant—to offer a rent greater than he knew he could pay—the utmost farthing of rent—more rent than the land could possibly pay—consequently still further has that principle put it out of the tenant's reach to increase his stock, accumulate capital, &c. &c. The learned Commissioner and myself have at length come to close quarters, our battle is for the weal of a whole people and of the countless generations of that people. I ask him, then, what is the mischief-work-

ing principle, which has placed the tenantry of Ireland in that most cruel strait, so simply and forcibly described above? Now, sir, it is as clear as noon-day, that that principle can be no other than that pointed out in the foregoing theory—the *undue competition for the non-increasing and scarce land*—and that instead of “intense competition for land” being, as your Commissioner has most erroneously and illogically asserted, the *effect* of want of stock, capital, &c. &c.; that “intense competition for land” is itself the *cause* of the want of stock, capital, &c. He is left no alternative in the argument, but to go back, and erase the words which he has given, as from the lips of the tenantry of Ireland, and as quoted above, or admit the interpretation of those words which my theory has put on them. The *data* are furnished by himself—the premises are laid down by himself—and no conclusion can follow but that which I have drawn. For it is manifest that the evil does not arise from the non-residence of landlords, for exorbitancy of rent and excoriating oppression exist where there is constant intercourse between landlord and tenant. If an absentee, the landlord has still but the one means of oppressing his tenants, and that is through the undue competition for the scarce land—and that principle is full as ready to his hand, and as powerful in it, if a resident. Nor does the evil arise from the agents advertising for proposals or biddings; nor from their being paid commission according to the amount of rent obtained. Every auctioneer or agent, I mean all who sell articles capable of increase to the full demand of the market, both advertise for bidders, and are paid commission according to the amount obtained, and yet auctions are found to dispose of goods below, rather than above, the fair, current value. It will be seen, then, that it is the simple accident of *scarcity* belonging to, and in a dense population inseparable from, land, which makes the competition for land unfair, and which produces all the mischief. If the accident of scarcity did not necessarily attach to land, and that land could be increased or multiplied the same as coats, hats, or shoes, and that, therefore, the principle of the competition for land was fair and sound, the agents in advertising for bidders, and receiving commission according to the amount obtained, only employ the usual means of carrying out the principle; but the principle of the competition

for land is utterly unfair and unsound, and as such its working must necessarily lead, as it has led for generations throughout Ireland, to that exorbitancy of rent and charges on the land, which has produced the poverty of the people; and to that insecurity of tenure which has produced the outrages. Does a shadow of doubt as to the perfect truth of this representation rest upon your mind? If there do, go back, sir, I beseech you, and again read the words, as given from the lips of the tenantry of Ireland by your own Commissioner—and that shadow of doubt must vanish! Says your Commissioner—"If you ask the man why he bid so much for his farm, and more than he knew he could pay, his answer is—'What could I do? Where was I to go? I know I cannot pay the rent, but what could I do? Would you have me go and beg?'" Well, sir, one would think these were plain words, even the plainest that could be used. That their meaning is obvious to the meanest capacity, even that that of a child could understand, that this man's difficulty was caused by the circumstance of land and farms being scarce, and that through that scarceness the landlord was enabled to place the man in this cruel strait. And a little child could perceive, that the man could not be placed in such a strait in the purchase of a hat, a coat, or a pair of shoes, because these articles, so far unlike land, can be increased and multiplied up to the largest number of heads, backs, and feet in demand for them, so as to leave no scarcity of them, through which the several parties could take advantage of the purchaser, by the extortion of an exorbitant price. And yet, sir, all this, which the smallest peasant child in Ireland can understand perfectly, a learned Commissioner sent from England, and sent from the *Times*, and after seven months' labour to find the cause of our poverty and discontent—cannot understand at all! And so it really is, sir, if we cannot see some things from their great difficulty and complexity, there are others we can as little see—from their extreme plainness and simplicity!

There were, it is clear, many and great misgivings in the mind of the Commissioner, when he penned the several passages, transcribed from his letter above.—His heart had got the start of his head considerably—his heart in feeling for the cruel and deadly wrongs of the people, before his head had at all discerned the true cause of

those wrongs. With a feeling and manliness which do him infinite credit, he exclaims—"the value of their labour is not secured to them (the tenants)—they have not the reward of labour!" But have not the tenants the same laws for the protection of their property, that the rest of the community have for the protection of theirs? They have. But the difference is, that the tenants are left no property to be protected. The undue competition for the scarce land has subverted the very foundation of all property in the tenant—making over, through its unfair bargain, the whole of the tenant's industry on the land to the landlord; so that when the stacks of corn make their appearance, they are protected by law, not for the tenant, but for the landlord; and they are protected by law for the landlord against the tenant, who produced them, through the salt sweat of his brow, as fully as against the stranger that passes the way! The landlord does not, like the courageous bandit, go with clubs, and stones, and fire-arms, and take all the stacks away when they have been produced in the haggard, through the tenant's year's hard and incessant toil; but what comes to the same thing in the end, before he permits the tenant to set his foot upon the farm, he makes his bargain through the undue competition for the scarce land, that when the stacks shall appear, he shall, without stick, or stone, or violence of any kind, take them to his own behoof by the peaceful operation of law. Thus—first—the unfair bargain, through the undue competition for the scarce land, and—then—the peaceful operation of law, enables the landlord to button his pockets on the full amount of all the stacks in bank notes! And this is the protection of law and of government! Oh! for an annual incursion of Tartar hordes, that would thus, with so clean a sweep, take the fruits of the people's labour—and, at least, save regular government from the foul profanation and deep iniquity of permitting the same thing to be done under its auspices. And, yet, stranger than all, men will wonder and inquire, why the people of Ireland, who are the victims of such an excoriating, grinding process, are poor, discontented, and prone to outrage! When we apply a just gauge here, and say that the undue competition for the scarce land will, at any time, screw up the rent on the tenant to double the fair value of

the land, and, in many cases, to three or four times the fair value,\* this will afford a point of observation from which the whole question of the true state of Ireland—her poverty, and her outrages—may be viewed most accurately.

Hence the Commissioner being totally blind to the true cause of the evil, turns himself on every side, and catches at every shadow. In one place, he says complainingly—"The agents conceive they have but one duty to perform—to get as much rent as they can for their principals." True, the agents were placed between two principles, that of justice offering them ten shillings, and that of the undue competition for the scarce land, with reckless importunity, forcing into their hands, a pound; which of these two principles shall sway the minds of Irish agents, who are generally attorneys, we can be at no loss to say. Every law that has ever been enacted, and every lock and key that has ever been made, might be adduced in proof of the propensity which exists in man to filch the property of others. But here without any law to restrain, or lock and key to protect, the victim to be plundered, an Irish tenant, with no alternative but that described by himself—his eye, the while, fixed on his desolate wife and little children—"But what could I do? Where was I to go? Would you have me go and beg?" Thus, if the tenant is the very personification of weakness and desolation to invite the arm of rapacity, the agent is that of strength and power to wield that arm, with the most cruel and dreadful effect—the agent, who

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\* I find an instance given by the Commissioner himself, and on the very best authority, of a farm let at *nine* times its fair value! "I have known," says Mr. John Hurly, Clerk of the Crown for Kerry, in his evidence, on oath, before the Land Commission, "a tenant bid for a farm, that I was perfectly well acquainted with, worth £50 a year, I saw the competition get up to such an extent, that he was declared the tenant at £450." But reduce this extortion of eight rents to a fourth of one fair rent, or £12 10s. and what necessaries, comforts, and decencies, will not the abstraction of even that sum deprive the farmer and his family in each year! Six shillings and eight-pence, or the one-fortieth of that sum, will purchase a pair of shoes that would keep the farmer's own feet comfortable and warm for twelve months. And yet, Mr. Foster could not see the evil of the undue competition for the scarce land, even where it took from the farmer, in one year, what would keep him in shoes for twelve hundred years!

has the greatest empire in the world at his back, to lift up, and to sustain, his arm of oppression over the tenant; and to make good the grasp of that arm, where it is fixed by the undue competition for the scarce land, in the very heart's core of the tenant. The agent, I say, who has the entire legislative and executive power, the army, navy, and law of the British empire to aid him in bearing away the pound, which the undue competition for the scarce land had, in the first instance, charged upon the defenceless tenant, leaving him only the payment of that, or a still more cruel alternative.

And, yet, as a makeweight, between that utter weakness in the tenant, and all that rampant power in the agent, the Commissioner would seem to throw in an appeal to the agent and his principal—that is, an appeal to the justice and humanity of an Irish agent and landlord! But to be serious, if serious we can be, after so prime a joke, I must say, that the Commissioner's complaint of the agents getting as much rent as they can for their principals, and all that follows from his pen in the same strain, is most unphilosophical, and argues a strange inapprehension of the true knowledge of mankind. For it is most clear, that the affairs of the world are not governed by a principle of benevolence, or voluntary justice and humanity, at all—there is no such governing principle among men. It is “but the baseless fabrick of a vision,” existing only in the mind of the Commissioner. God, who rules the world and all things, is Himself benevolence and love. He rules the world, however, through the instrumentality of second causes; the second cause here is not benevolence, it is selfishness—or, if you please, the benevolence of each man to himself—the love of each man, as we say, for his own four bones. Hence to secure the well-being and good order of the whole society, each man is placed as the guardian of his own interests; and thus, by each man exercising benevolence to himself, and taking the best care he can of himself, the whole society is taken care of. This, I am sure, is the true view of the state of man; and a very different view from that which would place the agent and landlord as the guardians of the tenants' interests! What the fruits of such guardianship have been, let the foodless stomachs, the costless and shirtless backs, of tenants—let the reeking and lifeless bodies of landlords and agents, attest!



I would further observe, in reference to the complaint of the Commissioner, that in making that complaint, he has in the strongest manner, impugned the competition for land. For why else has he so strongly objected to the agents acting on that principle? There was no unfairness nor unsoundness in what the Commissioner objected against in the conduct of the agents. The agents advertised for bidders, and they received a *quantum* of commission according to the *quantum* of rent obtained. I repeat there was nothing unfair nor unsound in all this—so far, all was perfectly fair and sound. Where, then, were the unfairness and unsoundness? Clearly where I have shown it—in the principle of the competition for land—in *the power which the landlord possesses of extorting on the tenant, through the scarceness of land and farms.* Therefore, I say, we both impugn the principle of the competition for land—he, indirectly—and I, directly. He beholds the evil working of the principle, in the utter ruin to the tenant, quite palpable before his eyes, without ever seeing the evil-producing principle itself, but attributing the evil effects to causes, which are, in themselves, perfectly innocuous. Knowing that the competition of the market is a fair regulator of price in most articles, it never struck him that land formed an exception to that general rule, from the fact of land wanting that circumstance which made the competition for other articles fair; namely, the capability of being increased and multiplied in its supply up to the full amount of the ever increasing demand for farms. The Commissioner did not see the anomaly and unfairness of disposing of land by the same rule by which hats are disposed of, while hats can be increased up to the full demand for them, and the land cannot be increased at all. Thus in the case of hats, where no scarcity of the article can occur, let the hatter employ ever so many agents, all of them ever so active; and let those agents advertise for bidders ever so extensively; and let them be paid their commission according to the amount obtained, and yet no extortion, nor any other evil result, shall befall the purchaser of hats—Why? Simply because no scarcity can occur in the increasing article of hats through which extortion can be practised; such a scarceness as must always necessarily exist in the case of the non-increasing land; and through which the landlord is enabled to ex-

on the tenant, in every degree, from the fair value of the land, to the full value, and often beyond the full value, of the entire

I will now suppose that no agent is employed, no commission according to the *quantum* of rent obtained, and no advertising adders, but that the landlord himself lets the land, and receives rent. Will the evil be remedied now? By no means. The cause and cause of the evil are still left, which is the scarcity of land farms in proportion to the number of persons in demand for it. And there is no extortion or oppression, which an agent will practise, through that scarcity, which a landlord, acting for himself, does not as easily and fully practise. And consequently the very complaints of extortion and oppression, and their effects, are confined to those properties which are managed by landlords, as opposed to those which are under the management of agents. And there is one class of landlords, who generally act for themselves, and are, moreover, mostly resident, and are considered the worst most rapacious—I mean middlemen.

Thus is the Commissioner driven from all his weak subterfuges—he has had all the little sand-banks, on which he thought he stood so firm, crumbled from beneath his feet! The difference, between the Commissioner and myself is, that he saw the evil, and has described them very forcibly in words from the lips of a tenant, without having discovered the cause; and not having discovered the cause, he could not point out the remedy. My goodness has allowed me to see a simple principle, which has been producing all the mischief, but which his wisdom would not permit him to see. That principle is the *undue competition for the scarce land*. I have held this out as the cause of the evil, as prominently as I could. I have walked round it, and I have taken its full gauge. I have held it up as a whole—and I have dissected its most minute parts.

I have shown it to produce the two great evils of Ireland; the evil of exorbitancy of rent, leading to the universal poverty of the people; and second, the evil of insecurity of tenure, leading to the most cruel extirpation of the people, and to the most awful crimes and outrages consequent upon such extirpation. I have, I trust, drawn out this principle so clearly to view, that every true

friend of the people must, with me, stand over it, and behold it as the canker-worm eating away the bud of the beauteous rose of this fair country. The wide difference between us as to the cause of evil, is necessarily carried into our respective proposed remedies. I would wholly eradicate the competition for land, root and branch, as a regulator of rent. The Commissioner not seeing that to be the cause of evil, would allow it to stand as the rule and regulator of rent, only he would appeal from it (and in this he clearly impugns it) to another rule—he would appeal from it to the justice, consideration, and humanity of Irish agents and landlords! The absurdity, if not impossibility, of two rules is obvious. I have argued against such a rule, as the benevolence and justice of men, from the very constitution of man, and of human society. And I would further observe here, that if any such rule exists, it has been wholly inoperative. If any such rule exists now, it must have existed all along since there was a necessity for it. That is, since the population so increased as to make land and farms scarce, and the competition for them consequently undue and unfair; and yet, for the whole of that long period, down to the present day, every writer on the state of Ireland, including the Commissioner himself, has described the rents as “exorbitant;” and the impoverished state of the country, and of its people, with the many and dreadful outrages committed almost daily, bear ample testimony to the same overwhelming fact. But this brings me to the concluding part of my theory—the remedial—of which in my next.

I am, sir,

Your Obedient Servant,

WILLIAM CONNER

## LETTER II.

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### THE REMEDY FOR THE EVILS OF IRELAND.

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

SIR,

If I have not mistaken the evils of Ireland—and their source—as pointed out in my previous letter, I can hardly mistake their remedy. Seeing, then, that the competition for land has not been, and cannot be, a fair regulator of rent, in consequence of the impossibility of increasing the *supply* of land and farms to make that supply equal to the ever increasing *demand* for them;—in order to remedy the great evils arising out of this state of things, it is indispensable that another regulator of rent, beside the unfair one of the undue competition for the scarce land, should be sought for. The remedy which presents itself most obviously is, that of a *fair valuation*, made by the State, and on principles alike equitable and just, as regards the interests of landlord and tenant. This fair valuation would remedy the first of the two great national evils pointed out in the foregoing theory—*exorbitancy of rent*.

For the second evil—*insecurity of tenure*—the only simple, obvious, and effectual remedy would be a *perpetuity* to the tenant.

This valuation and perpetuity to the tenant, creating on every

farm in Ireland—what I would call a tenant's fee, running parallel for ever with the landlord's fee—would afford the tenant a secure platform whereon to raise him, and with him, the entire industry of the country, out of the slough of landlord, or rackrent, oppression—out of the destructive influence of the undue competition for the scarce land, and all its baneful consequences—throwing a wall of brass around the tenant's interests, over which, or through which, the arm of oppression could not reach him—and affording him the fullest security and encouragement for the exercise of his industry, skill, and enterprise. To give the tenant this valuation and perpetuity of his farm would be to enable him to pay his rent, in the first place, and, after that, to increase his stock, to accumulate capital, and to effect endless improvements on the land, which would be the most suitable and profitable investment of his accumulated capital. To give the tenant a valuation and perpetuity of his farm, would add to the tenant's possession of the farm, and to the skill which must generally belong to the tenant, every motive to improvement, which now belongs almost exclusively to the landlord—to the landlord, who, not having the possession of the farm, cannot make improvements; and who, if he had the possession, would not have the skill; and would not, from his rank and fortune, and from the pursuits incident to these, except in a few rare instances, be influenced by those motives to improve—motives which must be ever present and most powerful with the tenant. An extortionable rent, or an extermination of tenants, hitherto the fostered children of the State, would then be an outrage against, and a violation of, the law of the land—with the former, the national poverty would vanish—and with the latter, the national outrages. The value of the tenant's fee, including the consequent improvements, and amounting generally to full twenty years' rent, would be the best security to the landlord for his rent, of which he never could lose any portion. The valuation and perpetuity of his farm to the tenant, affording this full protection to the tenant against the present legal oppression of the landlord, would, at the same time, afford equal, and indeed the only sure, protection to the landlord against the wild justice of revenge of the tenant. But all these advantages of wealth and security to landlord and tenant, arising from a valuation and perpetuity to the

tenant, would not stop with them. The new state of things would render the country most desirable as a place of residence to the wealthy, from which an increase of business would accrue to all the industrious classes. The several millions left in the hands of the tenantry, which are now yearly drawn from them in exorbitant rents, and the many millions more, which would be annually produced from improvements made on the farms, through the security of a perpetuity, would not stop with the tenantry; those increased and ever increasing millions would flow in rich and abundant streams through all the industrious classes, visiting, in their course, every interstice and cranny of our large community. For the tenant could not make an improvement on his farm, or in his house, nor provide himself and family with a single comfort or convenience, that must not, at the same time, afford additional employment and business to the labourer, tradesman, shopkeeper, and manufacturer. Hence, this country which has been, through the excoriating oppression of rackrent, arising from the undue competition for the scarce land, so long sunk into poverty, discontent and outrage, would, through a valuation and perpetuity of his farm to the tenant, be raised into abounding wealth, peace, and contentment!

The narrow limits to which a communication such as the present, is necessarily confined, will not admit of a larger or more particular enumeration of the good effects which must follow from the adoption of the proposed measure of a valuation and perpetuity of his farm to the tenant. The few, however, which I have given will be found of the very first moment—as regards the well being of the landlord and tenantry classes—of the community at large—and of the State. I shall, therefore, in what is to follow, avoiding all minor details, add some additional remarks with the view of rendering the general principles of my theory of the evils of Ireland, and of the proposed remedy, more fully understood, contrasting those principles, as I proceed, with what appears to me the marvellously crude notions of the Commissioner.

The Commissioner, as I have shown in the passages given from his letters, in his survey of the condition of the people of Ireland, came right athwart the great cause of their evils without seeing it. For had he seen that cause with distinctness, with any adequate

recognition of its powerful agency in producing the evils around him, he would, one would think, have denounced it with zeal and indignation. Instead, then, of striking right forward at the principle itself, teeming with all the sorest evils to this country, he has turned aside from it, and fallen foul of the agents and landlords for acting on it. The purblindness of the Commissioner, in this one point, was the grand defect of his entire labours—the great source of his mistakes—and the cause of his signal failure. The great cause of evil eluded his grasp, escaping under cover of the huge fallacy—that *the competition for land was just and fair like that of other commodities*. But had he discerned clearly the evil-producing principle of the undue competition for the scarce land, when he so well described the cruel strait into which the working of that principle had plunged the tenant, making him cry out in the agony of his soul—"I know I cannot pay the rent, but what could I do? Where was I to go? Would you have me go and beg?"—he could have done it immense damage—he could, through that principle, the great source of the worst evils to Ireland, have wounded the giant form of Irish grievance, in its most vital part, instead of aiming unavailing blows at the agents, who—so long as they are left that most unjust principle to work with, and the law to aid them in their infernal work of wholesale plunder and extirpation of the people—cannot be reached, for they are entrenched behind unassailable bulwarks.

Instead, again, of turning the hopes and fears of the people into the wholesome channel of working out their prosperity, by his attacking that principle which extinguishes those hopes and fears, and which paralyzes every effort that could flow from them, the Commissioner has been betrayed into the puniest and silliest whinings, altogether unworthy a man of his spirit and talent, about what he calls the neglect of the tenantry class by the landlords, and all this equally unavailing as what he has said of the agents. For so long as the great avenue to oppression, the undue competition for the scarce land, is left open, oppression will enter in a flood, and desolate the land. The landlord class are, by their station and fortunes, elevated to the mere business of enjoyment, of spending, not of making money, and no appeal from earth or from heaven, will charm

them down to soil their hands, or trouble their heads, with the affairs of the industrious, wealth-producing tenantry class. The whole thing, then, of the duty of landlords, that is duty without responsibility, necessity, or compulsion, duty of a class of men whose very position in society exempts them from duty, might figure very well in some brilliant tale, but the stern reality of actual life knows nothing of such duty.

The whole vile jargon of "duties of landlords,"—"duties of property," has had its rise from the fact of landlords having, through the undue competition for the scarce land, usurped all the property, and all the rights of property, belonging to the tenant—and, then, what have been called the "duties of landlords," "duties of property," are nothing more than an appeal to their mercy not to take all from the tenant, or if they have taken all, to dole out some portion of the plunder back again. Thus, in fact, what have been called the "duties of landlords," "duties of property," are in reality the plundered rights of the tenantry—rights the best founded in the world, and which, of all others, ought to be the best secured—the rights of the industrious to the fruits of their labour. The Commissioner's theory, then, consists in leaving the undue competition for the scarce land to the landlord to conjure with, as the unfair dealer conjures with the light weight and false measure—but when, through the conjuration of the landlord with this principle, he has possessed himself legally of the tenant, body and soul, and of all the tenant can make by his utmost industry on the land—it is then, I say, the empty hat of the lank and starving tenant is to be held up before the plethoric and portly form of the landlord; and here begins the *hocus pocus* work of the "duties of landlords," "duties of property." Then goes the foolish whimper, that it is the duty of landlords to look to the empty hat of the tenant—that it is their duty to put something into the empty hat of the tenant—that, in fine, Ireland is poor, discontented and turbulent, because landlords neglect their duty of putting enough into the empty hat of the tenant! If you hint to those men, the simple plan of giving the tenant the protection of a valuation and perpetuity, expert in all the legerdemain of oppression, they place their wand on a little box, and up start the "rights of property," "the rights of landlords,"



which simply means the right of the landlord, through the undue competition for the scarce land, to violate all the rights of the industrious tiller of the soil—first to take all from him by an exorbitant rent; and, after that, to exterminate him from the land. But, sir, I detest your duties of Landlords—duties of property! If the tenant has not his due by strict right, let him not have it at all; for rather than behold my countrymen upon their knees begging back from their oppressors, as much of the plundered fruits of their industry as shall keep them from starving, I would prefer seeing them turned into whelps yelping at the moon—for as worthless dogs, they would not at least disgrace the name and race of men!

How transparent, then, is this whole case! Here the tenant, who by his industry produces all—through the undue competition for the scarce land, loses all; while the landlord, who produces nothing, and is perfectly idle—takes all, through the same unjust principle! Here also we see the difference between the rights and duties of landlords. The landlords, as a matter of course, keeping their *rights* to themselves, and generously making over their *duties* to the tenants. Their rights are strong and vigorous plants, growing up in the deep, rank soil of the undue competition for the scarce land, and filling the landlords' granaries to the cracking of the beams. While their duties are but sickly exotics, shooting their delicate roots into the shallow and hungry soil of the landlord's justice, mercy, and consideration, and producing half a meal of dry potatoes on the cold and cheerless floor of the tenant. Is it any marvel, then, that, on his rights, the landlord is fat, loyal and peaceable; while, on the landlord's duties, the tenant is lean, lawless, and turbulent?

No such duty as this of the landlord to the tenant—that is a duty in the landlord without a corresponding right in the tenant for the enforcement of that duty—has any existence as between any other two men of business in the world. When I buy a hat, my duty to the hatter is to pay him for the hat; and the duty of the hatter to me is to give me the hat for which I have paid him. The duty in each party implying a correspondent right in the other for the enforcement of that duty. Further, we meet on equitable terms, having the competition of the market as a fair regulator of price between us; the supply of hats being fully equal to the demand for

them ; so that I cannot take more than a fair share of his hats for my one pound, nor can he take more than a fair share of my money for his one hat. And, therefore, as there is thus no room, through the fair competition for hats, for the plunder or extortion of either of the parties by the other, to correspond with the wholesale plunder and extortion of landlords, through the unfair competition for the scarce land ; so neither is there any room left for the irresponsible duty, mercy, or consideration of either of the parties towards the other, to correspond with the irresponsible duties of landlords. This is precisely what the remedial part of my theory, the valuation and perpetuity, would effect between the two parties of landlord and tenant—the valuation and perpetuity would remove the whole landlord oppression by taking up its root, the undue competition for the scarce land, and thus close the large space, which that oppression leaves for the supposed exercise of the so much talked of, irresponsible, undefined, unperformed, and indeed impracticable duties of landlords.

In the example of the hat transaction, we see that it is in the perfect fairness of the competition for hats, the perfect soundness of that whole transaction is found ; and in comparing it with the land transaction, we shall see, that it is in the unfairness of the competition for land, that the entire unsoundness of the transaction between landlord and tenant consists. The fairness in the competition for hats is caused by the proper adjustment of the supply of hats to the full demand for them, that supply being so full as to leave no scarcity of the article of which the hatter can take advantage by charging an extortionable price. While the unfairness in the competition for land arises, as I have all along shown, from the impossibility of increasing the supply of land and farms to the full demand for them, thus leaving a scarcity of them, of which scarcity the landlord takes advantage, and through which the two great evils of Ireland are produced ; in the first place, the evil of exorbitancy of rent leading to the general poverty of the people ; and in the second place, the evil of insecurity of tenure, leading to the extermination of tenants, and to the consequent outrages and murders. And if it were not for the scarcity of land and farms, and the consequent extortion through it, it is quite clear, that we should hear as

little of the oppression of landlords, as we do of the oppression of hatters. In this dissection of the evils of Ireland, I have laid bare the seat and cause of disease; any remedy which does not reach that seat of disease, and which does not remove that cause, will avail nothing—the valuation would do both most effectually, while the perpetuity would give the fullest permanence to the valuation, by preventing the invasion of the tenant by the landlord, as hitherto and now, at the expiration of terms and leases. As I shall not be able to return to the subject of the perpetuity, I would here observe, by the way, that the Commissioner is quite mistaken in supposing that the evil of insecurity of tenure would be reached by leases. I shall only observe, first, that leases would destroy that sound and beautiful parallel which would run between the tenant's fee, created by a valuation and perpetuity, and the landlord's fee. Second, leases would greatly circumscribe the enterprise and improvement of the tenant. Third, leases would afford no protection against the extermination of tenants, nor against the assassination of landlords, *these occurring constantly on the termination of the longest leases*. So that a new lease may be said to be the bud or germ of extermination to the tenant, and of assassination to the landlord; and an old lease may be said to be those bitter fruits, fully ripe, and ready to fall from the tree.

It will be observed, that the entire rackrent system of Ireland has been grasped in the two evils of exorbitancy of rent and insecurity of tenure. These evils are again traced to their source, in the undue competition for the non-increasing and scarce land; and it is remarkable, that the two-fold remedial measure of a valuation and perpetuity, which removes the undue competition for the scarce land, the source of evil, does, at the same time, effectually strike down the two great evils flowing from that source—the valuation doing away with the evil of exorbitancy of rent—and the perpetuity that of insecurity of tenure. The difference between the Commissioner and myself here, is a most essential difference, and involves all that is vitally important in the whole question. He would allow the undue competition for the scarce land to continue, as at present, the regulator of rent; and at the same time, he would brand it as a false rule, by placing beside it a second rule, that of

the justice and consideration of landlords and agents, as a corrector of the first, or false rule. In order to place this utterly false and absurd position of the Commissioner in a plain point of view, we shall now reverse cases, and make the landlord change place with the tenant; by supposing the existence of some principle, such as the undue competition for the scarce land, which the more open and fair in nearly all other articles of trade, still, from some peculiarity in land, became the more subtle and unfair in reference to land. Some principle, in fine, which, through its working, would force the landlord into a similarly cruel strait, which the Commissioner himself has shown that the undue competition for the scarce land has forced the tenant, making the landlord cry out, in his turn, "What could I do? Where was I to go? Would you have me go and beg?" That through the working of this supposed principle, the tenant needs not pay the landlord but as little rent as he pleased, just as the landlord can now, through the undue competition for the scarce land, compel the tenant to pay as much as he pleased—still leaving it the tenant's *duty* to look to the (*then poor*) landlord, and to pay him a fair rent according to the best of his (the tenant's) impartial judgment. That the tenant might deprive the landlord altogether of his property, and put another in his place, as the landlord can now deprive the tenant, through terms and leases, of his farm, his sole property, means of support, and of existence—but still, as before, that it would be the tenant's *duty* to leave the landlord his property, and not inhumanly turn him and his family—as the landlords every day turn the tenants—naked, foodless, houseless, and wholly destitute on the world, to starve and die in a ditch!

I ask, sir, would the Commissioner of the *Times*, in this supposed case, continue to harp eternally upon the *duties* of tenants towards their landlords? Would he deem that theory sound which would wholly overlook the very existence of such supposed principle—or that would seek to correct the deep and manifold evils, which must in such a state of things, and through the working of such supposed baneful principle, affect the landlord class, by mere appeals to the justice and consideration of the tenantry class, for a more generous and just performance of their *duties* towards their (*then poor*) land-

lords? No! he would not pursue such a course! Nor would he be put down by the loud clamours of the tenantry class about their "legal rights," "the rights of property," he would cast such "legal rights" and "rights of property" to the winds. He would do in defence of the just rights of landlords, what I, a landlord, have long sought to do in defence of the just rights of tenants; and what I would, in the case supposed, do, although I were a tenant, in defence of the just rights of landlords—I say, he would strike at once at the subtle, stealthy, and unfair principle, through the working of which a large and important class of the community, and the peace of the country, were wholly destroyed—through which all the just rights of landlords were so cruelly set aside, and trampled under foot, by being converted into the irresponsible *duties* of tenants. He would, with an high and just resolve, set aside that principle by drawing a strict line between the two parties—such a clear line as would not leave any *duty* justly due by the tenant to the landlord, without a corresponding *right* in the landlord for the enforcement of such duty. That just and strict line my valuation and perpetuity would draw between landlord and tenant, wholly setting aside the subtle, stealthy and unfair principle of the undue competition for the scarce land.

The valuation and perpetuity would take up the matter at the *source* of evil—in that stage of the business before the landlord has acquired a legal right to the whole produce of the land, by his unfair bargain through the undue competition for the scarce land—for when that has taken place, it is too late to effect justice between the parties—in such case, wholesale plunder has got the start of justice, and cannot be overtaken! In vain we call after the landlord, and obtest his justice, mercy, and consideration to bestow (and in such a process consists the remedial part of the Commissioner's theory,) some small portion on the tenant, when, through the unjust principle of the undue competition for the scarce land, he has possessed himself of the entire crop *minus* a dry potato! Therefore it is, that the plan of a valuation and perpetuity would be an effectual remedy; for, as at present, every duty of the tenant has a strict correspondent right in the landlord for its enforcement, so would this plan give the tenant a strict correspondent right to enforce every

duty of the landlord to the tenant. Is it the duty of the landlord not to overcharge the tenant for his land? Then it must be the right of the tenant to have his land at a fair rent—*the valuation enforces and secures that right to the tenant*. Is it the duty of the landlord not to extirpate the tenant, but to leave him where God intended he should be, on the land, the cultivator of the land? Then it must be the right of the tenant to continue the occupation of the land, he paying the fair rent—*the perpetuity enforces and secures that right to the tenant*. What means, then, I would ask, all the talk of false, pretended friends of the people against grinding, exorbitant rents, and against extermination of tenants, who still would not give the tenant a valuation, his only safeguard against exorbitant rents—who would not give him a perpetuity, his only sure protection against extermination? If ever there was a case where men were called upon to lay aside treachery, and act a fair, open, honest part, it were in this very question, where the people's all—their lives no less than their property—are at stake!

Will it be said, that a valuation and perpetuity of his farm to the tenant, would do violence to the just rights of property in land? But when reason and justice are brought to bear upon great and crying wrongs—as in this case, upon enormous injustice, they are not to be turned from their just, and high, and holy purposes by the senseless clamours, nor by the glozing lies and plausibilities, of robbery, injustice and oppression. We do no violence, then, to the just rights of property in land by depriving that property of two of the cruellest wrongs which can be inflicted on man—first, the wrong of taking from the industrious tiller of the soil the entire fruit of his year's hard, and incessant toil, steeping him and the entire industry of the country, to the lips in poverty; this most crying wrong we simply, and without the smallest violence, deprive that property of, by our fair valuation. Secondly, the equally cruel wrong of turning that man, when plundered for a succession of years by an exorbitant rent, on the bleak, wide world to starve and die—and what is worse than death to him, to see his family die with him, in a ditch. Of this most cruel wrong, again, we simply, but without the smallest violence, deprive property in land by our perpetuity. Is it a violence, then, to any just right of property in

land, thus to establish a fair regulator of rent in place of a most unfair one, and, by this means, to place that property on the same equitable footing with all other property? For it is clear, our valuation would only do for the non-increasing and scarce land, what the fair competition for all increasing articles does for them, namely, *to regulate their price fairly*. For if it be a just right of property in land, through the undue competition for it, to extort beyond the fair value, why should not all other property be invested with the same right? Is it, then, a just right of property in land, by the extortion of exorbitant rents, to steep the entire industry of the country in poverty—by the extirpation of tenants, to drive men into outrage, assassination, and murder—and, by these combined means, utterly to destroy the peace and prosperity of the country? We hold it, then, as the most certain and undeniable of all propositions, that no property can justly claim such gross wrongs as its legitimate rights; that such wrongs, or the power of inflicting such wrongs, in the hands of landlords, are clearly subversive of all just right; and we do, moreover, affirm, that if such cruel wrongs were *necessarily* connected with property in land, they would simply outlaw such property, rendering it indispensable to abolish it as an intolerable nuisance, as a deadly plague; such precisely as property in land has been in Ireland, leaving the people little to eat, and that little drenched with their salt tears. Oh! yes, there was mercy even in the curse of God, when He cursed the earth for man's offence, for still it was given to produce abundance of all that was good—and there was mercy even in the sentence pronounced upon man, “that in the sweat of his face he should eat bread;” for he was given, although by labour, to live on abundance of every thing that was good. But the rackrent system of Ireland, through the undue competition for the scarce land, extracts the whole of the mercy from the cup of the wrath of God—mingles in that cup every bitter and deadly ingredient—and fills it to overflowing!

I have thus dwelt upon what the Commissioner has written upon the neglect of the irresponsible duties of agents and landlords; for as I have already observed, the real cause of evil, the undue competition for the scarce land, having wholly escaped his observation, his entire theory of Irish grievance consists—first, of the neglect

of the irresponsible duties of agents and landlords—second, of the evil habits and mismanagement of the people themselves. It remains, therefore, that I reply to this last branch of his theory.

With respect, then, to his strictures, strong as they generally are, on the habits and mismanagement of the tenantry class, I feel no inclination to blunt the edge of his censures, nor is it at all necessary to my main argument that I should do so. I have devoted my best years, and the best energies of those years, to what I have deemed the good of my countrymen. My labours to this end, have been their own sweet reward, a reward greater than the whole earth could bestow—yet, as I say, I shall not attempt to turn aside the castigation of his pen. The truest friend of the people will be the sternest reprover of their faults. I offer the following, as fully embodying my view of this part of the Commissioner's theory. This view, while it leaves the faults of the people to their fate, will be found to sweep away the entire fabrick of the Commissioner's theory—as drawn from those faults.

Had the Commissioner undertaken the same important labours in one of the slave countries, or had he selected for those labours, some scene of eastern despotism, as Turkey, he could, in such scenes, have pointed out various minor causes of evil, for great imperfection will be found to attach to man in his very best estate, how much greater then in his worst? He could, therefore, show that much of the evil arose from the bad habits of the people themselves; and that, were it not for those habits, they might be greatly better off than they are. But it would be a fair answer to make to all this, that admitting it all to be true, still, that in the slavery of the one place, and in the fierce, unmitigated despotism of the other, those evil habits of the people, or those most aggravated forms of them, were to be traced—that the bright flame of liberty, by whose light alone man could walk erect in the dignity of man, was extinguished. That universal prostration ensued from that slavery and despotism, and that so long as they were in the ascendant, the people would be cast in the shadow of degradation and death. That, in fine, these were great overruling causes of evil, which no efforts, on the part of the people, were able to countervail; and that slavery and despotism must be thrown off, utterly abolished, before the in-



habitants of those fine regions can be elevated into comfort, wealth, or security.

The whole of this reasoning will apply with increased force to the rackrent system of Ireland, and to the evil habits of the people generated under the influence of that debasing, enslaving, and destructive system. For all the wrongs which slavery inflicts on those states where it exists, and all which Turkish despotism inflicts on the regions of the sun, over which its cruel sceptre rules—that worse scourge, the undue competition for the scarce land in the hands of Irish landlords, inflicts on unhappy Ireland. Turkish despotism, trampling under its barbarous foot free institutions, destroys in the very bud the growth of wealth and prosperity, and thus leaves little to satisfy its own insatiate and violent grasp. Irish despotism, or the rackrent system of Ireland, rears its bicorned head of exorbitancy of rent, and insecurity of tenure, in the midst of free institutions, which foster every art and ingenuity of man in the production of wealth, of every thing which can minister to the comfort and well-being of man, the whole of which that system bears away from the industrious hands of the producers, as its rich spoils—the steel pen of the Irish agent or landlord carrying away on its point the last grain, through the undue competition for the scarce land, with a much cleaner sweep than the polished sabre of the Turkish Pacha or Aga.

For proofs of the root and origin, and of the dreadful power and energy, of that system, I have appealed to the most decisive and energetic passages of the learned Commissioner's letters, the truth of which, as he says, "rests on the clear evidence of persons who cannot be mistaken." For let the victim of that despotism, the Irish tenant, stand forth in the most wretched plight in which the learned Commissioner has, with the pencil of truth, drawn him. His neck bowed to the earth beneath our Irish rack-rent yoke—his every limb galled by its cruel chain—his mind prostrated—his soul polluted and enslaved—and as it hems him on to the last verge of a miserable and loathsome existence, draws from him accents of utter desolation and despair such as these—"What could I do? Where was I to go? I know I cannot pay the rent, but what could I do—would you have me go and

eg?" Did slavery in its most debasing, withering, blasting form—did Turkish despotism in its wildest, cruellest, and most truculent form—did any other earthly scourge of the human race ever force its victims to a more cruel and dreadful extremity than this? \* My great object has been to draw out, and expose to the correcting and avenging justice of mankind, the stealthy and plundering hand, which has been at the tenant's back forcing him to that extremity—*that hand is the undue competition for the scarce land.* That hand must be paralyzed, and loosed from its grasp by a valuation and perpetuity of his farm to the tenant, before peace and plenty shall ever descend upon Irish ground! And thus, as the wholesale annual plunder and extirpation of the people, through the undue competition for the scarce land, has sunk them into hopeless poverty and revolting outrage, so shall a valuation and perpetuity of his farm to the tenant, elevate them into peace, plenty, and security—giving us back the living freeman, and burying the dead slave. Then, sir, when what I have called the great moral mainspring of the entire mechanism of man shall, by this simple means, be inserted into its place, "creating a soul under the ribs of death"—when the fruits of the people's industry shall be secured to them, and when the decencies and comforts of life shall follow in the train of that secu-

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\* "The government" (in Turkey, of which country this is written, the government is the landlord,) "may be considered as an army encamped, the general of which issues his orders to forage the country. The whole system of finance (that is of landlordism,) in Turkey, consists in placing a certain number of sponges on the ground, which, by drinking up the dew, raises the sovereign, (that is the landlord in Turkey,) an opportunity of collecting it, by squeezing it into a reservoir, of which he alone keeps the key." De Tott, ii. 20. Here is Turkish despotism taking the "last grain," but does our Irish system differ one iota from it, except that, through the undue competition for the scarce land, our Irish Turk takes the "last grain" with so clean a sweep, that the Irish tenant must poke the mice holes in his barn for that "last grain" to make up the rent! Thus, the same result follows precisely from the despotic power of the Turk, as from the undue competition for the scarce land, in the hands of Irish landlords—that result is, the abstraction of the "last grain" from the wretched tiller of the soil, the Irish sponge, drinking up the dew with as great a thirst as the Turkish sponge.

rity and of those fruits—then, I say, let your Commissioner resum—  
his pen, and go over the same ground, and he will have a very differ—  
rent picture to draw of the habits, condition, and dispositions of the  
people of Ireland. As he now sees them, what a far worse than  
Turkish despotism has made them, he will then behold them when  
the fair hand of nature formed them; and to which nothing but the  
simple remedy of a valuation and perpetuity can restore them.  
Instead of squalid poverty, he will behold smiling plenty—instead  
of murder and outrage, he will find humanity and peace—instead  
of settled hatred, and systematic opposition to laws which rob them  
of all, through the undue competition for the scarce land, he will  
find heartfelt love and undying loyalty to laws, which secure them  
perfectly in everything, through a valuation and perpetuity of their  
farms—instead of the listless, hopeless indolence of men labouring  
unceasingly for the good of other men, and of other men's children,  
he will find the effective, energetic industry of men working for  
their own good, and the good of their own children. That bright  
picture of Ireland no eye shall ever behold, until her great agri—  
cultural population—that from whose prosperity, wealth and pros—  
perity can alone flow to all her other industrious classes—shall be  
delivered from the undue competition for the scarce land by a valua—  
tion and perpetuity of his farm to the tenant—thus subverting the  
guilty throne of her ten thousand cruel tyrants—and wrenching  
from their blood-stained hands, their pronged sceptre, of exorbitancy  
of rent, and insecurity of tenure.

I am, Sir,

Your very Obedient Servant,

WILLIAM CONNER.



10

# PEACE ACT,

DEDICATED WITH

OFOUND AND AWFUL DEVOTION TO

G O D,

AND WITH DUE RESPECT TO

M A N,

BY WILLIAM ROBERT COOKE,

WHO WAS A BLUE COAT BOY.

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PUBLISHED BY W. R. COOKE,

his Lodgings at Mr. BARKER'S, [22, Little Britain, over against the  
Ditch Gates of the Blue Coat School, in the City of London.

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1846.

PRAISE BE TO GOD, THE LORD OF ALL CREATURES, THE MOST  
MERCIFUL, THE RULER OF THE HEARTS OF MEN; THEE DO WE WORSHIP  
AND OF THEE DO WE SUPPLICATE AID. DIRECT US IN THE RIGHT WAY,  
IN THE WAY OF THOSE WHOM THOU LOVEST, AND LET ACCORDING TO THY  
WILL THY KINGDOM COME.—AMEN.

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ERROR.—For United Kingdom, &c. read *United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.*



# PEACE ACT.

## ACT FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN PEACE.

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Whereas it has pleased Almighty God to protect and extend the Kingdom of England until it has become an Empire, which it is expedient consolidate on the basis of **GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST,—PEACE ON EARTH,—AND GOOD WILL TOWARDS MEN.** Be it therefore enacted by Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same.—That the British Empire is with profound solemnity dedicated to God, in confirmation of which it is now named, and shall in future be called "**THE EMPIRE OF PEACE AND OF ALL THE BRITISH,**" in the sure and certain hope that God Almighty will protect and strengthen the Empire, as he did the Old Kingdom, according to his will.

II. And whereas it is expedient to make known to all the nations of earth by a visible sign, that the British Empire is dedicated to God, become the Empire of Peace. Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid.

*That a plain white flag is and shall be the Standard of the Empire of Peace, and all the British.*

*That all and every Ship or Vessel of the Imperial Navy, or belonging to any British subject, shall carry a White Flag at the fore.*

*That within all Churches a White Flag shall be hoisted as near the middle as may be.*

*That in the House of Lords and Commons, in all Courts of Law and Equity, in Courts of Quarter Session, and in all Parks, Pleasure Grounds, Theatres, Sporting Places and Play Grounds, and other places of public resort for business or pastime, a White Flag shall be hoisted. And that these four Enactments shall be and are law and lawful.*

III. And whereas it is expedient to satisfy all mankind by declaration of the principles that are to govern the future world Empire of Peace, and of all the British. Be it enacted by the aforesaid.

1. That the Empire shall build Sacred Places wherein to magnify and to shew all his works.
2. That the Empire shall labour for Peace, and try to make it and universal.
3. That the Empire shall labour to spread all useful animals, vegetables and arts, throughout the world.
4. That the Empire shall root out and destroy all pirates in the world.
5. That the Empire shall make Mercy lead Justice.
6. That the Empire shall put low duties on Goods to prevent sin and crime.
7. That the Empire shall utterly destroy all destructive animals; the Empire of Peace, and of all the British; birds excepted that these seven Enactments shall be, and are law and law.

IV. And whereas it is expedient to pay off the National Debt exceeding twenty shillings in the pound sterling which, praise God, the honourable Old Kingdom can right well do. Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid.

1. That on the faith and the security of the Imperial Parliament, tofore, a New Stock shall be and is created, and called the IMPERIAL STOCK, bearing interest at the rate of seven *per centum annum*, free from reduction, and property and income tax, thirty years from the creation of the said IMPERIAL STOCK dividends thereon payable and to be paid at the Bank of England at such times as shall be hereafter settled by the authority of the Imperial Parliament.
2. That the Governor and Company of the Bank of England shall transfer books for the Imperial Stock aforesaid, wherein shall be registered all transfers of other Stocks into Imperial Stock, and the said Imperial Stock so registered may be bought and sold, transferred and re-transferred as the other government stock has been and are.
3. That any person or persons, Corporation, Court of Law or Equity, any trustees or executors, or any person or persons who shall have or shall have having stock standing in their name or names of the Consolidated Three per centum annuities in the books at the Bank of England are hereby authorized and empowered to exchange and accept of any hundred of the consolidated three per centum annuities for any hundred of the Imperial Stock, and so on for any greater or less proportion of Consolidated Three per centum Annuities, at the same rate for any greater or less proportion of the Imperial

1. That any other Government Stock being *three per centum per annum*, or otherwise, may be registered as Imperial Stock as provided in Section IV. Enactment 2, of Peace Act, and exchanged and accepted as provided in Section IV, Enactment 3, of Peace Act, at and after the rate of *Six per centum per annum*; of any other Government Stock for *seven per centum per annum* of Imperial Stock, and so on for any greater or less proportion of interest in any Government Stock, for any greater or less proportion of interest in Imperial Stock.
5. That no part of Peace Act shall extend to the Long Annuities; any thing in Peace Act to the contrary notwithstanding.
6. That the Registering as provided in Section IV, Enactment 2, of Peace Act, and the accepting as provided in Section IV, Enactment 3, of Peace Act of Imperial Stock, may be done by attorney or attorneys, as the sale of Stock and receiving of dividends is now done by power of attorney in other Government Stocks in the books of the Bank of England.
7. That some person or persons shall be authorized by this Act, at convenient times, as when *consolidated three per centum annuities are above par*, to make known in the usual way to the holders of consolidated *three per centum annuities*, receiving dividends under A. B. C. or any other letter or letters, or any one letter, or all the letters of the alphabet, that it is his or their intention to pay off such part or the whole of the *consolidated three per centum annuities* in six months time from the date of such notice, by registering such part or the whole of the *consolidated three per centum annuities* as *Imperial Stock*, at and after the rate provided in Section IV, Enactment 3, and explained in Section IV, Enactment 4, of Peace Act. Dissentients to give written notice of dissent within one calendar month from *date of such notice*, if residing within the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, but to have the usual time, if not so residing, and at the expiration of the six months notice of intention to pay off; Dissentients to be paid at and after the rate of one hundred pounds sterling, for one hundred pounds stock of the *consolidated three per centum annuities*, and so on, by any greater or less proportion of money for any greater or less proportion of the *consolidated three per centum annuities*; and, such part or the whole of the *consolidated three per centum annuities*, to the holder of which notice has been given, as provided and who do not dissent, shall be registered and become Imperial Stock.

And that these seven Enactments shall be and are law and lawful.

V. And, whereas as soon as the Peace Act becomes law, the Em-  
 e will be good, for at the very least one thousand million pounds sterling,  
 ne of which it is expedient to use in carrying out—*Glory to God in the  
 ghest,—Peace on Earth,—and, Good will towards men.* Be it enacted  
 the authority aforesaid.



1. That the same person or persons appointed in Section IV, Enactment 7, of Peace Act, shall personally or by their representatives, watch and feed and manage the Stock Markets and Stock Exchanges, and sell and transfer Imperial Stock, and receive the money therefor; the money to be the property of the Empire, and to be used by the Empire.
2. That the same person or persons appointed in Section IV, Enactment 7, of Peace Act, shall receive good acceptances being bills of exchange, and pay the full amount of the said good bills, by transferring Imperial Stock at the then market price, to the holder or holders of said good bills, free from or deducting any discount, or deduction whatsoever. The said good bills to be the property of the Empire, and as they become due and are paid to be used by the Empire.
3. That the same person or persons appointed in Section IV, Enactment 7, of Peace Act, shall raise money as aforesaid, to the full amount required by all the enactments of the Peace Act and so more, and cause the money so raised to be honestly, truly, and in good faith, used by and for the Empire only.
4. That the same person or persons appointed in Section IV, Enactment 7, of Peace Act, shall keep a book in which shall be registered a true account of all Imperial Stock sold for money, or exchanged for good bills on account of the Empire, with the amount of cash received, or to be received on account of the Empire, and shall pass the full amount of cash to the credit of the Empire.
5. That the Governor and Company of the Bank of England shall keep a book, in which they shall enter a true account of all Imperial Stock sold in any way for the benefit of the Empire, with the amount of cash or good bills it was sold for, actually copied from the Stock receipts of the party or parties purchasing, and send every night a copy of the entries of the day in the said book to the Imperial Minister, the Secretary of State for the home department, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the time being.
6. That the two books aforesaid, and any other books concerning the sale of Imperial Stock for the benefit of the Empire, shall always be open and free to any Minister of the Imperial Crown.  
And these six Enactments shall be, and are law and lawful.

VI. And, whereas it is expedient to promote Peace by being always ready for war. Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the same person or persons appointed in Section IV, Enactment 7, of Peace Act, shall raise money as directed in Section V, Enactments 1 and 2, of Peace Act, to the full amount of at least twenty million pounds sterling in money, being bullion, or good acceptances, to be called the **PEACE RESERVE**; the said **PEACE RESERVE** of twenty million pounds sterling to be raised from time to time, and at convenient and favorable times, until it amounts to at least twenty million pounds sterling.

VII. And whereas it is expedient to take off a part of the taxes which the honourable and true people have right well borne and paid. Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid.

1. That the Malt Tax or Duty is abolished.
2. That the Duty on British Plantation Sugar shall be one halfpenny per pound avoirdupois only; and the duty on Sugar, not British Plantation, shall be and is greater for the same time, and in the same proportion of and above the halfpenny per pound as it now is, and is to be above the duty on British Plantation Sugar.
3. That the duty on Tobacco shall be and is:—on Leaf Tobacco one shilling per pound avoirdupois; on Cigars, foreign, five shillings per pound avoirdupois; on other manufactured Tobacco eighteen pence per pound avoirdupois, and no more.

And that these three Enactments shall be and are law and lawful.

VIII. And whereas it has pleased Almighty God to guard and keep the children of King Alfred the Great upon the steadfast throne of England, according to his promise, to shew mercy unto thousands, in whom that love me and keep my commandments, all which divine mercy it is proper to celebrate. Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid.

1. That the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland shall be and is Empress of Peace and of all the British, with the style and title of Imperial Majesty, besides all other dignities, rights, royalties, and privileges now enjoyed.
2. That the Empress shall have and receive for her privy purse two hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum, free of charges and fees, besides the sum now received for her privy purse as Queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

And that these two Enactments shall be and are law and lawful.

IX. And whereas it is proper to celebrate the great mercies of God to all the Royal Family. Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid.

1. That His R. H. the Prince of Wales shall be and is King of England by courtesy, with the style and title of Majesty by courtesy, besides all other dignities, rights, royalties, and privileges now enjoyed.
2. That the King of England by courtsey, shall have and receive for his allowance one hundred thousand pound sterling per annum, besides the sum usually received as Prince of Wales.
3. That His R. H. the Prince Albert shall be and is an Imperial Prince, with the style and title of Imperial Highness, with an allowance of one hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum.
4. That His R. H. Prince George of Cambridge shall be and is an Imperial Prince, with the style and title of Imperial Highness, with an allowance of fifty thousand pounds sterling per annum.

5. That all the Royal Family shall be and are of the Imperial Family, with the style and title of Imperial Highness.
6. That all the children that have been born or shall be born of H. M. G. Majesty, shall be and are Imperial Princes or Imperial Princesses, with the style and title of Imperial Highness, and as they attain to the eighteenth year of their age each shall have an allowance of fifty thousand pounds sterling per annum, besides any other allowance, dignity, right, royalty, or privilege.
7. That Her Most Gracious Majesty shall confer such other distinctions on her Imperial Family as her Majesty may deem expedient, on the solemn occasion of dedicating the British Empire to God, And that these seven enactments shall be and are law and lawful.

**X.** And whereas under God the glorious Old Nobility of Great Britain have rendered high service to the Old Kingdom and the holy use of Peace, which it is expedient to reward: be it enacted by the authority aforesaid:—

- That the Twenty Dukes, beginning with the Duke of Norfolk and ending with the Duke of Cleveland, shall be, and are Princes of the Empire, with the style and title of Serene Highness.
- That the houses of all the Imperial Princes and of all the Princes of the Empire shall be, and are, Palaces.
- That the Twelve Marquises, beginning with the Marquis of Winchester and ending with the Marquis of Anglesea, shall be, and are, Arch-Dukes, with the style and title of Highness.
- That the Eight Marquises, beginning with the Marquis of Camden and ending with the Marquis of Normanby, shall be, and are, Dukes, with the style and title of Grace.
- 5. That the Twelve Earls, beginning with the Earl of Shrewsbury and ending with the Earl of Chesterfield, shall be, and are, Marquises.
- 6. That the Twelve Viscounts next in rank to the Earls, shall be, and are, Earls.
- 7. That the Twelve Barons next in rank to the Viscounts, shall be, and are, Viscounts.
- 8. That all Peers of the Realm, shall be, and are, Peers of the Empire as well.
- That the Sons of Peers of the Empire shall have titles and styles, as may be expedient.
- That the Lady of the King of England, by courtesy, shall be Queen of England, by courtesy, with the style and title of Majesty.
- That the Ladies of Imperial Princes shall be Imperial Princesses, with the style and title of Imperial Highness.
- That all other Ladies of Peers of the Empire shall have the style and title of their Lords in like manner.

And that these twelve Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.

**XI.** And whereas increased dignity may cause increased expence thus bring about decay in the glorious Old Nobility of the Kingdom, which it is expedient to prevent, and also to mark the goodness of God imparting inventions: be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid:—

- That a Sinecure shall be, and is hereby created, to be called Grand Master of the Steam Engine, with an allowance of fifty thousand pounds, sterling, per annum.
- That a Sinecure shall be, and is hereby created, to be called Grand Master of the Printing Press, with an allowance of fifty thousand pounds, sterling, per annum.
- That a Sinecure shall be and is hereby created to be called Grand Master of the Mariners' Compass, with an allowance of fifty thousand pounds, sterling, per annum.

4. That no one but a Peer of the Empire can hold any one of the three Sinecures.
5. That one of the three Sinecures only can be held at any one time by any Peer of the Empire, to be annually elected by the Peerage of the Empire.
6. That on all State occasions each Peer of the Empire, hold the three Sinecures, shall carry on a Velvet Cushion a Velvet Steam Engine, a Printing Press, or a Binnacle Compass to his Sinecure.

And that these six Enactments shall be, and are, law and equity.

XII. And whereas it is expedient to promote the Ministry of the Empire on this solemn occasion: be it enacted by the authority aforesaid:

1. That the Archbishop of Canterbury shall be, and is, Imperial Archbishop, with the style and title of Excellency.
2. That the Archbishop of York shall be, and is, Prince Archbishop, with the style and title of Excellency.
3. That the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Durham, and the Bishop of Winchester shall be, and are, each of them an Arch Bishop.
4. That all the Bishops of England, being spiritual Peers, shall be, and are, Lord Bishops of the Empire.
5. That the Married Ladies of all the spiritual Peers of the Empire, shall be, and are, Ladies, with the style and title of My Lady.

And that these five Enactments shall be, and are, law and equity.

XIII. And whereas it is necessary to make the law venerable in the eyes of the Empire: be it enacted by the authority aforesaid:—

1. That the Lord High Chancellor of England shall be, and is, Imperial Prince Chancellor, with the style and title of Highness.
2. That all who have filled the place of Lord High Chancellor of England, or shall hereafter fill it, shall retire with the title of Arch Chancellor of the Empire, with the style and title of Grace.
3. That the Judges of Her Majesty's superior Courts of Law shall be increased to eighteen in number, by making the number of Judges more; and they shall be, and are, the eighteen Judges of the Empire.

4. That the retiring allowance of the eighteen Judges of the Empire shall be, and is increased two thousand pounds, sterling, per annum, besides what it would be, or have been, under the old Law of the Kingdom, and that they may retire after SEVEN YEARS.

And that these four Enactments shall be, and are, law and equity.

XIV. And whereas it is expedient to gratify the House of Commons on the creation of the Empire of Peace: be it enacted by the authority aforesaid:—That each and every Married Member of the Imperial Parliament, who has well and truly served the Empire, in and during the time of three Parliaments, from their first opening to their dissolution, the Lady he is married to shall be, and is, a Lady by courtesy, with the style and title of My Lady.

XV. And whereas the Right Honorable Sir Robert Peel, Baronet, as rendered good service to the Empire, as his Sons are now doing, and as his most worthy Father, the late Sir Robert Peel, Baronet, did before him, which it is expedient to commemorate : be it enacted by the authority resaid :—

That Sir Robert Peel, Baronet, his heirs and successors, for ever, are to be the office now created and named *Crown Imperial*.

That Crown Imperial shall, by virtue of his office, on all State occasions carry an Imperial Crown of fine Gold on a Velvet Cushion.

That in default of heirs of the name of Peel, the Crown Imperial, of the time being, shall appoint his successor, to take the name of Peel; the appointment subject to the approval of the Imperial Sovereign.

That the Imperial Crown, to be borne by Crown Imperial, shall be supplied by the Empire, of the value of ten thousand pounds, sterling, at the least; and at the succession of each and every Imperial Sovereign a new Imperial Crown to be borne by Crown Imperial, the others to be the property of Crown Imperial as his fee.

And that these four Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.

XVI. And whereas the mercy of God is astonishingly great, and it worthy to be humbly followed by man, which is also in the Empire Peace expedient : be it enacted by the authority aforesaid :—

That the Most High Court of Mercy for the Empire is erected and so named, and shall hold its sittings openly, at a convenient place, and at such times as shall be appointed by itself.

That the Most High Court of Mercy shall consist of five Most High Lords of Mercy; namely, the Most High Lords Brougham, President, Denman, Lyndhurst, Cottenham, and Campbell, with the style and title of Highness.

That each Most High Lord of Mercy shall have an allowance of ten thousand pounds, sterling, per annum, besides any other allowance under the Kingdom or Empire.

That the five great names of Brougham, Denman, Lyndhurst, Cottenham, and Campbell, shall endure for ever, and be borne by their successors in the Most High Court of Mercy for ever.

That each of the five Most High Lords of Mercy shall appoint as his successor some one worthy of his great name, who has been, or shall have been Imperial Prince Chancellor, or one of the eighteen Judges of the Empire; the appointment subject to the approval of the Most High Court of Mercy and of the Imperial Sovereign.

That a Most High Lord of Mercy must hold no other office in the State, Kingdom, or Empire.

That the most High Court of Mercy shall every year present on the opening of Parliament, to the Imperial Sovereign, on the Imperial Throne, the Act of Mercy for the year, and the Act of Mercy shall be proceeded with, and settled before any other business in the Imperial Parliament.

8. That the most High Court of Mercy, shall by their Acts make Mercy lead Justice.
9. That the most High Court of Mercy, shall frame laws of *Education, Insults, Duelling, Drunkenness, Seduction, Pe Adultery, Divorces*, and so on.
10. That the most High Court of Mercy, are the Trustees of Alfred's Bounty.
11. That the most High Court of Mercy, are the Trustees of the Bounty of the Empire.
12. That the most High Court of Mercy, are the Trustees of the Merchant Seamen's Orphan Asylum.
13. That the most High Court of Mercy, are the Trustees of the Foundling Hospital, as regards Foundling Britons Act.
14. That the most High Court of Mercy, are Trustees for Promoting Peace Act.

And that these fourteen Enactments shall be, and are, law and Statute XVII. And whereas it is expedient on the advent of the new Millennium, to pass a Great Act of Mercy, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid :

1. That Capital Punishments are abolished.
2. That Penal settlements, such as Norfolk Island, are abolished.
3. That long solitary confinement is abolished.
4. That imprisonment for debt is abolished.
5. That the most High Court of Mercy, shall frame a law to replace punishments in the place of those which are hereby abolished, one year only to be allowed to frame the new law, subject to the approval of Parliament.

And that these five Enactments shall be, and are, law and Statute XVIII.

And whereas, it has pleased Almighty God, to multiply, and enrich the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of Great Britain, making it expedient to create new Professions, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid :—

1. That besides the three Professions of Divinity, Law and Medicine, of the Old Kingdom, the four Professions, namely, Sculpture, Architecture and Engineering, in its three branches, Civil, Military, and Steam, are and shall be Professions of the new Millennium.  
**SEVEN PROFESSIONS OF THE EMPIRE.**
2. That those who follow any of the *seven* Professions, are to be Gentlemen, provided they have got at least the lower degree in Peace College.
3. That a College shall be built in the country, within seven miles West of London, to be called *Peace College*.
4. That Peace College shall have at least two hundred thousand Sterling per Annum.

5. That there shall be a Church in Peace College.
6. That Peace College shall have a Chancellor, Professors, Masters and others, to teach Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and the three branches of Engineering, without any charge to the student on any pretence.
7. That Peace College shall have fit models, living and dead, open free to all students of a fit age.
8. That the authorities of Peace College shall grant degrees and other distinctions to all qualified by study, *free of charge*.
9. That during the twelve days of the four Great Feasts of the Empire, all dead Models in the Peace College shall be *open free to all comers*.
10. That Peace College shall teach the four new Professions only, and no more.

And that these ten Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.

**XIX.** And whereas the armed men of the Empire encounter danger ~~rich~~ no other men of the Empire encounter, which renders it expedient ~~at~~ they should enjoy rank, distinction and pay, different from the other ~~men~~ of the Empire : be it enacted by the authority aforesaid :—

- That besides the Imperial Marshals or Imperial Admirals and besides the Marshals of the Empire and the Admirals of the Empire the Empress may create in her own Imperial Family, there shall always be others as in this XIX. section.
1. That F. M. the Duke of Wellington shall be and is the Imperial Marshal, with an allowance of ten thousand pounds sterling per annum, and his heirs and successors for ever.
  2. That on all state occasions the Imperial Marshal shall bear the Standard of the Empire on a silver staff, near the Empress, he and his heirs and successors for ever.
  3. That in default of heirs to the Imperial Marshal, the last Imperial Marshal of the name of Wellesley shall appoint his successor to bear his name, to be the Imperial Marshal, with the allowance, and to carry the Standard of the Empire; subject to the approval of the Imperial Sovereign.
  4. That Earl Nelson shall be the Imperial Admiral, with an allowance of ten thousand pounds sterling, per annum, his heirs and successors for ever.
  5. That enactments 3 and 4 of XIX. section of Peace Act shall apply to the Imperial Admiral, except that the Imperial Admiral shall bear the Star of the Empire on a Gold Standard Staff, near the Empress.
  6. That six Marshals of the Empire shall be created, with an allowance of ten thousand pounds sterling per annum each, and that there shall always be six.
  7. That six Admirals of the Empire shall be created, with an allowance of ten thousand pounds sterling per annum each, and that there shall always be six.



9. That the body of any General, slain in battle for the Empire buried with proper honors in the Cathedral of the Empire where else, and he shall have a monument.
10. That the children of any armed man of the Empire, slain for the Empire, shall be educated and clothed and board Empire, according to the rank of their father, until fifteen age. They are THE CHILDREN OF THE EMPIRE.
11. That flogging is abolished in the Army of the Empire, except troops actually in an enemy's country, or in an expedition.
12. That flogging is abolished in the Imperial Navy, except actually in war, or in warlike cruizes.
13. That every regiment and every ship, actually engaged in have double the number of surgeons and assistant surgeons they had under the old Kingdom.
14. That there shall be the greatest promotion ever known among armed men of the Empire on the passing of the Peace Act.
15. That the pension or retiring allowance to every armed man of the Empire shall be increased one third more than it was under the old Kingdom.
16. That no armed man of the Empire shall retire with a less pension or allowance, than at the least one shilling per day.
17. That the time of service entitling to pension or allowance, shall be increased.
18. That no armed man of the Empire with pension, must leave the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland without leave.
19. That all armed men of the Empire, being privates or non-commissioned officers, with pension or allowance, are exempt from Rates, Assessed Taxes, and all other rates and taxes of the old Kingdom.
20. That the pensions to the widows of armed men of the Empire shall be increased one-third more than they were under the old Kingdom.
21. That medals shall be granted to every child of an armed man of the Empire, slain in defence of the Empire.
22. That the orphan children, of every armed man of the Empire while in the service of the Empire, shall be *Children of the Empire* as much as if their fathers had been slain in defence of the Empire.
23. That the enactments in this XIXth Section shall apply to all men, and all that have been armed, or that shall be armed, and their widows and orphans and children.

And that these twenty-three Enactments shall be, and are lawful.

XX. And whereas it is expedient to celebrate the great deeds of the valiant men of the old kingdom, out of which, by God's blessing, the Empire of Peace arises: be it enacted by the authority aforesaid

1. That a new military order is created, and named the **ORDER OF THE EMPIRE**.

2. That every man who bore arms in defence of the kingdom, and can prove that he was actually in a battle or engagement before the 18th day of July, 1815, shall be, and is, a *Hero of the Empire*.
3. That as the first Heroes of the Empire die, their places shall be taken by others, worthy, who shall be *Heroes of the Empire*.
4. That as the first heroes die, the number of Heroes of the Empire shall be one thousand Soldiers, and one thousand Sailors, and no more.
5. That of the one thousand Soldiers, five hundred shall be privates or non-commissioned officers; and of the one thousand Sailors, five hundred shall be seamen or non-commissioned officers.
6. That a book shall be kept, recording fully the whole particulars of the life of every *Hero of the Empire*; and always open to be read in the Hall of the Empire: the book to be named the Great Book of Heroes of the Empire.
7. That every Hero of the Empire shall wear on his left breast the Star of the Empire.
8. That the Star of the Empire shall be at least six inches in diameter, with gold and silver rays; the
 

Army, Scarlet centre	}	with PRACE
Navy, Blue centre	}	in Silver, Roman.

 with a mark above the star, showing the rank of the hero, if of any rank.
9. That the Stars of the departed Heroes of the Empire shall be put up in the Hall of the Empire, in glass cases, with name and rank of the departed hero, and a Number referring to his life in the Great Book of Heroes.
10. That the graves of all Heroes of the Empire shall be every year strewed with flowers, as provided in Schedule B, of Peace Act.
11. That every Hero of the Empire, entitled to a pension, shall have at the least *two shillings* a day.

And that these eleven Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.

XXI. And whereas the Nobility and Gentry are the Pillars of the State, and the Yeomen and the Labourers are the base on which the pillars rest, which it is expedient to keep from decay: be it enacted by the authority aforesaid:—

1. That two acres of cleared land fenced in, with a substantial brick-built house, with three rooms and conveniences, is, in the United Kingdom and Ireland, a Yeomanry of Land.
2. That five acres of cleared land fenced in, with a substantial built house, with three rooms and conveniences, is, in any British Possession, a Yeomanry of Land.
3. That any Briton holding a freehold Yeomanry of Land shall be, and is, a Yeoman of the Empire.
4. That any Briton paying annually a part of the purchase money of a Yeomanry of Land, shall be, and is, a Yeoman.

5. That any Briton of the age of eighteen years, or more annually part of the purchase money of a Yeomanry of Land.
6. That one hundred pounds sterling, divided into forty payments of fifty shillings each year, shall be, and is, the full money of a Yeomanry of Land in the United Kingdom and Ireland.
7. That eighty pounds, sterling, divided into forty yearly payments of forty shillings each year shall be, and is, the full money of a Yeomanry of Land in any British Possession in the United Kingdom and Ireland.
8. That no Yeoman, or Yeoman of the Empire, shall have a Yeomanry of Land before he has fully paid for the same as he had before.
9. That Yeomanries of Land are not for speculation, but justly divided among the Labourers and others, being Britons.
10. That a Yeoman may pay one or more payments in advance, and have, discount for prompt payment.
11. That any Yeoman, or Yeoman of the Empire, who has ten Armed Men of the Empire, shall hold one Yeomanry of Land rent free, during the time that his ten Sons actually live in the Empire, and such time shall count as payment towards a Yeomanry of Land.
12. That in every County of the United Kingdom and Ireland, every Port of the Empire, an Officer shall be appointed named the Registrar of Yeomanries.
13. That the Registrar of Yeomanries shall purchase Land, and the Land purchased, with the money paid, and verified by the Signatures of Two Magistrates living near the Land purchased.
14. That the Registrar of Yeomanries shall clear, fence, and divide the land purchased into Yeomanries of Land.
15. That the Registrar of Yeomanries shall cause a substantial building, with, at least, three rooms and conveniences, to be erected on every Yeomanry of Land.
16. That the Registrar of Yeomanries shall sell all erections on land, at the time of purchasing, and put the money on credit of the Empire with the Documents of Proof.
17. That the Registrar of Yeomanries shall advertise the Yeomanry of Land for Sale.
18. That the Registrar of Yeomanries shall sell Yeomanries of Land to all and every Briton, according to his wish.
19. That the Registrar of Yeomanries shall give a receipt for the money paid by any Yeoman, with the number of the Yeomanry of Land, for which the money is paid.
20. That the production of the Registrar of Yeomanries' forty shillings or an extract from register, shall be, and is, a good and sufficient title for a Yeomanry of Land, in fee simple.

21. That the Registrar of Yeomanries shall keep the register always open, and allow searching, and give extracts from register, for nothing.
22. That on giving notice to the Registrar of Yeomanries a Yeoman may sell his Yeomanry by public sale or private contract, the purchaser to be bound to pay the annual payments on the Yeomanry.
23. That a Yeoman may raise money on his Yeomanry, but must Register such raising of money in the Register.
24. That the Registrar of Yeomanries shall give security to the Empire for his fidelity, to the amount of five thousand pounds, sterling, in a Guarantee Society.
25. That the Registrar of Yeomanry shall keep books and accounts always open to inspection and extract by any British subject, free of charge.
26. That a General Registrar of Yeomanries shall be appointed to keep a general register of all the Yeomanries of the Empire, with every particular thereof.
27. That the General Register shall be kept in the hall of the Empire, open to all British subjects to read or extract from, free of charge.
28. That all Registrars of Yeomanries shall send copies of the entries of the day every day to the General Registrar, who shall keep such copies posted up daily in the General Register.
29. That if any dispute arise between any Yeoman of the Empire or any Yeoman and the Empire, about a Yeomanry, and there be any doubt in the judge or jury trying the cause, the Yeoman of Empire or Yeoman to have benefit of doubt.
30. That the widow of a Yeoman, having the Yeomanry of her deceased husband, may lessen the yearly payments to one-third, by lengthening the time of the yearly payments.
31. That the heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns of a Yeoman shall have the Yeomanry, according to the will of the Yeoman, and without injury to the Empire.
32. That the most High Court of Mercy shall appoint the General Registrar and the Registrars of Yeomanries.
33. That the most High Court of Mercy shall appoint Visitors and Auditors, to examine the accounts of the General Registrar and the Registrars of Yeomanries.
34. That the most High Court of Mercy shall watch over and guide justly the working of XXI. Section of Peace Act, and act as PROTECTORS of *Yeomen of the Empire*, and Yeomen and their WIDOWS, and also their CHILDREN, and especially their ORPHANS, until eighteen years of age.

And that these thirty-four Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.

XXII. And whereas it is expedient to settle the hours of labour, and the labour of men and of children, which have become long and

wearisome, both to body and mind : be it enacted by the authority aforesaid :—

1. That the legal hours for presenting bills of Exchange for acceptance and for payment, shall be, and are from ten o'clock in the morning until four o'clock in the afternoon.
2. That all Notaries may present bills of Exchange for acceptance and for payment, as under the Old Kingdom
3. That no one under seven years of age shall work at all.
4. That no one under ten years of age, shall do any manner of work in any kind of mine.
5. That no one under ten years of age may work more than eight hours a day.
6. That Clerks, Mechanics, Artisans and others, may work ten hours a day, and no more than ten hours a day.
7. That the banking hours are from ten to four o'clock only, instead of from nine to five, as formerly.
8. That all Counting-houses Warehouses, Shops and such places, shall begin to close at half-past five o'clock, and close entirely at six o'clock in the evening.
9. That none of these eight enactments shall apply to Husbandry work, which is excepted.

And that these nine Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.

XXIII. And whereas ignorance has produced, does produce, and will produce Crime, which it is acceptable to God and man to diminish : be it enacted by the authority aforesaid :—

1. That Schools shall be erected throughout Great Britain and Ireland and Schoolmasters appointed, at the expence of the Empire.
2. That in the Schools Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic shall be taught, *for nothing, to all comers.*
3. That in the Schools *Christianity* shall be taught, for nothing, to Children, according to the wish of their Parents
4. That the Schools shall be open and teaching go on, for two hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon, every day in the week.
5. That besides the four hours every day, the Schools shall be open for two hours in the evening of every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday.
6. That from time to time other things shall be taught in the Schools of the Empire, by order of the Most High Court of Mercy.
7. That from time to time the Schools of the Empire shall be extended throughout the whole Empire, by order of the Most High Court of Mercy.

And that these seven Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.

XXIV. And whereas it is expedient to lessen the charge on passenger traffic on Railways in the United Kingdom of Great Britain

1 Ireland, without diminishing their profits : be it enacted by the authority aforesaid :—

That with every Train, day or night, on every Railway in the United Kingdom and Ireland, a train of covered-in carriages shall proceed on every Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, and charge at the rate of one halfpenny per person, per mile, and no more.

That with every Train, day or night, on every Railway in the United Kingdom and Ireland, a train of covered-in carriages shall proceed on every Saturday and Monday, and charge at the rate of one farthing per person, per mile, and no more.

That with every Train, day or night, on every Railway of the United Kingdom and Ireland, a train of covered-in carriages shall proceed on each and every one of the twelve days of the four Great Feasts of the Empire, and charge at the rate of one farthing per person, per mile, and no more.

That the Cheap Trains, day and night, shall proceed to and from, and stop at, all the Stations, with all the regular day and night Trains.

That the Cheap Trains shall carry all who apply, day or night.

That all Railways in Great Britain and Ireland, paying a *bona fide* dividend of at least 5 per cent., may grant Policies of Life, Fire, Marine, and Guarantee Insurance.

That all Railways in Great Britain and Ireland, paying a *bona fide* dividend of 3 per cent., at least, may supply, at a moderate charge, fair water to all houses along their lines and branches, and at all the ends of their lines and branches.

And that these seven Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.

XXV. And whereas Game Laws lead to Poaching and Poaching to Crime, which it is expedient to prevent : be it enacted by the authority aforesaid :—

That the Game Laws are abolished.

That Deer, not wild, but in parks, or enclosures, are subject to the same laws as sheep.

And that these two Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.

XXVI. And whereas it is expedient, for the glory of God and the satisfaction of the Empire, to settle who is a Briton : be it enacted by the authority aforesaid :—

That every person born in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and their descendants, are *Britons*.

That all *Christian* British subjects are *Britons*.

That all men who shall, or do, bear arms in defence of the Empire, are *Britons*.

And that these three Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.

XXVII. And whereas it is expedient to give rights to a Briton, besides those rights which he had under the Old Kingdom : be it enacted by the authority aforesaid :—

1. That a Briton must not be executed.
2. That a Briton must not be sent to a penal settlement.
3. That a Briton must not be imprisoned for debt.
4. That a Briton must not be tortured by long solitary confinement, or in any other way.
5. That a Briton, when punished for a crime, shall be taught some useful calling.
6. That a Briton has a right to be taught Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, at the cost of the Empire.
7. That a Briton must be taken by sea from any Imperial Port to any Port of the Empire, free of charge.
8. That a Briton must be taken by sea from any Port of the Empire to any Imperial Port, free of charge.
9. That a Briton may go in or out of the Sacred Places, or any part of them, at any time, day or night, free of charge.
10. That a Briton must have a Yeomanry of Land, with a house and conveniences upon it, whenever he wishes, according to this Peace Act

And that these ten Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.

XXVIII. And whereas the good King Alfred the Great, the establisher, under God, of the kingdom of England, leaves in his last will and testament, fifty pounds to the poor Ministers of God, and fifty pounds to the distressed poor, which noble example it is expedient to follow: be it enacted by the authority aforesaid:—

1. That the sum of fifty pounds sterling shall be annually paid to every one of a thousand poor Ministers of the Church of England, or their Widows or Orphans, and it shall be called **KING ALFRED'S BOUNTY**.
2. That the sum of twenty-five pounds sterling shall be annually paid to every one of two thousand poor blind British subjects, and it shall be called **KING ALFRED'S BOUNTY**.

And that these two Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.

XXIX. And whereas the Empire is vastly rich, and Writers who teach the People are mostly poor, and a regular prey for the crafty, which makes it expedient to provide for their latter days: be it enacted by the authority aforesaid:—

1. That the sum of two hundred pounds sterling shall be annually paid to every one of five hundred poor Writers, or their widows, being fifty years of age or more, and it shall be called the **BOUNTY OF THE EMPIRE**.
2. That the *Bounty of the Empire* must not be given to Fellows of Colleges, Clergymen, Military or Naval Officers, Government Clerks, or any person otherwise provided for by the Empire, but to *Writers only*.
3. That Writers shall and does mean Authors, Editors of Periodicals, Editors of Newspapers, Sub-Editors of Newspapers, Reporters of Newspapers, Sub-Reporters of Newspapers, and all such people as get their living by writing for publications.

4. That the Bounty of the Empire shall be paid in secret to the Writers, and at any time that may suit them, that they may not be hunted and preyed upon in their latter days.

And that these four Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.

XXX. And whereas Merchant Seamen encounter dangers greater than those encountered by other men, and yet necessary for the preservation of the Empire of Peace, which makes it expedient to provide for their young Orphan Children : be it enacted by the authority aforesaid :—

1. That a *Merchant Seaman's Orphan Asylum* shall be built near Greenwich, in Kent.
2. That fifty thousand pounds sterling shall be annually paid to the said Asylum.
3. That all young Orphan Children of Merchant Seamen, being Britons, shall be admitted into the said Asylum, and remain there until fifteen years of age.
4. That the Orphan Children so admitted, shall be taught Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Navigation, and Christianity.
5. That the Orphan Children so admitted, shall be lodged, boarded, taught, and clothed at the expense of the Empire.
6. That both male and female children shall be admitted.

And that these six Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.

XXXI. And whereas the master desire of the sexes often leads to fearful crime, which it is expedient, if possible, to prevent : be it enacted by the authority aforesaid :—

1. That fifty thousand pounds, sterling, shall be annually paid to the *Foundling Hospital*, in trust for Foundlings, being Britons.
2. That the Foundling Hospital shall erect a branch Foundling Hospital, in the country, within ten miles of London.
3. That all Foundlings shall be admitted and received, and taught, and provided for.

And that these three Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.

XXXII. And whereas it is expedient that Widows, Orphans, and the Poor shall have speedy Justice : be it enacted by the authority aforesaid :—

1. That all Judges on Circuit, shall first call on the causes of Widows, Orphans, and the Poor, and their causes shall be first heard and determined.
2. That all Judges on Circuit, after the causes of Widows, Orphans, and the Poor are heard and determined, shall call on the causes of the Yeomen, and of the Yeomen of the Empire, and they shall be next heard and determined.

And that these two Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.

XXXIII. And whereas it is expedient, for the Glory of God and for the good of man, to bind all parts of the Empire of Peace and of all the British to the United Kingdom, and the United Kingdom to all parts



of the Empire of Peace and of all the British, by the strong ties of Religion, Love, and Interest: be it enacted by the authority aforesaid:—

1. That the Port and City of London shall be, and is, the *First Imperial Port*.
2. That the Port of Liverpool, in Lancashire, shall be, and is, the *Second Imperial Port*; and the Mayor shall be, and is, Lord Mayor of Liverpool.
3. That the following twenty-two Ports and Places shall be, and are, *Ports of the Empire*, namely:—
 

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Halifax, Nova Scotia</li> <li>2. Quebec</li> <li>3. Montreal</li> <li>4. Port Royal, Jamaica</li> <li>5. Bridgtown, Barbadoes</li> <li>6. Demerara, British Guiana</li> <li>7. Cape Town</li> <li>8. Algoa Bay</li> <li>9. Port Louis, Mauritius</li> <li>10. Bombay</li> <li>11. Cutche, Gulf of Cutche</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>12. Aden</li> <li>13. Colombo</li> <li>14. Calcutta</li> <li>15. Hong Kong</li> <li>16. Swan River</li> <li>17. Port Adelaide</li> <li>18. Sydney</li> <li>19. Victoria, North Australia</li> <li>20. Port Nicholson, Cook's</li> <li>21. Launceston [Straits]</li> <li>22. Hobart Town</li> </ol>
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4. That at least *one new Port of the Empire* shall be made every year.
5. That every Port of the Empire shall have a Public Park or Place.
6. That every Port of the Empire shall have a Sacred Place, with a *Hall of the Port* and a *Cathedral*, open free to all.
7. That every Port of the Empire shall have a Governor and a Garrison.
8. That every Port of the Empire shall have a Bishop of the Church of England, with an allowance of at least two thousand pounds, sterling, a year.
9. That every Port of the Empire shall have a Lord Mayor and Corporation, by Imperial and Royal Charter.
10. That every Port of the Empire shall have an Hospital for the sick,  
OPEN FREE TO ALL COMERS.
11. That every Port of the Empire shall have an annual gift from the old Kingdom of some historical work of art, to place in the Hall of the Port or the Cathedral.
12. That Schools, Lecture Rooms, and proper places for public teaching, shall be opened in every Port of the Empire.
13. That every town or place in every British Colony, having at least two thousand Britons, inhabitants, shall, on application, have an Imperial and Royal Charter, and a Corporation.
14. That free ships shall depart from the First Imperial Port for all and every Port of the Empire, the first day of every month.
15. That free ships shall depart from the Second Imperial Port for all and every Port of the Empire, the fifteenth day of every month.
16. That free ships shall depart from all and every Port of the Empire, for First Imperial Port, the first day of every month.

17. That free ships shall depart from all and every Port of the Empire, for Second Imperial Port, the fifteenth day of every month.
18. That if one free ship will not conveniently carry all who apply for a free passage, out or home, other free ships must depart at once, the same day, namely, first or fifteenth of every month.
19. That no delay may arise, other free ships to be always ready, beyond the usual number required.
20. That the first and fifteenth day of every month are days of departure, wind and weather permitting, but no other delay allowed on any pretence whatsoever.
21. That free steam ships, or sailing ships, either may go the out and home voyages at first.
22. That free steam ships only shall, in due time, go the out and home voyages.
23. That Fuel Stations shall be arranged, combining prompt assistance to Military Stations, with despatch in voyage.
24. That Stations of rendezvous shall be appointed, that the free ships may keep company and assist each other in peril.
25. That every free ship shall carry the full number of naval commissioned Officers, and one-third of full crew of able seamen of Imperial Navy.
26. That the power of the Captain and a board of four commissioned officers is absolute, according to the laws of the Empire, during voyage.
27. That every free ship shall carry arm chests and amunition for full crew of Imperial navy.
28. That every Briton has a right to a free passage from the Imperial Ports to the Ports of the Empire, and from the Ports of the Empire to the Imperial Ports: no questions to be asked, and no objections made to any BRITON'S FREE PASSAGE.
29. That every Briton has a right fo a free passage to and from fuel stations, and ports touched at.
30. That Britons on free passage, shall be allowed the fare of the ship's company only.
31. That every Briton, male or female, young or old, shall be allowed on free passage, freight or stowage for half a ton weight or measure, or made up of both weight and measure, on voyage out or home.
32. That Britons taking a free passage, must not be charged any fee before they depart, during voyage, or after arrival, on any pretence whatsoever.
33. That every Briton taking free passage of the age of eighteen years or upwards, must bear arms and defend the ships if ordered by the captain, during the voyage.
34. That Steam Vessels with beacon lights, shall be stationed at a distance of ten miles apart, from Scilly to the Coast of Ireland, and from Scilly to the Coast of France, to guide and direct the free passage ships of the Empire, out and home.

35. That any proprietor or proprietors of Imperial Stock may issue Notes to half the amount of Imperial Stock standing in their name or names in the Books of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, to circulate in the Ports of the Empire and British Colonies, and to be called Notes of the Empire.
36. That the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, in consideration for issuing and managing the Notes of the Empire, may open Branch Banks in all the Ports of the Empire and British Colonies.
37. That all Notes of the Empire must be registered in every particular, and the register kept *open free to all* during banking hours, in the Hall of the Bank of England, and in all the shops of all the branches of the Bank of England in the Empire.
38. That Notes of the Empire are payable in coin of the Empire and Realm at and in the Bank of England, in London, and the Branch of the Bank of England, at Liverpool, only.
39. That the Governor and Company of the Bank of England must retain money out of sales of Imperial Stock to the full amount of Notes of the Empire, actually issued by the seller or sellers, and pay the Notes of the Empire.
40. That the Governor and Company of the Bank of England must advertise, on the first day of every month and all the month, in all the shops of all their banks and branches in the Empire, full particulars of all the Notes of the Empire that are to be paid off, and for which they have kept the money out of sales of Imperial Stock; the advertisement *open to all comers free*.
41. That after Notes of the Empire have been advertised, one clear year, and not paid, then the said Notes to be put in another book, marked **CONDEMNED NOTES**; and if the Notes of the Empire, in the book of **CONDEMNED NOTES**, are not called for and paid during one clear year, then the said Notes of the Empire to be forfeited, and the money stopped by the Governor and Company of the Bank of England to be paid to the issuer of the said *forfeited Notes*, or to their representatives.
42. That the Book of **CONDEMNED NOTES**, or copies thereof, shall be in the Hall of the Empire, in the Halls of the Ports of the Empire, in the Hall of the Bank of England, and in the Shops of all the Branches of the Bank of England in the Empire, **OPEN FREE TO ALL COMERS**.

And that these forty-two Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.

**XXXIV.** And whereas it has pleased Almighty God, to raise up among men a Pastoral Race, an Agricultural Race, a Commercial Race, and, finally, is raising up a Peaceful and Happy Race, which out of the first three is fast coming, and for which the Empire of Peace is preparing the way; and so it is expedient that the Peace Act should not be a **Peace Statute**: be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, and in the very words of King Alfred the Great, *I do entreat, in the name of the living God, that no man do, by any means, obstruct any enactment of this Peace Act.*

1. That the most High Court of Mercy shall, by letter, admonish any offender to any enactment of Peace Act to cease to offend; and if their letter be disregarded, then the offender shall be called before them and publicly admonished.
2. That if after six clear months from the passing of Peace Act, letters and admonitions fail, then the most High Court of Mercy shall frame laws to carry fully out the Peace Act; the laws to be submitted to Parliament.

And that these two Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.

XXXV. And whereas it is expedient to satisfy the Empire, by a Declaration of the works to be done and carried out by and within the Empire: be it enacted by the authority aforesaid:—

1. That from time to time, and at favorable times, the following seven articles shall be fully carried out, namely,—

2. That Christianity shall be spread among, and taught to, all British subjects.
3. That a moral code of Laws, according to the Gospel, shall be framed and administered
4. That free trade, free banking, and free enterprise shall be established.
5. That the whole Empire shall be drained, and its rivers and streams confined to narrow but navigable bounds.
6. That Railways, Roads, Light Houses, Piers, Harbours, Docks, Bridges, Canals, and other public works, shall be bought up by the Empire, and new ones constructed, and all given free for the use of all British subjects.
7. That Churches shall be built in all the Colonies of the Empire, and opened free to all British subjects.
8. That these mighty works shall be slowly and steadily proceeded with from age to age for ever.

And that these eight Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.

XXXVI. And whereas that truly great man, William Spencer Cavendish, Duke of Devonshire, has by his Collection at Chatsworth magnified God, and done much honour to the old Kingdom, which it is expedient to publicly acknowledge: be it enacted by the authority aforesaid:—

1. That William Spencer Cavendish, Duke of Devonshire, shall be, and is, *Grand Conservator of all the Sacred Places of the Empire*, he and his heirs and successors for ever.
2. That the Grand Conservator shall, on all State occasions, bear a Gold Standard Staff with cross pieces above the hand entwined with the Rose, Shamrock, and the Thistle, mingled with all the flowers natural to all British possessions.

3. That in default of heirs of the great name of Cavendish, the last Grand Conservator of that name shall appoint some worthy person to bear the great name of Cavendish, and be Grand Conservator; such appointment subject to the approval of the Imperial Sovereign.

And that these three Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.

XXXVII. And whereas Benjamin D'Israeli, Esq. boldly and without fear or shame, declared in the House of Commons the coming Empire, which it is expedient to commemorate, and also to appoint Heralds and other officers of the Empire: be it enacted by the authority aforesaid:—

1. That Benjamin D'Israeli, Esq. shall be, and is, *High Herald of the Empire*, his heirs and successors for ever, with the style and title of Lord, by courtesy; and his married lady, and the married ladies of future High Heralds, the style and title of Lady, by courtesy, for ever.
2. That the High Herald of the Empire shall have and receive five thousand pounds sterling, per annum, for ever.
3. That under the High Herald of the Empire there shall be, and are, twelve Heralds, and eight Pursuivants of the Empire.

#### HERALDS OF THE EMPIRE.

1. Ocean	7. British Channel
2. Pacific	8. Ganges
3. Atlantic	9. Indus
4. Indian	10. St. Lawrence
5. North Sea	11. Thames
6. Irish Sea	12. Hunter

#### PURSUIVANTS OF THE EMPIRE.

1. Steam	5. Ship
2. Printing	6. Engine
3. Magnet	7. Wheel
4. Gunpowder	8. Rudder

4. That the High Herald of the Empire shall write in *pure Saxon English*, like the Peace Act, the lives of the twelve Founders of the Empire.
5. That the High Herald of the Empire shall write, in *pure Saxon English*, the Great Book of Heroes of the Empire, and the book shall be kept up by future High Heralds, as future heroes depart.
6. That the High Herald of the Empire, the Heralds, the Pursuivants, and Assistants shall keep, in *pure Saxon English*, the Book of Britons, being a register of all Britons, and they shall grant Britons' Certificates to all comers, being Britons, **FREE FOR NOTHING.**
7. That liberal allowances shall be paid by the Empire to the Heralds, the Pursuivants, and their assistants.
8. That the High Herald of the Empire shall have the appointment of the Heralds of the Empire and of the Pursuivants; subject to the approval of the Imperial Sovereign.

And that these eight Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.

**XXXVIII.** And whereas it is expedient that the great deeds, and great names, yea, and the very faces of the great men, the Founders of the Empire, should be known and honored, and beloved through all time: be it enacted by the authority aforesaid :—

**That the great names of the Imperial Family, namely, Her Most Gracious Majesty Victoria, and His Royal Highness Prince Albert, and their eldest son, His Royal Highness Albert Prince of Wales, are three of the great names of the Empire.**

**That the Duke of Wellington, and the late Horatio Lord Viscount Nelson, are two of the great names of the Empire.**

**That the five Most High Lords of Mercy, namely, Lords Brougham, Denman, Lyndhurst, Cottenham, and Campbell, are five of the great names of the Empire.**

**That the truly honorable name of Peel is one of the great names of the Empire.**

**That the name of Cavendish, Grand Conservator of all the Sacred Places of the Empire, is one of the great names of the Empire.**

**That these twelve great names shall be constantly kept up, and never depart the Empire.**

**That the lives of the twelve great Founders of the Empire shall be written in *pure Saxon English*, and with Peace Act, be used next to the Bible as class book of all schools in the Empire.**

**That twelve portraits, as large as life and no larger, shall be painted of the twelve great ones, bearing the twelve great names; and the portraits perpetually renewed, for ever.**

**That the twelve portraits of the twelve great names shall be carried on gold standard staves, on all state occasions of the Empire, by the Heralds, for ever and ever.**

**That the twelve great names of the Empire must not be added to, or taken from, but remain from age to age the same twelve, for ever; they are the twelve great Founders of the Empire of Peace and of all the British.**

**That the twelve Founders of the Empire shall be, and are, trustees and visitors of Peace College, they and their successors for ever.**

**And that these eleven Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.**

**XXXIX.** And whereas it is expedient to enclose and plant and make a Park on the south side of the Thames, as near as may be to London, for the recreation of the people: be it enacted by the authority aforesaid :—

**That Her Majesty's Commissioners of Woods and Forests shall enclose, and plant, and make a Park south of the Thames, near London, which shall be, and is, named *Albert Park*.**

**That Albert Park shall be free to the people, as Victoria Park now is. And that these two Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.**

**XL.** And whereas it is expedient that Britons should be men as their fathers were, and not milksoys: be it enacted by the authority aforesaid :—

1. That the following seven sports shall be, and are, the **SEVEN SPORTS OF THE EMPIRE**, namely :—

- |                          |                   |
|--------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Boxing, in the Muffle | 5. Steeple Chases |
| 2. Wrestling             | 6. Sailing        |
| 3. Hunting               | 7. Rowing         |
| 4. Racing                |                   |

2. That the following seven sports shall be, and are, the *lesser Sports of the Empire*, namely,—

- |                         |                 |
|-------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Shooting             | 5. Broad Sword  |
| 2. Shooting at a Target | 6. Small Sword  |
| 3. Shooting from a Trap | 7. Single Stick |
| 4. Cricketing           |                 |

3. That matches shall be made up by the Empire during the four great Feasts of the Empire, in all the sports of the Empire, and in all the lesser sports.
4. That the prizes of the Empire, to be given at the Feasts of the Empire, shall be worthy of the Empire and of the competitors.
5. That in Regent's, Victoria, and in Albert Park, theatres shall be built, and open free, wherein Boxing in the Muffle, and Wrestling, with the lesser sports, shall be practised very frequently; as the *accursed knife* must be driven out of the Empire of Peace.
6. That in Regent's, Victoria, and in Albert Park, Shooting Galleries shall be built, and ground marked out for Shooting from the Trap and for Cricketing, all to be free for public use.

And that these six Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.

**XLI.** And whereas the hours of labour of the people being diminished, it becomes expedient to provide amusement for the people, lest they become exceeding depraved and offend God: be it enacted by the authority aforesaid :—

1. That the British Museum shall be open free every work-day evening, from seven to ten o'clock, and lighted with gas.
2. That the officers of the British Museum, from the lowest up, shall have their salaries and allowances increased one-third more than they had under the old kingdom
3. That all future erections of, or in the British Museum, shall be of stone, iron, metal, or glass only, and that as speedily as may be after the passing of this act, all wood and other material that will burn, that is in any part of the building, or any of the fittings, fixtures, tables, or chairs in the British Museum shall be removed, and their places supplied by others of iron or metal only.
4. That the National Gallery shall be lighted up, and open the same, as the British Museum.

- That the Zoological Gardens in the Regent's Park, and the Surrey Zoological Gardens shall be lighted up and open the same as the British Museum, and at the cost of the Empire.
- That all the Exhibitions of all sorts, all Theatres, and all various places of amusement, in or near London, shall be opened free on the twelve days of the four Great Feasts of the Empire, from seven to ten o'clock in the evening, at the cost of the Empire.
- That all Clergymen, Magistrates, and all others whatsoever, are hereby called upon and ordered to assist in every way to amuse the people by promoting the six enactments foregoing, and by forming Libraries, to be opened free, from seven to ten o'clock every work-day evening.

That these seven Enactments are to extend to the whole of the Empire, as much as to the first Imperial Port, and to be steadily carried out, and extended throughout the whole of the Empire of Peace, that Britons and British Subjects may not offend God.

And that these eight Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.

**XLII.** And whereas the first principle of the Empire of Peace is, that the Empire shall build sacred places wherein to magnify God, and to show all his works, which it is expedient to carry out: be it enacted by the authority aforesaid:—

- That Hyde Park, Kensington Gardens, the Green Park, St. James's Park, and the Royal Gardens, at Kew, in Surrey, shall be solemnly consecrated to God, and the whole shall form one sacred place, to be laid out as directed in Schedule A. at the end of Peace Act, and called **THE SACRED PLACE OF THE EMPIRE.**
- That other lesser sacred places shall, from time to time, be formed throughout the whole Empire.

And that these two Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.

**XLIII.** And whereas it is expedient to establish Feasts for the recreation of the people: be it enacted by the authority aforesaid:—

- That there shall be, and are, **FOUR GREAT FEASTS OF THE EMPIRE,** besides the Feasts of the old Kingdom.
- That the first Great Feast of the Empire is Spring Feast, being the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, next after the week in which the first day of May falls.
- That the second Great Feast is Peace Feast, being the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, next after the week in which the nineteenth day of June falls, Magna Charta day.
- That the third Great Feast is Harvest Feast, being the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, next after the week in which the first day of September falls.

That the fourth Great Feast is Christmas Feast, being the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, next after the week in which Christmas-day falls.



6. That ground shall be let free for Fairs, during all the twelve days of the four Great Feasts, in the Regent's Park, Victoria Park, and Albert Park.
7. That all Bills and Acceptances that would fall due on the Monday, Tuesday, or Wednesday of any one or all of the four Great Feasts of the Empire, shall be, and are, due on the Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, respectively following, and not before; that is to say, Monday's bills, due Thursday; Tuesday's bills, due Friday; Wednesday's bills, due Saturday; and not before, in the weeks of the four Great Feasts of the Empire. And no bills shall be left for acceptance, or called for from acceptance, during the twelve days of the four Great Feasts of the Empire.
8. That there shall be, and are, three UNCERTAIN FEASTS OF THE EMPIRE.
  1. The Christening of the King of England, by courtesy.
  2. The day on which the King of England, by courtesy, is eighteen years of age.
  3. The day on which the King of England, by courtesy, is crowned Emperor of Peace and of all the British.
9. That due notice shall be given at all the Ports of the Empire, and all the remote regions thereof, of the day on which the three uncertain Feasts are to be held; and one hundred tuns of XX Ale shall be sent, in time for the drinking thereof on the days of the three uncertain Feasts, when it shall be given away in the Ports of the Empire, free to all sober comers.
10. That one thousand tuns of XX Ale shall be given away in each of the two Imperial Ports, on each of the three uncertain Feasts of the Empire, free to all sober comers.
11. That the XX Ale shall be supplied and sent at the cost of the Empire; and the Feasts held all over the Empire.

And that these eleven Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.

XLIV. And whereas it is expedient to establish ceremonies, clearly showing reverence to God, and offering peace and love, and good will to man: be it enacted by the authority aforesaid:—

1. That the five ceremonies in Schedule B. are the five to be done during the four Great Feasts of the Empire.
2. That the ceremony of the twelve shall be done on every Wednesday, as set forth in Schedule B.
3. That three other ceremonies shall be done on the three uncertain Feasts, as may be found suitable.
4. That all the ceremonies in Schedule B. shall be done, as nearly as may be, in all the ports and parishes of the Empire.

And that these four Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.

XLV. And whereas it right well becomes all men to praise God and to set forth the benefits of Peace: be it enacted by the authority aforesaid:—

**That the song or praise in Schedule C shall be, and is, THE SONG OF THE EMPIRE.**

**That the Song of the Empire shall be set to music, and played frequently in the Hall of the Empire, and in all the Halls of the Ports of the Empire.**

**And that these two Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.**

**XLVI.** And whereas in order to preserve good will in the Empire, expedient to make other provisions: be it enacted by the authority resaid:—

**That Her Most Gracious Majesty shall enjoy all dignities, rights, royalties, and privileges whatsoever, as heretofore, besides those now provided in Peace Act; and make provision for the carrying out the Enactments of Peace Act, by Imperial and Royal Commission, or otherwise, according to the custom of the old Kingdom.**

**That Her Most Gracious Majesty shall determine what state dresses must be worn by all the officers created by Peace Act.**

**That no one shall lose by the Peace Act, any rank, dignity, or privilege held or enjoyed under the old Kingdom.**

**That no one shall suffer any wrong by passing Peace Act, but any one proving any wrong to the satisfaction of the Most High Court of Mercy, shall have fair satisfaction from the Empire.**

**That the Peace Act shall be construed and administered liberally, according to its liberal spirit.**

**That all allowances, and increased allowances whatsoever, under Peace Act, are free of all or any charges, or fees, whatsoever.**

**That all erections whatsoever, under Peace Act, shall be built of iron, or other metal, brick, stone, and glass, only.**

**That six clear months shall be allowed from the passing of Peace Act, to raise fifteen millions of pounds, sterling, by Peace Act, when all the provisions of this Peace Act shall begin and take full effect.**

**That the words Aristocrat, Democrat, and Pauper, shall not be used by Pulpit, Bench, or Bar, nor by any British subject, for they bring bad feeling, and may frustrate the object of Peace Act, which is to raise and bind together all British subjects.**

**That all British subjects must strive to promote peace and love, and goodwill throughout all the Empire, and the whole world.**

**And that these ten Enactments shall be, and are, law and lawful.**

**XLVII.** And whereas it is expedient to make a short summary of Peace Act: be it enacted by the authority aforesaid:—That this Peace Act contains only one title, one dedication, one author, one praise prayer, one short table of contents, one preamble, forty-eight sections, (one being declaration); three Schedules, namely, Schedules A., B. and C. containing one hundred and forty-three paragraphs, and in the sections

*three hundred and forty-two enactments; which shall be, and are, law and lawful, as much as if the three hundred and forty-two enactments had been enacted in three hundred and forty-two sections.*

XLVIII. And it shall come to pass that if the Imperial Family, and the Princes of the Empire, and the twelve Great Ones of the Empire, and the Nobility, the Gentry, and the Commonalty, with the Yeomen, and Labourers of the Empire, and all the people of the remote parts and regions of the Empire, will be faithful and true, and loving to each other, and to the Empire; that the Empire shall increase and multiply exceedingly, and wax strong and mighty, and cast down and utterly subdue all enemies; and the ocean and the earth shall kiss each other, and smile beneath, while the sun, moon, and all the stars shall dance and sing together, above and around the Empire of Peace, which is God's Empire, for it is based upon GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST; PEACE ON EARTH AND GOODWILL TOWARDS MEN.—AMEN.

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*Here follow Schedules A. B. & C.*

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# SCHEDULES A, B, & C.

## SCHEDULE A.

**Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens to be laid out as follows :—**

**Near the centre of Hyde Park, East of the Serpentine River, a Cathedral to be erected, and called the Cathedral of the Empire.**

**Near the Cathedral of the Empire a vast Hall to be erected, and called the Hall of the Empire.**

**Near the front, and between the two, a vast fountain of a Ship on Rocks to be erected, the water to flow round about and over the hull of the ship, and stream down the rocks, and to be called the Fountain of the Ship.**

**At the other end, and connecting the two, shall be a vast open cloister, to be called the Cloister.**

**Three vast Galleries, joined together, each to extend the whole length of Hyde Park into Kensington Gardens on the North side.**

**Three vast Galleries, each to extend in the same way on the South side.**

**The East ends of the six vast Galleries, to be connected by three vast Galleries.**

**The West ends of the six vast Galleries, to be connected by three vast Conservatory Galleries in Kensington Gardens, passing in a curved line close to the Basin on the East side.**

**The three West Conservatory Galleries, and the inner Gallery, North, South, and East, to form one vast Conservatory, with walks and drives throughout.**

**The two vast North, South, and East Galleries, being six vast Galleries, to be used thus :—(1 to 6)—**

1. Gallery for Sculpture of Man in all his varieties, now existing; and, as far as can be known, that ever did exist: exhibiting also his anatomy, his costumes, and his arts. Also to exhibit Great Works in Sculpture.
2. Gallery for Pictures, exhibiting a History of the Art.
3. Gallery for Models of all the Works of Art in the World, and of Natural Wonders, as "The Falls of Niagara," "Natural Bridge in Virginia." and so on.
4. Gallery.—A Library of all the Books and Manuscripts that can be collected.
- 5 and 6. A Collection of all the Animal Kingdom, alive or dead.

### **Of the Cathedral of the Empire.**

**The Cathedral of the Empire to be built after the model of the Cathedral by Sir Christopher Wren, kept in St. Paul's Cathedral; the dimensions to be all regulated by the dome, which shall be one diameter and a half of the dome of St. Paul's, in the city of London.**

13. The Hall of the Empire to be seven times as large as Westminster Hall, in the city of Westminster, and modelled exactly after Westminster Hall. The entrance to the Hall of the Empire to be formed of another Hall exactly the same size as, and modelled after, Westminster Hall, and called the Hall of the Kingdom. Fixed within the roofs of the Hall of the Kingdom and the Hall of the Empire, there shall be thousands of Banners of the Warriors of the Old Kingdoms, painted on sheet copper, and fixed to iron rods: they shall be kept up for ever.
14. On the right hand, on entering the Hall of the Kingdom, a Monument shall be placed, being a Group of Three, on a Pedestal,—Alfred the Great, with his noble Queen, dividing their last loaf with the Pilgrim. This is the first Monument of the Kingdom.
15. On the left hand, shall be a Group of Three on a Pedestal,—Judge Gascoigne Rebuking Prince Henry, and he delivering himself up to the Jailor. This is the second Monument of the Kingdom.
16. Within, and along both sides of the Hall of the Kingdom, shall be all the Kings of England from Ecbert, and all the Kings of Scotland from the same period. Oliver Cromwell shall be there, supported by John Milton and George Fox.
17. On the right hand, on entering the Hall of the Empire, there shall be a Monument of Twelve Figures supporting a slab, on which shall be a glorious group. The twelve supporting figures shall be—Nelson, Wellington, Peel, Duke of Devonshire, Anglesea, Collingwood, Hill, Hardy, Gough, Codrington, Hardinge, and Exmouth: and the group on the slab shall be—the Empress, the late Duke of Kent leaning on the back of her chair, Prince Albert, and all the royal children round about, as they are at the passing of the Peace Act. At the feet of the Empress shall be a silver-plated slab, on which shall be engraved the Rights of a Briton: and this is the first Monument of the Empire.
18. On the left hand, on entering the Hall of the Empire, there shall be a like Monument. The twelve figures shall be—Fortescue, Bacon, Blackstone, More, Hale, Coke, Somers, Raleigh, Burleigh, Pitt, Chatham, and Sheridan; and the group on the slab shall be—Brougham, Denman, Lyndhurst, Cottenham, and Campbell; and at their feet shall be a silver-plated slab, on which shall be engraved the Preamble of the first great Act of Mercy: and this is the Monument of Mercy, the second Monument of the Empire.
19. And at the end of the Hall of the Empire, opposite the entrance, there shall be a vast Stained Glass Window; and against the window, near the floor, but above the Imperial iron throne, there shall be a Monument of Five Figures—Christ on the Cross, and beneath him, Moses (from the Moses of Michael Angelo), and beneath Moses *the three Great Men of the Earth*, Confucius, Mahomet, and Shakespere, on one Pedestal: and this is the third Monument of the Empire.
20. And beneath the third Monument of the Empire, the Imperial throne shall be placed, all of iron plated with silver-plates, having

four steps; and to the right hand of the Imperial throne, shall be placed the throne of the King of England, by courtesy, of iron with silver plates, and three steps; and forward and right and left of these two thrones, shall be placed the thrones of the Imperial family, all of iron, with plates of silver plated, and two steps; and in a right line with the thrones of the Imperial family, but more forward, shall be the twenty thrones of the Princes of the Empire, ten on each side, all of silver plated iron, with one step.

and benches shall be placed for the Peers of the Empire, and all the Great Officers of the Empire and of the Kingdom, and for the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy; and the space taken in the Hall for the iron thrones and the benches shall be one-fourth, measuring from the stained glass window; and at the end of the fourth, and across the Hall, shall be placed an iron bar, plated with silver plates, and all without the bar belongs to the Commonalty; and near the bar, but without, shall be placed an iron table, thirty yards long and five yards wide, and on the table shall lie the Lives of the Twelve Founders of the Empire. And the Great Book of Heroes of the Empire, and these books, shall be always open to all comers. And in the Hall of the Empire there shall be fire-places, with benches and tables, according to the number of the counties in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland; one fire-place complete for every county, and fires shall be kept up from the 1st of September to the 30th of April, for ever. And the Hall of the Empire shall be lighted with gas. And all Newspapers and all Periodicals published in the world, shall be filed and open free. And the Hall shall be paved with blocks of wood.

and all the Figures in the Hall of the Empire and in the Hall of the Kingdom, shall be of Bronze metal, as large as life, and no larger.

and the South Tower of the Hall of the Empire, shall be called the Tower of the Twelve; in it, on the ground floor, shall be kept the twelve portraits of the Twelve Founders of the Empire: and the North Tower shall be called the Herald's Tower; in it, the Heralds, Pursuivants, and Assistants, shall keep the Book of Britons, being a Register of all Britons; and they shall grant Briton's Certificates to all comers, being Britons, FREE.

and the upper floors of the Tower of the Twelve, and the Tower of Heralds, shall be Observatories, in which observations on the sun, moon, and stars shall be made, and registered from age to age,—*open free to all.*

and the United Kingdom first, and then Ireland, and afterwards the whole Empire, and in process of time the whole Earth, and the Sea, shall be surveyed and laid down at the rate of twelve square inches to one square mile, the survey to be kept in the body of the Hall of the Empire,—*open free to all.*

and the whole of the Vegetable Kingdom, and the whole of the Animal Kingdom, in all and every one of their varieties, alive or dead, shall be in the Sacred Place of the Empire; all shall be

there—nothing must be forgotten : for God must and magnified greatly. And there shall be hundreds of d catalogues, and the whole shall be *open free to all*.

27. And where Kensington Palace now stands, there shall without the Sacred Place, an Imperial Palace ; it mus convenient, georgeous, and magnificent, alike worth greatest family, nation, and empire, that the sun ever ro
28. *Saint James's Park* and the Green Park shall be made into Winter Garden, or Conservatory ; and in St. James's P East end, there shall be Theatres and Lecture Rooms shall be given, from seven to ten o'clock every evening, on every branch of knowledge now known ; and hereaf thousands of branches of knowledge that shall yet be ma to man.—*Open free to all comers*.
29. *The Royal Gardens at Kew* shall be laid out as a vast Garden, with miles of Conservatory.—*Open free to all c*
30. And Ushers, Hall Keepers, Librarians, Gallery Keep Keepers, Gardeners, Watchers, and other officers shall be to guard and keep the Sacred Place of the Empire.
31. All the buildings, and fittings in the Sacred Place of th must be of stone, metal, and glass only.
32. There must be no swearing, gaming, or drunkenness in t Place of the Empire, for it is consecrated to God.
33. The Sacred Place of the Empire, and all parts thereof, always open day and night.—*Free to all comers*.

### **SCHEDULE B.**

34. *First*.—Ceremony on the Monday in Spring Feast.
35. The Imperial Sovereign, with all the High Officers of tl and Kingdom, to assemble in the Hall of the Empire, ar along the Cloister to Cathedral of Empire, to attend Divi during one hour ; then to return along the Cloister Empire, and take their thrones, benches, and places.
36. Trumpets sound a parley.
37. Then the Imperial Sovereign shall arise and say, in an au
38. I solemnly declare that I desire peace with all mankind.
39. Flourish of trumpets.
40. Then the Imperial Admiral shall declare, with a loud voi
41. The name or names of the new ports of the Empire.
42. Flourish of trumpets.
43. Then one of the most High Lords of Mercy shall declare,
44. The title of the Act of Mercy for the year.
45. Flourish of trumpets.
46. The Chorus of the Empire.

**The Ceremony shall close by the trumpets sounding an advance, signifying the advance of man.**

**Second.**—Ceremony on the Monday in Peace Feast.

**The great ones shall assemble in the Hall of the Empire, and proceed to Divine Service for one hour, and return as in first ceremony.**

**Trumpets sound a parley.**

**All being seated in Hall of Empire, the High Herald of the Empire, attended by the Heralds and Herald's Officers of the Kingdom and the Empire, shall open a volume of the Great Book of Heroes, and read therefrom for about twenty minutes.**

**Flourish of trumpets.**

**Pause.**

**Trumpets sound an advance.**

**Then the Imperial Sovereign, with all present in office, shall resort to the graves of the departed Heroes of the Kingdom and Empire in Westminster Abbey, and in the Cathedral of the Empire, and the Imperial Sovereign shall, with her own hand, cast garlands of flowers on the graves of the Heroes, and all present shall cast garlands on the graves of the Heroes; and they shall not be forgotten from age to age, and from generation to generation.**

**All depart in peace.**

**The Ceremony of Flowering the Graves of the Heroes, must be observed by all Parish Officers in the same way throughout the Empire.**

**Third.**—Ceremony on the Wednesday in Peace Feast.

**The great ones shall assemble in the Hall of the Empire, and proceed to Divine Service for one hour, as in first ceremony, and not return, but ascend to top of Cloister, the Imperial Sovereign seated in the midst, with all the Officers of the Kingdom and Empire round about her.**

**Trumpets sound a parley.**

**At twelve o'clock precisely, the Imperial Sovereign, and all the Clergy present, shall raise their hands and solemnly bless the Empire of Peace and all mankind.**

**Flourish of trumpets.**

**Then the Song of the Empire shall be played by musicians in the Cloister.**

**Trumpets sound an advance.**

**All depart in peace.**

**Fourth.**—Ceremony on the Monday in Harvest Feast.

**All to proceed from Hall of Empire to Cathedral of Empire, and return to Hall of Empire, as in Ceremony 1 and 2.**

**Flourish of trumpets.**

**Grand Conservator shall declare that the Gifts of God to the Empire are coming.**



70. Then one hundred Yeomen of the Empire, in ranks of ten, shall advance to the foot of the iron imperial throne, and make obeisance to the Imperial Sovereign.
1. Ten bearing Sheaves of Ripe Wheat.
  2. Ten bearing Sheaves of other Grain.
  - 3, 4, 5. Thirty bearing Fruits of the Empire.
  - 6, 7. Twenty bearing Manufactures.
  - 8, 9, 10. Thirty bearing Produce of the remote parts of the Empire.
71. Flourish of trumpets.
72. Grand Master of Steam Engine shall declare that the Steam Engine is coming.
73. Then one hundred Engineers shall advance in the same way, and make obeisance, each bearing some part of the Steam Engine, as—
1. Furnace Bar      2. Furnace Door      3. Boiler Plate
  4. Rivets          5. Water Gauge      6. Steam Gauge
  7. Safety Valve    8. Throttle Valve    9. Slide Valve
  10. Eccentric       11. Governor        12. Governor Band
  13. Piston          14. Piston Rod       15. Fly Wheel
  16. Crank—and so on for the 100
74. Flourish of trumpets.
75. Grand Master of the Mariner's Compass shall declare that the Ship is coming.
76. Then one hundred able Seamen of the Imperial Navy shall proceed in the same way, each bearing some part of a Ship, as—
1. Compass          2. Binnacle          3. Binnacle Lamp
  4. Sextant          5. Quadrant          6. Chronometer
  7. Gunter          8. Log Slate          9. Log Book
  10. Wheel           11. Tiller            12. Rudder
  13. Tiller Ropes    14. Block            15. Dead Eye
  16. Anchor—and so on for the 100.
77. Flourish of trumpets.
78. Grand Master of the Printing Press shall declare that the Printing Press is coming.
79. Then one hundred Printers shall proceed in the same way, each bearing some part of a Printing Press, as—
- 1 to 10. Bearing various Type      11. Stick
  12. Roller                              13. Ink Table End    14. Chase
  15. Lye Brush                          16. Pick Brush—and so on for the 100
80. Trumpets sound a parley.
81. Then the Imperial Prince Archbishop shall return thanks to God for his Gifts to the Empire and Man.
82. Chorus of Empire.
83. Trumpets sound an advance.
84. All depart in peace.
85. *Fifth.*—Ceremony on the Monday in Christmas Feast.
86. The Dedication of the Empire to God.

- . All to proceed from the Hall of the Empire to the Cathedral of the Empire, and return to the Hall of the Empire, as in Ceremony 1 and 2.

In the Cathedral of the Empire a solemn Prayer to be offered to God, Dedicating the Empire to Him; during which all who wear crowns shall deposit them on cushions, thus showing their humility: the same with mitres and other marks of office.

On the return from the Cathedral to the Hall of the Empire, the High Herald shall present a loving cup of fine gold to the Imperial Sovereign, who shall drink Peace and Plenty to the whole Empire and all mankind; and the loving cup shall pass to all on the iron thrones, and the High Herald shall drink of the loving cup, and what remains in the loving cup the High Herald shall pour out on the floor of the Hall of the Empire, in token of good will to man.

- . Flourish of trumpets.
- . Song of the Empire.
- . Trumpets sound an advance.
- All depart in peace.

- . *Sixth*.—The Ceremony of the twelve.

- . To be done on every Wednesday, at eleven o'clock in the morning, in the Hall of the Empire.

- . 100 Horse Soldiers
- . 100 Foot ditto
- . 100 Able Seamen of the Imperial Navy
- . 100 Engineers and Marines of the Imperial Navy, with Bands, Officers, Standards, and so on, to march through the Hall of the Kingdom into the Hall of the Empire, and take their places

- . Flourish of trumpets.
- . High Herald of the Empire with all Heralds, and Herald's Officers of the Kingdom and Empire, to descend from the Herald's Tower into Hall of Empire.

- . Flourish of trumpets.
- . Ocean Herald shall go into the Tower of the Twelve, and bring thence on a Standard Staff, the Portrait of the Empress.

- . Flourish of trumpets.
- . Pacific Herald to do the same with another Portrait.
- . And thus proceed all the Twelve Heralds, and bring out Portraits of the Twelve.

Flourish of trumpets.

Then the High Herald, or whom he may appoint of the Heralds, to read for twenty minutes out of the Book of the Twelve.

- . Song of the Empire.
- . Trumpet sound an advance.
- . All depart in peace.

- . A place to be set apart for the Heroes of the Empire, and the Children of the Empire, above the bar, that they may attend in the Six Ceremonies of the Empire.

**SCHEDULE C.**

110. **THE SONG OF THE EMPIRE**
111. We praise Thee, O God ! we know Thee to be the Lord of Peace.
112. Thy ways are ways of pleasantness, and all Thy paths are peace !
113. The earth delighteth in Peace ; and the sea in a calm.
114. In Peace empires are established, and nations strengthened.
115. Numa knew this : Alfred and Washington practised it.
116. Confucius confessed her power, and gave institutions to a mighty empire.
117. By Mahomet she was right well remembered.
118. Marathon and Waterloo ! Chalons and besieged Jerusa'em, cry aloud for Peace !
119. Peace hath her victories, far more renowned than war !
120. Steam hath increased her triumphs ! Printing hath multiplied her victories !
121. Give us peaceful triumphs !
122. The stately college his hers ; but she loveth the humble school.
123. Bacon says, " Knowledge is power ;" and Brougham, " The school-master is abroad."
124. All languages praise Peace !
125. Homer, Virgil, and Tasso honor her ; and of her praise Milton is not mute !
126. The children of Peace, are innumerable ; her offspring, who can count ?
127. Industry is her first-born ; and plenty is her child.
128. Painting and Statuary, Poetry and Oratory, are hers.
129. She hath nursed Architecture, and been a tender, loving mother to husbandry !
130. Music and Song, she glories in !
131. Peace is exquisitely beautiful ; she is altogether lovely !
132. Kings have prayed for her ; yea, mighty ones have desired her.
133. Alexander and Nearchus were her servants !
134. Columbus, Magellan, and Cuvier, laboured for her !
135. Solon and Socrates, sought her !
136. Phidias, Michael Angelo, and Raphael, adorned her !
137. Peace hath yet in reserve far mightier triumphs !
138. For the Steam Engine is never tired, and the Press knows no weariness.
139. Generations pass away, but the energy of man is unimpaired !
140. Therefore Peace shall be as universal as air ; and knowledge cheaper than water.
141. Peace shall reign for ever and ever !
142. **CHORUS OF THE EMPIRE.**
143. **GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST, PEACE ON EARTH, AND GOOD WILL TOWARDS MEN.—AMEN.**

*[Entered at Stationers' Hall].*

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AN ADDRESS

ON

THE CORN LAWS.

BY A PROTECTIONIST.



LONDON:

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1846.

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## ADDRESS, &c.

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It having been shown and admitted that while the manufacturers do not exceed in number 3,000,000, the individuals connected with the soil are upwards of 14,000,000 ; the land having thus to provide for more than four to one ; and moreover, not only statesmen, but most naval (the honourable and gallant officer, Sir Charles Napier, the member for Marylebone, is the exception) and military commanders having acknowledged and declared that of all classes, the agricultural is, in many great national points of view, the most important to the community at large, it evidently follows that common policy and integrity would require of every government that it should protect its chief supporters, and therefore, the chief supporters of the public weal, the agriculturists.

While because of the heavy and peculiar burdens laid upon the land, (the maintenance of the poor, sesses, &c.) and because of the enormous amount of capital which, "in full reliance upon the state," the cultivators of the soil have invested in it, their claims to protection are, in merest justice pre-eminent and paramount. And yet, except by the grossest falsehood, the stigma of a class protection cannot, except by misrepresentation and false calculation, be thrown upon the Corn-Laws. True, they protect the land ; but have not Bacon, Locke, Vattel, and many other eminent writers, proclaimed agriculture to be "The foundation of all national wealth and power, all manufactures, and all commerce?" and therefore the land is the great protector and encourager of all other interests, it is their aliment, their great invigorator ; it is in fine their wealth, their health, their life.

It has been truly said by one of the ablest statesmen, "The plough is the first creditor;" yet those laws cannot, without absurdity, be called a class protection which protect *all classes*. Equally, therefore justly, the principle of protection is universal ; there is not a civilized state in the whole world where this great principle does not prevail *and rule*.

All interests then, protected, being founded upon agriculture, if their basis be uprooted by

the repeal of the Corn Laws, the *whole social* superstructure must fall. Not one, but every branch of native industry will be paralysed when the already announced principle of Free Trade, that is, the withdrawal of all protection, shall have been carried out. Of the first withdrawal, the repeal of the Corn-Laws, the effect speedily will be a larger quantity of wheat in the British market. Will not this increase of supply oblige the British tenant farmer to sell at a *lower* price (if sell he *must*) the article upon the produce of which he mainly relies? How much lower can he go in price, and still continue to hold his farm? But perhaps he has some reserved sources of reliance; he is more enlightened, and can see further into futurity than could his plodding and industrious progenitors. "He will join in the cry of famine and keep up his prices;" the foreigner will doubtless "*raise his prices.*" Very well; then see the comparative prices respectively, and mark well and dispassionately the inevitable result. Compare in England and on the Continent the prices of wheat per quarter in the under-mentioned years :

In 1824 the price in England was 62 <i>s.</i> in Prussia 18 <i>s.</i>						
1825	-	-	-	-	66 <i>s.</i>	- 17 <i>s.</i>
1826	-	-	-	-	56 <i>s.</i>	- 18 <i>s.</i>
1827	-	-	-	-	56 <i>s.</i>	- 22 <i>s.</i>



## The price of agricultural labour in

Odessa is	-	-	-	4 <i>d.</i> a day!!
Poland and Russia	-	-	-	5 <i>d.</i> a day!
Spain and Portugal	-	-	-	7 <i>d.</i> a day!
Denmark and Germany	-	-	-	9 <i>d.</i> a day!

Rent in Prussia is 1*s.* 3*d.* per acre ; in Poland 5*d.* ; freight and carriage together would be 3*s.* 6*d.* per quarter ; in England the average rent of land is 19*s.* per acre, weekly price of agricultural labour 10*s.* 6*d.* ; whereas in Prussia it is 3*s.*, and in Poland only 2*s.* per week. The average of these corn growing countries is only 6½*d.* per day. With a Free Trade, wheat would seldom or never average more than £2 per quarter ; barley 20*s.* a quarter. At these prices foreign produce may exceedingly well be introduced. Under the present protective law, the British farmer expects to realise 56*s.* a quarter for wheat, and 30*s.* for barley. There will thus be a loss of 16*s.* per quarter on wheat. Upon a farm of 500 acres, growing 320 quarters of wheat, the loss would amount to £256. Calculating the produce of barley at about 400 quarters, the loss would be 10*s.* a quarter ; here will be a further loss of £200, making together £456. The loss on stock would be about 6*d.* a stone ; upon dairy produce also there would be a loss. Upon the said farm,

allowing amply for lower wages, and lower price of provisions, the total loss will be £501. Upon the abolition of the Corn Laws the value of agricultural produce will be lowered at the very least one fourth. Will the British farmer be then enabled to pay taxes, rates, and other burdens upon his land, and to successfully compete with the continental grower of wheat, relieved as he is from taxes, accustomed to a very low scale of farming, and other expenses, and inured to rough fare, and coarse habits of life ?

It is asserted that the tenant farmers are conniving at the repeal of the Corn Laws in the expectation that all landowners *must* lower their rents. Why, Mr. Everard, at Spalding, clearly proved they would be worse off than now, if they paid no rent at all ; witness the farm already mentioned of 500 acres, upon which the loss would be £501 !! Again, if, instead of setting the rent *per acre* it be calculated upon produce, *a corn rent*, and under the protection of the Corn Laws your price be, as it is at present, 56s. 10d. ; out of this you are paying 7, 8, or say even 10s. per quarter rent. Now to you it would be just the same thing whether you sold your wheat at 56s. 10d., and paid out of it 10s. rent ; or sold it at 46s. 10d., and kept the proceeds without deduction. But even if the foreigner GREATLY RAISE his price, scarcely will it ever reach 40s.

per quarter. And, therefore, even if you paid *not one* farthing rent, still will he undersell you by 6*s.* 10*d.* per quarter. This he will do if he succeed in RAISING his price to 40*s.* ; but millions of quarters of wheat may be grown and are sold at just half of 40*s.*—yes, in the provinces near Odessa, and in New Orleans, at 20*s.* Can you compete with THIS price?

But pray explain, sirs of the League, why is the landowner to give up his rent? Do you give up *any* part of your enormous profits? You don't even keep your own poor!—they are thrown upon the *land*. Why must the landholder *lower* his rent at all? It may be true that grand seigneurs of large domains, finding it impossible to raise the large sums required to enable them to take up the inventories, might be compelled to lower and adapt, as far as mortgage and other pressing incumbrances might permit, their rents to the fallen price of corn. But the owners of smaller properties (of course much the more numerous) having wholly lost their rent upon such poorer land as must then be thrown out of tillage, will be utterly unable to afford *any* reduction of rent upon the remainder; this, being their best land, they must take into their own hands, and cultivate, with the aid of their late tenants, now reduced to labourers. Not, however, the smaller proprietors alone, no, even the

very largest having been compelled by want of money (as I have already said) to lower to the lowest their rents upon their *best* land, (always the smaller portion,) will find it ruinous to retain their worst under tillage. Upon this *larger* proportion, therefore, they will lose their whole rent, no tenants being required. An immense breadth of land—2,000,000 acres, according to Sir Robert Peel and Lord Charles Russell, at Tamworth, in July, 1841—becoming totally *untenanted* ; and consequently, no labour being bestowed upon this, nor upon the reserved better soil, (being of course the smaller portion,) thousands, or rather millions, of agriculturists, their number being still further swollen by all the small freeholders of 40 or 50 acres, who subject to mortgages, annuities, and legacies, and many of them having left their farms to one child on condition of his making money payments thereout to other children, all these small freeholders *must* sell and be reduced to labourers. To these must *yet* be added the consequently *deserted* shopkeepers in the country and in agricultural towns, who, selling tea, coffee, sugar, bread, cheese, butter, candles, soap, salt, pepper, bacon, bed clothes, wearing apparel, coals, &c., are now supported by the farmers and labourers, also country medical practitioners, schoolmasters, surveyors, collectors, auctioneers, sellers of wood,

wheelwrights and carpenters, masons, blacksmiths and farriers, millers and bakers, butchers, tailors, shoe makers, carriers and higglers. The whole of these millions displaced, and consequently starving, will be suddenly thrown upon the towns as competitors for employment, with the Corn-Law relieved (and therefore happy) artisan, who, no doubt, equally with his fellow workman on the Continent, will highly relish his novel dainties of black bread, curry powder, and low wages. When eyeing the cheap loaf in the shop window, I marvel, will he recollect his prototype from Mayo, "he could have bought there, aye, 20 eggs for 6*d.* but then he had no 6*d.* to buy them with." However Mr. Cotton Lord, or Mr. Operative Chairman, just to exemplify to you, graphically, the blessings of Free Trade, some 10 or 12,000,000 sturdy and bold peasants will, no doubt, quietly lie down and die.

But I have heard that tenant farmers, 40 and 50 acre freeholders, and labourers, trouble not their heads at all about the repeal of the Corn Laws; that, say they, is a matter affecting only the great landed proprietors! Quite the reverse, *they* are exactly the persons who have the *least* at stake in that matter. The man with his 5 or 10,000 acres, may be inconvenienced, impoverished, less able to promote the comfort of his neighbours around him, to increase the prosperity

of millions by contributing his share, hitherto a large one, to the advancement of the home trade, to the support of the numerous tradesmen with whom he deals in town and country, of the large establishments from which, and in which so many thousands draw from him their daily bread, cheap or DEAR. True I will ask, what will become of all the great institutions of his country, public works, seminaries of education, public and private schools and universities, hospitals of countless charities, of the rewards of successful genius of merit of *all* kinds, the encouragement of arts and sciences, and innumerable other most valuable channels through which the prolific stream of his wealth is continually flowing to the general diffusion of individual and national prosperity. But alter the Corn Laws as you will, and yet not by all your senseless chops and changes will you succeed in breaking down *this* man—you will compel him to economize—to forego much of the happiness of doing good ; he must live cautiously for a few years, but still there is the estate, the dirty acres to rest upon, for even the primest free-traders have not yet determined to take the land itself. But where are the tenants—the labourers ?—“ The place knoweth them no more ;” yes, and the *now* thriving artisans ?—Let me ask what possible advantage does the tenant farmer propose to himself

from the impoverishment of his landlord? Whence any further improvements upon his farm? Whence can employment of labour be defrayed? *why* it is positively suicidal. To any one who honestly compares together the taxes, expenses, habits and prices respectively in England and on the Continent, the greatest evils to the British farm glaringly present themselves. Can he or can he not compete with rent at a few pence per acre, labour at 3*d.* or 2*d.* a week, and the price of wheat 17*s.*, 18*s.* or 20*s.*, which, with freight and carriage 3*s.* 6*d.*, would amount together (taking the *greatest* price) only to 23*s.* 6*d.* per quarter, when in England it may be 62*s.* or 66*s.*, and the British farmer declares he cannot now live under 52*s.*? The withdrawal of protection from corn must more or less severely injure the landowner, *of every degree*, but it will inevitably and totally *ruin* the tenant farmers, and break their hearts, manly though they be; the lives of their labourers and families will be brought into the utmost peril. At best our agricultural population will be reduced to serfs and slaves, “hewers of wood, and drawers of water,” as they were some hundreds of years ago. When the landlord shall have been impoverished, his once thriving tenant and his labourer ruined, and the latter sharing with the artisan his wretched fare, will they all, or any of them, still

continue to give much encouragement to that home trade through which so many millions of the people have thriven, and are being (did they but know it !) greatly enriched ? That home trade at this moment *exceeds* all our exports by more than 300 *per cent.* Is the failure of custom through the poverty of so many million agriculturists likely to benefit the town tradesman ? will he afford the artisan the same pay ? The wages of the manufacturers in Spitalfields have been reduced from 16s. to 6s. 6d., effect of Free Trade, already, and by the minister's proposed plan, they are yet to be further reduced,\* even to abject penury, their sole alternative the "Union Asylums," and those protections broken down by the withdrawal of *agricultural* protection. In England, the *average* weekly remuneration of the operative is 11s. In France, Germany, the Tyrol, and Austria, it is only 4s. per week. Will the falling off in our tradesman's custom be compensated to his feelings by having obtained the much-longed, for withdrawal of protection from every emancipated article in which he deals ? At present there is a duty of 12s. on

\* The Spitalfields' weavers have a petition now signed, to be presented to the House of Commons, setting forth their grievance, arising from the proposed additional reduction of protective duty ; they were sorely impoverished by the former reduced scale. Surely the legislature will not sanction the cruelty.



a dozen of women's shoes—15s. on men's ; on the manufacture of cotton there is 10s. per cent. on all articles not made up, of 20s. upon those made up, or partially so. When these and all other duties shall have been swept away, will not his foreign neighbour, or his agent just set up next door in the same line, be enabled to *undersell* his London competitor ? Relieved from the degrading bondage of protection, doubtless he will more freely than ever be able to pay his taxes, and his rent, and educate his children, and enjoy his suburban villa, his equipage, roast beef, and it may be on his son's majority, even more aristocratic viands. I wish he may, though I more than much doubt such sequel. The good people of Coventry indeed seem to have some misgivings, if we to are judge of their petition sent to Mr. Ellice ;—all *ingrained* Lord John Russell, Whig though he be—will he continue hand and glove with them ? will they be to him any glove at all ? When all duties are withdrawn, and all British home trade crippled, from what sources will the revenue spring ? Whence will the public creditor be satisfied ? The currency must be altered, a new standard established. The income tax taken off ? No ! *raised*. The Poor-Law Commissioners calculate the amount of local taxes levied in England and Wales at £10,000,000 annually. These ten millions must be struck from our present revenue of £54,000,000. Whence will ministerial

appointments, at home and abroad, naval, military, legal, medical, and civil, be paid? Above all, what will be done with the Church? Are we really to continue to be a Christian people? then we cannot peril another's weal without transgressing the Divine precept, "Do as thou wilt be done by." Still more criminal shall we be, if instead of honouring and protecting the appointed teachers and guardians of our holy religion, we actually, in regard to them, break the Divine commandment,

"Thou shalt not steal."

Is this "the sure provision you make for the consolation of the feeble, and the instruction of the ignorant?" Has the state become now *not* the "guardian," but the "proprietor?"—aye, the robber of the Church! Is this the way in which we "exalt her mitred front in courts and parliaments?"

Positively, scandalously, we rob our clergy, if after their consent to the tithe commutation, we abrogate the very laws upon which it was founded. Their incomes are derived from tithes commuted upon the price of corn, and varying with the price of corn. When that price shall go down the clergy will have no stipend; there will be no carnal things for those to reap, "who minister to us in spiritual things." That the price shall fall, is precisely the object for repealing those very laws,

upon which, as the solemn guarantee to the clergy, their consent was sought and was obtained.

Having ruined the agriculturist, seriously injured the tradesman and artisan—having robbed the clergy, and well nigh committed sacrilege, the churches in ruins,—having vitiated every lease, unhinged and left unpaid every other monetary security; imminently jeopardized *every* national interest, and violated countless vested rights, we shall indeed not only have renounced our present high character of an eminently and inflexibly religious and moral people, but we shall richly have won the honour of double first class “repudiators,” upon a far more comprehensive and awful scale than the much vilified “drab-coloured men;” there will be “no mistake,” our title will be clear, our bad pre-eminence be over the whole earth.

In a problem so vast, and in which the complications are not only intricate but infinite; in a proposition of which the premises are merely hypothetical, fanciful, and the terms, viz :—“If imported beasts, pigs, and eggs, did no harm, *why* then should corn? Or, where the *data* (save the mark) might to the *full as* logically or as arithmetically, be *given*, the number and purity of public old English principles in our rulers, to find *when* the ports will be opened, and how many quarters of wheat imported? Or, *given* the bearing of my fish-pond, to find (what

can be more strictly analogical?) the longitude of the North Pole, and the true elevation of the os coccygis of the new comet? In endeavouring to solve such a problem, is it for "man that walketh in a vain shadow?" that "reasoning every step he goes, still mistakes his way;" who cannot make a single blade of grass grow, who cannot predict whether it will rain to-morrow, or the *next* hour?—is it for man to pretend to penetrate into the very womb of time; through most intricate, infinite, and ever changeful bearings, complications, and ramifications; to dare to set off item against item; to trace and arithmetically work out the sum of equivalents, and at once determine the exact degree of danger that, by any possibility, CAN arise from this tremendous all-revolutionizing change? If, when the enemy still is held at bay, you must nevertheless yield to the "pressure from without," are you likely to turn out that enemy when once admitted within your works? When will your ports ever be shut again? When the floodgates over the whole earth shall have been flung wide open, to cry halt to the rushing torrent of *invited* ruin, "Thus far shalt thou come, but no farther." "Can you stop the cataract in its fall?" Shall man presume to nicely calculate the chances of bad harvests?—to scan the precise effects of continental wars, and of other convulsions of states? And through all possible combinations, wherein

the *quantities* are utterly unknown (as regards the British farmer probably *negative*, and assuredly *compound*, for they are of all denominations,) through all these impracticabilities, upon such data ! to work it all out, as it were a “ *simple equation*,” and then as a grand and final result, resolve, and complacently proclaim, — wheat will not fall below 50s. a quarter. You might as well presume to assert, that because the thermometer in this extraordinary season, has been, in this month of January, ranging from 50 to 60 degrees, it will not be at 32, or even much below the freezing point.

Is it possible ? Can it *already* be forgotten, “ ere our shoes are old,” that without all this ado, wheat—even while revelling under the extravagantly luxuriant shade of the Corn-Laws (that upas tree)—was but 44s. 5d. *scarcely a year ago* ?

It becomes not man to intrude upon the Creator’s administration of the first elements of His creation : to tamper, by disturbing the equilibrium of the universe, with human existence : to take into mortal hands,—to wield the staff of life of countless millions,—to rule the seasons,—to ride the whirlwind, and direct the storm. The all-gracious Deity has said, “ Seed-time and harvest-time shall not fail,” but shall *we* then counteract His benign purposes, by intruding on them wild human theories, by engrafting the *wild* olive on the prolific branches of the cultivated

tree and thus *inverting* the order of the holy canon? Scatter to the winds these pigmy and impious notions.

The growth of wheat in Great Britain is about 16,000,000 of quarters: Mr. Francis Baring, late Chancellor of the Exchequer, calculated the probable importation of foreign corn, at 4,000,000. In a year or two, we should fall off to growing 12 or 13,000,000 at *home*, and rely upon foreign lands for 4,000,000. In 1836, 37, 38, and 39, the harvests were deficient. In the event of another unfavourable season, foreigners would cry out we are taking their food. Their governments would close their ports. At home, upwards of 2,000,000 acres having been thrown out of tillage, and the rest of the land imperfectly cultivated, we should have barely 11,000,000 quarters, while we should want 16,000,000. What then would be the price of the "cheap loaf?" But what? should we be shut out from the continent by WAR, when the growth of corn *at home* shall have been discouraged and lessened in the direct ratio of the importation from abroad?

The rude hand of man must not deal with corn as with any other commodity. It is of all articles the most vitally important. In average years, it is grown at home in sufficient quantity, and *none* need be imported. In unfavourable years, a deficiency of 2, or 3,000,000 of quarters

of wheat takes place. By the sliding-scale, *then* and not before, the required importation is made ; to what other article can these particulars apply ? Being as variable as are the winds and weather upon which the harvest depends, surely to this variableness not a fixed and unalterable duty is suitable, but an elastic system ; for the safety of our own countrymen *shutting* the ports when foreign corn is *not* needed, and opening them when the exigences of our country require it. Thus, the sliding-scale has this admirable effect. When home-grown corn is plentiful, and we want none from foreigners, the duty is so regulated, that there is no inducement to the *importer* ; but when not blessed with an abundant harvest, then the duty is proportioned so as to encourage the importation of the required article.

When Sir Robert Peel introduced his Corn Bill in 1842, he stated it to be his desire to secure the average at 54*s.* per quarter ; horror of horrors ! verily, it has attained the frightful height of 56*s.* !! When Sir Robert brought forward that which became law, he spoke as follows :—“ I rest the claims of the land to protection, not upon its peculiar burdens alone, but upon other grounds ; I say that protection to the produce of the soil, has been afforded for the last 150 years ; that large capital has been invested

in land, under that system of protection ;”—yes vested in the soil, or immediately connected with **it**, in Great Britain and Ireland, £2,605,000,000, vested in agricultural stock and implements, £710,000,000, together £3,315,000,000. *What capital has been vested in manufactures?* only 240,000,000.

Sir Robert Peel continued, “ And that nothing, **therefore**, in my opinion, can be more unwise than to risk the disturbance of the interests embarked in agriculture, by the sudden withdrawal of the protection which has so long been afforded to them ; under which the existing relations of **society** have in a great degree been formed, and **in** reliance upon which, so much wealth (*vide supra*) has been directed to the cultivation of the **soil**. I say, also, that another ground for protection, is to ensure the cultivation of the land ”— (“ 2,000,000 acres will be thrown out of cultivation and the country ruined.” See Sir Robert Peel and Lord Charles Russell, Tamworth, July, 1841)—“ and such a growth of domestic produce, as shall prevent the risk, the imminent risk, as I think if all protection were discontinued, of placing the country in a position of entire, unqualified dependence upon other nations for a supply of corn. To make insurance against such a calamity,” &c.

It is but three months since the whole king-



dom was described as teeming with extraordinary prosperity. Our ports were full of shipping, our manufacturing towns were having added to them still more buildings,—more machinery; moreover, the employment given by the universal railways was such, that the bellman was sent round to offer advanced wages. What has befallen us that the “calamity,” *against* which Sir Robert Peel so much desired “to make insurance,” must now be *courted*? What has been the dreadful catastrophe that so suddenly has overcast the brightest smiles, totally extinguished the light of all gracious heaven? With rosy steps advancing, dancing on sun-beams, and all around diffusing a soft and genial clime of cloudless serenity, long since it was that a splendid morn of surpassing promise broke. The rays of our glory were in full majesty shining. What has thrown over this hitherto highly favoured land the thrice (dipped) sable mantle of an incalculable eclipse? Suddenly wrapt in this awful gloom, men are lost, bewildered, they stand amazed, aghast, they clasp their hands, a death-like stillness reigns. Strange unearthly sounds are heard. Rumours mysterious, vague, undefinable portents. The sagacious owl, ill omened bird, molested, and affrighted at this night unnatural, flaps its fluttering wings, and shrieks despair; men breathless ask

each other, what is all this? 'tis "a swift destruction, some terrible storm! Thunderbolts "red with uncommon wrath" shall level with the dust the proud and aspiring pinnacle of our all peerless greatness and power! A coming earthquake will deeply undermine all the firm foundations, the strong and ancient defences of our domestic independence and safety—uproot and swallow us all up quick—shall englut, engulf in one universal wreck our "cloud-capt towers, our gorgeous palaces, our solemn temples," majesty itself—a second chaos! Whence this most inconceivable "calamity?" "'Tis all the rotten potatoes," quoth my Lord Mayor of London. "What! the potatoes *all* rotten?" "Oh no, at Windsor they were to *our* corporation quite as agreeable as everything else, but *some* certainly *have* been rotten *somewhere*, and this mighty truth, this 'great fact' duly proclaimed by us at the foot of the throne itself, is the all—ah no, there is the 'Famine' too—which we all, Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons in Common Council assembled could find to say, or ever could discover in the whole matter." Am I unfeeling? would I dare to speak irreverently of an afflictive dispensation of Providence? In my conscience I fully believe that I have deplored this partial "potato disease" quite as sincerely as his civic lord-

ship.\* All the world now charges the reports of the "potato disease" with the wildest exaggeration; and even from those localities in which it once existed, we have the best authority for knowing that "it has nearly passed away"—and this no longer existent failure of one crop, one single season, is the sole ground for uprooting the whole of our agricultural and commercial interests—I repeat, what said Sir Robert Peel in bringing in the Corn Law in 1842—"And that nothing, therefore, in my opinion, can be more unwise than to risk the disturbance of the interests embarked in agriculture by the *sudden* withdrawal of the protection which has so long been afforded to them, under which the existing relations of society have in a great degree been formed, and in reliance upon which so much wealth (already stated 3,315,000,000,) has been directed to the cultivation of the soil." Not only will the interests of agriculture, but the whole system of that British native industry which, protected as it has been, has raised this country to

\* I am not brute enough to allude, in the slightest tone of levity, to *Ireland*—I speak only as regards England and the London deputation, but I am happy to make an apology to Mr. Alderman Johnson, for I learn it was only by the accident of his high official dignity the Rt. Hon. Gentleman had any hand in the matter at all.

its *present* transcendent height of prosperity, will be utterly overturned. For the question no longer is sliding scale or fixed duty, or any other modification of the Corn Laws; but the clamour to which it seems the whole legislature must bow—is, not for the temporary suspension, but for the immediate permanent and total abolition, not of Corn Laws, but of *all* protective duties whatsoever.

No reason assigned, we are peremptorily required to surrender up our whole home trade, that we may induce all the world to deal with us. Miserable delusion! What if there be a *war*? But what, in time of peace, has already been the success of our persuasive powers in this notable line? Take the United States. Our exports in 1827—7,018,272; but only 5,013,514 in 1843. Decrease on one year 2,004,758. Admirable wisdom and prudence of the Americans! consuming *at home* eighteen-twentieths of their produce. Why then shall the Mother Country be less wise and prudent? Our imports *may* increase; but assuredly our exports will *decrease* proportionately to the prosperity *we* create in the countries we supply; thus England may one day lose her foreign trade altogether. But we might supply the whole world with manufactures, and yet our own people be plunged in the deepest distress; We must *undersell* the poorest; the nation would necessarily be divided into

millionaires cotton lords, (well they know and design it,) and the most abject paupers or slaves.

A prospect this of a commercial revolution of unparalleled magnitude, and of which the tremendous effects no human being can foresee or comprehend.

Her majesty herself says in the speech from the throne that the distress is *temporary*.

If then the evil was never more than temporary, why need the remedy be otherwise?

In impartial justice to Sir Robert Peel (for so would I write of him, as well as of all others) I must here remark that in accordance with the term *temporary*, he did propose to the privy council to *suspend* for a period the whole of the corn duty, in order to admit for immediate consumption those parcels which might then arrive, or be actually in the country, *in bond*. That was a humane proposal; and the home growers would have willingly acceded to the boon, in consideration of the sufferings (as were represented) of our poorer brethren, especially those of Ireland. Sir Robert was, however, outvoted on his proposal, and thence followed his resignation. I say in that particular he was humane considerate, honest, praiseworthy; but he is utterly unintelligible and un-English when he asserts that "he should really have been guilty of treachery to his country" if *with an*

annual *revenue* of £54,000,000 he had consecrated a few thousands to the pious and Christian (Protestant or Roman Catholic) duty of feeding the starving poor (if starving) with a little oat-meal or rice. I use the word "little" advisedly, for it is well known there never was so large a promise of potatoes as last year—and moreover to *producing* the extraordinary abundance and excellent quality of turnips, carrots, onions, and other cheap substitutes for potatoes, never was there a season better suited than has been the singularly damp and warm one which we have experienced and still are experiencing.

Why indeed should the government take advantage of a period of transient and partial distress, to inflict upon the agricultural and, in succession, upon *all* other interests, permanent and total ruin? What, that ever has been wrung from you by the pressure from without, was ever restored or replaced, what step indeed ever retraced? From the best authority it is well known there is in the country food enough to last until next harvest. In the politically and profligately League-raised yell of "famine," there is only the usual grossness of their daily and hourly falsehoods. Of another wilful fallacy they are guilty when they assert that 28,000,000 of the people will be benefited by the repeal of the Corn Laws. To make up this number, the Leaguers include the

*agriculturists*, who will be ruined, and whom the Leaguers are wholly bent upon ruining. The farming interest being the basis of all others, it has been singled out as the first victim of the Leaguers. Mr. Cobden has called the Corn Laws the "Keystone of the Arch of Protection." Every other class (of course save their own) will in turn, and in the order of its comparative importance, be the next object of their scheme of ruin.

When the Leaguers, with Lord John Russell, deprecate the Corn Laws "as the bane of agriculture," do they not see they belie themselves in that assertion? Was it not by the prospering under their baneful influence, of every interest under the sun, this country has attained its surpassing commercial greatness, and wealth, and power? Are not, in particular, the Leaguers for ever boasting they can outvie the whole of that hateful aristocracy whom they are resolved to crush, and "buy up the fee simple of all England?" Did not the greatest of all borough-mongers, Mr. Cobden, at the recent meeting at Manchester, pledge himself that in a short time, backed by the funds already at his disposal, he would unseat 100 county members, and place in their stead Free Traders? Is not this, in fact, merely converting rotten boroughs, the Schedule A. of the Reform Bill, into rotten *counties*?

"Let not, whatever other ills assail,"

A wretched League Democracy prevail.

At the late Guildhall meeting did not he say, "The electors of London must do as they did in America, have a ticket for four good Free traders and go the whole ticket." Hear this ye proud liberty-lovers, enamoured of freedom and purity of election !!

By their constant conduct the Leaguers have fully proved their deadly enmity, not only to the agriculturists, setting tenant against landlord, and labourer against the tenant who feeds him, but their now thoroughly betrayed design, through the ruin of the most important and independent class, to strike down *all other interests*, and convert the whole of England into one vast workshop, of which they shall have the master-keys; and, having ruined all other classes, they will, upon the wreck of the home trade, now so flourishing, erect their sovereign monopoly. "Monarchs of all they survey," they will clutch into their own hands the capricious supplying this country with imported corn, giving to the foreigner, in exchange, their own manufactures. Yes! the Repeal of the Corn Laws *will prove* a "class protection," for it will benefit the large landed proprietors of the Continent; and instead of enriching their countrymen, the Leaguers will supply the foreigner with what they want—money—to extend their own manufactures; thus pampering foreign nations, and for base lucre relying



upon the continent; after having disjoined and paralyzed our native agriculture and all our national interests, and rendered ourselves dependent upon the foreigner, and upon the cotton lords, even for the staff of life. Hear again Sir Robert Peel;—"To ensure the cultivation of the land, and such a growth of domestic produce as shall prevent the risk—the imminent risk, as I think, if all protection were discontinued—of placing the country in a position of entire unqualified dependence upon other nations for a supply of corn. To make insurance against such a calamity," &c.

But what care the cotton lords for calamity to their native land? Their MILLS are *their* country. "They will demand compensation for the taxes which manufacturers have in times past contributed to the public purse."\* In the opinion of the leaguers they are entitled to the position given to foreign merchants in trading cities,—every liberty to make profit, and no necessity to contribute to the state. Have they

\* Sir John Guest, poor decayed ironmaster, is about to give, or, if he have borrowed it from the bursting coffers of the agriculturists, probably has given, only £350,000 for an estate, in addition to other fine real properties realised by *protection* to the manufacturing interests. Will he or his descendants be able to amass a similar princely fortune from his real estates *without protection*? I ask what *think* you, Sir John?

not formed (mark this !) commercial connexions with rival, and it may be, hostile nations? have they not exported thither both British machinery and British workmen? They *are* foreign merchants. Where Englishmen have hearts, they have balls of cotton; their warmest charities they have wound around their spindles; binding up the false prints and specious delusive articles they circulate with their dearest domestic ties, and adopting them into the bosom of their family affections. They are an alien confederacy, endeavouring to make itself a joint-stock company for the manufacturing of British members of Parliament; but, probably, ere long, there will be given to their frames of polity (as at Manchester in 1842, well nigh was given by more dutiful parties—civil and military) the image of near relations,—in *blood* !

Not only the lofty boastings of the cotton lords, and the virulent speeches of their paid and unpaid spouters and ranters, but more substantially the large sums raised, and their impudent vaunting of having already bought up fifteen English counties, have fully betrayed the animus and real designs of their order. Thus they have so far realized their openly avowed purpose of swamping the constituencies of the realm, sending their purchased and perjured voters to the poll, like beasts to the slaughter, compelling

their hungry serf-delegates to rejoice in the dirty pudding of their masters, and return to their thousand times refuted and rejected lies and calumnies, “as a dog returneth to his vomit.”

Look at the West Riding of Yorkshire! Can any man, who successfully voted against Lords Morpeth and Milton in 1841, now save his cheek from burning with shame? But, as I have said, Mr. Cobden has pledged himself he would “in a short time, unseat *one hundred* county members, and place in their stead Free-traders.” He has said, “The electors of London must do as they did in America, have a ticket for four good Free-traders, and go the whole ticket?”

How is all this? Have we not, over and over again, been told by Messrs. Cobden & Co., the League are of no party, and are associated merely to remove certain commercial restrictions? Well, hear him again, “We have not put forth the repeal of the Corn-Laws as an isolated measure in itself, sufficient, &c. Oh, no! but we say it is the *first* great necessary indispensable stage,—the root from which a thousand others must grow.”—Yes, the first victim of their assassin aim. “We will take the government of the country out of the hands of these people,”—the landed interest—exceedingly commercial!

Hear meek Mr. Bright:—“We will lay the hereditary peerage in the dust.” Can anything

be more impudent, more atrocious? and is this insatiable appetite of these men to be further pandered to by the state? Are their hands to be further strengthened, that they may do still more extensive mischief (if that *can* be) may corrupt and suborn still greater multitudes of our countrymen? Why is every principle to be sacrificed, every other class, bound hand and foot, to be turned over to these already swollen and bursting cotton lords? Have not all their foul and illegal tricks and habits deeply branded them as a band of conspirators against the order, freedom, dignity, and welfare, of England? That stigma being assuredly no less deserved, because equally applicable to noble ex-cabinet ministers, and pseudo statesmen of whatever chameleon hue of politics, past or present, who have shamefully joined this conspiracy, and whom we had but too well already learnt thoroughly to distrust, and utterly despise? And why all this overweening preference of such men? Whence the irresistible pressure? Is England in danger from without? from encampments at Boulogne? (child's play) Milan (we might have worse) decrees? No, we have been assured the whole world is at peace, and have we not in Sir Robert Peel a pilot,

“Uncorrupted by power,” &c.—

one too so deeply sensible, as we have seen

from his speeches, of the pre-eminent importance of the soil?—one at every step reminded of those earliest associations, vivid reminiscences, habits, and feelings, attaching and rivetting his fondest affections to the beloved rural spot, “Where once his careless childhood strayed a stranger yet to pain.” As the shades of evening close around the grey ivy-mantled towers of his venerable parish church, have you not seen him, *not* brushing with hasty steps (unholy task)

“The applause of list’ning senates to demand,  
The pray’rs of ruined millions to despise,  
To scatter famine o’er a smiling land,  
And read a nation’s history in their (weeping) eyes”—

but—“by lonely contemplation led” and beneath that “yew tree’s shade” conning o’er those texts that teach “the rustic moralist to die,” or, “in the silence of twilight’s contemplative hour,” stretching “his listless length” in some lone arbour overarched with roses and myrtles in fond embrace,—have you not heard him, with all his peculiarly exquisite sweetness and simplicity of pathos, and all the skilful variations and demi-semi-quavers of his captivating, falsetto voice liquifying his auditors’ eyes with eloquent descriptions of the blissful scenes of country life—the all important pursuits of agriculture—the ancient races it maintains—and the peasantry it rears? or suddenly rapt in an ecstasy of delight at some

airy vision flitting across his imaginative fancy, of that most poetical of imagery the plough.

Have you not heard this, or something equivalent to this, and can it be that now a measure, which will destroy all that which his matured mind and statesman's experience of nearly half a century, declared and taught us to hold as most valuable, and which his imagination painted in such glowing colours—can it be that such a measure shall now be enforced, and carried by the very power so long raised to protect it, and the tongue pre-eminently eloquent in its past and just defence ?

It cannot be ! But now for Sir James Graham (a great admirer too, of churchyards, it may be not of Protestant Churches) teste Oxford,—“ Let them but once diminish the consumption of British-grown corn, and from that moment, the consumption of iron, of hardware, must decline, there would come a fresh displacement of labour, and a fresh lowering of wages. The President of the Board of Trade spoke as though labourers were without feelings, habits, or attachments—that they might be dealt with as *machines* (Cobdenian)—or at best as animals of an inferior order—Oh ! let the house well reflect before they took any step which directly or indirectly tended to those displacements of labour. Little did they know the suffering and the

sorrow which lay hid beneath those "quietly flowing waters." What change more cruel than from "the breezy call of incense breathing morn" to the sound of the factory bell, the relinquishment of the thatched cottage, the blooming garden, and the village green, to the foul garret, or the dark cellar of the crowded City, for the debauchery, the temptations, the pestilence, the sorrows, and the sins of a congregated multitude. Talk of sending the Poles to Siberia, the authors of the intended change contemplated the perpetration *within their native land* of a cruelty far more atrocious. It was the *first* step towards making England the workshop of the world, dependent for its daily food upon continental supplies." The Duke of Richmond thought it would be the grossest thing ever done by any Minister, if Sir Robert Peel attempted to change "the adjustment," as he called it in 1842, without dissolving parliament. Unless there is protection not only to agriculture, but to native industry generally, unless the present system of prices is kept up by a certain amount of circulation embodied in a sufficient amount of customs duties, England must be bankrupt.

The National Debt is nearly £800,000,000. The public creditor must not be defrauded. To meet the exigencies of the country we annually pay in ready money, a sum equal to the rental

of England and of Wales. That national expenditure must be kept up by prices, it cannot be done by direct taxation. And yet in the very teeth of all this, if past indicate future, if "coming events cast their shadows before"—then we must remember we have had another Sir Robert who said "there was nothing like taxing the agriculturists; blessings on them, they stood to be taxed, as their own sheep stood to be sheared. Whereas, the manufacturers bristled up if they attempted to touch them at all."

But whence the irresistible pressure to risk threatened and long foretold "Calamity" so vast? Is England in danger from within? the "Famine?" Mills shut up? No, greatly increased. Decay of commerce? Look at the revenue, at the funds,—What then? What ignorance! Has not Mr. Bright distinctly declared, "It is absolutely necessary that the wages of the operatives in this country should be reduced." Mr. Muntz, a *subscriber to the League*, observed in the House of Commons that "the object of the Corn Law Repeal measure is to reduce wages; and the intention is to reduce them to the continental level," which would be less than half what it is at present. Hear this, gentlemen operatives, from your own most particular friends. And can you wonder when your salaries and wages divert only, at a computation £135,000,000 annually from



the yawning pockets of your most disinterested Masters?

But if the manufacturers are to be so pampered, and are to be allowed to take care of themselves so well, let me ask, is it not somewhat strange that the pilots of our day are playing at foot-ball with the constitution on the quarter-deck of our noble ship? It has got a heel; it is no longer "*Ponderibus librata suis*;" is it not passing strange that, of all interests, the most numerous, the most vitally important in itself, the basis of all others, is precisely the one to be sacrificed? When has the protection, at present afforded to agriculture, been proved to be excessive? At what period have they been able to vie with the manufacturers, who turn over and over again their capital, a profit attaching each time to the change of their nimble ninepence? The farmer makes but *one* revolving circuit in his annual orbit? When has it been shown that farmers and labourers have, under the influence of the Corn Laws become bloated boasters, and owners of their superior millions—have ridden in splendid equipages—(on the contrary, Mr. Cobden says, "they have fallen into a dark abyss")—have been found, not only to have forsaken "the even tenor of their way," but have plunged into unconstitutional, turbulent, and illegal associations—conspiracies—have, with their excessive wealth, bought whole counties—

have interfered with every other class in the management of its own concerns—have bearded the legislature—trampled upon the liberties and consciences of their countrymen? When has any good reason been adduced for the violent and general revolution which the Repeal of the Corn Laws would inevitably produce?

Sir Robert Peel asserts that corn will not fall much, despite of the increased supply; he must then rely upon companies and combinations being formed, like the bakers for instance, just under-selling and ruining the British farmer, and scarcely benefiting, even for a moment, the public. As to the farmer getting a more constant customer, it is, to me, quite unintelligible; and as to the labourer obtaining more certain work, it is sheer nonsense.

We are told by some, the price of corn will not fall, because the British farmer will in improving his land have more energy and “*more capital.*” Now, what will the energy do without the “*more capital?*” but pray whence is the tenant farmer to derive it? From his landlord?—he will be impoverished?—From the lowered price of the corn?—lowered it must be *without* the investment of more capital.\*

“The rough work which the people have cut

\* 22nd. Jan., 1846. Sir Robert Peel’s proposals brought

out for them (the aristocracy) demands rough and ready instruments. Could it be done by PAPER, and red tape, were it simply a matter for speeches, and divisions, with a few gentle ebullitions, &c. &c. Has Cerberus been napping? Have Danton, Robespierre and Co. escaped from Tartarus? They, the Leaguers, boast that “if Free Trade be not *quickly* granted, they will not be contented to stop at that point.”

But “Rulers,” we are told by high authority, “are not a terror to *good* works, but to the EVIL.” Forbearance may degenerate into pusillanimous treachery to the altar, the throne, the honour, greatness, and welfare of our country if we fail to resist its threatened desolation and destruction—if we offer no aid in time.—Told, and by Cabinet Ministers, that “agriculturists must not go whining\* to parliament”—if we are thus taught that all help must come from *ourselves*, is it not, on the one hand, imperative upon us, challenged by conspirators, and discarded by rulers; on the other, to *act*, not in defence of our own lives and

before the Commons—vide his speech. And how will the Commons respond? we trust they will say with Hamlet—

“You may *sound* us, but you shall not *play* upon us,” even though you possessed the “voice of a very pleasant instrument; it lacketh *charity*, so it is as sounding *brass* or a tinkling cymbal.”

\* A new synonyme for the old wives’ (Caudle) practice of petitioning.—*Old Almanack*.

families alone, but in the rescue (not violation) of our imminently threatened religion, liberty, and laws? Shall the glorious fabric your forefathers raised, be levelled with the dust?

Matchless peasantry, England's chivalry! you have ever been in the van of battle;—you have often courted death from early dawn to “dewy eve;”—you have manned our navies;—Trafalgar's dark huge sullen wave recoiled, upheaving in crimson foam from your thunders;—by you invigorated, our armies have marched forth with hearts like their swords—of steel;—on blood-stained Waterloo, “far flashed your red artillery”—the lowering air hung o'er your columns—as the shroud of death;—mainly to you, Nelson and Wellington owe immortality. Oh, passing strange, will you now perform the Kootoo to effeminate spindle-weavers and quaking hawkers of quack state nostrums? Do you turn pale at the dreadful rattling, not of thundering ordnance, but of spinning-wheels? and tremble at the warlike whistling of balls of cotton?

Oh! tempt not, then, the righteous vengeance of Heaven by your wicked ingratitude for all the blessings you actually are enjoying; prostrate not yourselves before those who have “run a muck” at all our institutions—“who would crumble into an undistinguishable heap of ruins the stately piles of civil and religious liberty, the venerable temples of moral and religious virtue.”

Bold peasantry of England, your "country's pride," you ask no more than to be saved from ruin ; is it unlawful to expect, to demand, to be protected by that state which many a time your forefathers have served, at the sacrifice of their fortune and their lives ? Ruin stares us in the face. As to compensation, it is most extravagant to imagine it possible to give to the landlord and farmer an equivalent for the loss of more than £1 per acre. Mystify it as you will, the design of the whole thing is, that the agriculturist shall have less than he has at present. But who is to compensate compensation to the country ? I say, no surrender ; no tinkering and tampering with our vital interests at all. I will not be a party to the perilling every great interest of the state—to rendering positively inevitable, humanly speaking, the ruin of the agriculturist—the cutting the cable of the sheet-anchor—and most probably the destruction of every other class—a party not only to degrading the high character of this country for its cordial attachment to moral principle, in legislation utterly violated by the actual, most flagrant, and scandalous robbery of our established, confiding, and faithful clergy ; a party to the disturbance of every vested right,—to the destruction of every bond, sacred, moral, civil, and social,—to the invasion of the dearly-loved liberties of our fatherland,

—the shock to every conscientious, generous, kind, and happy feeling,—the outrage of, in fine, every principle which from our cradles each in his own love-knit, domestic band, we have been taught to lisp with praise, to fondly cherish, to honour and revere.

And why this sudden general crash? Why make of us this universal wreck? Why are we to be destroyed at one fell swoop? to still further pamper and inflate a set of purse-proud, insolent, actual conspirators, bent upon—(preposterous idea!)—superseding the aristocracy “with all its humanizing associations, historical recollections, its ennobling memories, its chivalrous impulses, its golden links of ages, which rivet it to the soil! Superseded, indeed, by Cobdens and Brights, with no thought or feeling, impulse, pedigree, or escutcheon (of pretence), but what originates in their breeches pocket; thrusting aside the descendants of those who signed Magna Charta,—who won the fields of Cressy and Poitiers.

And yet,—and no more than strict justice to the Leaguers, is it, fairly I should acknowledge (as regards their own genealogies and achievements,) that not only have they fully proved all their pretensions to such high descent, but, moreover, have they most gallantly acquitted them-

selves as quite accomplished Knights of the ~~most~~  
ancient order of—Moloch!! “Great is Diana of  
the Ephesians!”

C.

N.B. The author does not mean to say that wheat ~~can~~  
*always* be bought at that price, or that the carriage, &c., is  
never any more than 3s. 6d.; but merely that it *has been*  
so brought to England.

Page 15, lines 7 & 8, *for cannot read can.*

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# BRITISH INDUSTRY

OR

## FOREIGN LABOUR.

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A FEW WORDS

DRESSED TO THE WORKING CLASSES.

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LONDON:—JOHN OLLIVIER, 59, PALL MALL.

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YOU have no doubt heard of the repeal of the Corn Laws. There are very few persons, we imagine, who have heard of this question, by name at least, in the present

Probably you have been told that by a repeal of the Corn Laws, you, and others in a similar condition with yourselves, will obtain great and immediate benefits. Perhaps you have been told—of what, indeed, are you told by certain persons?—that not only will the price of bread be reduced by a repeal of these laws, but that the cost of every other commodity, also, will be diminished in a similar proportion, that meat, vegetables, wines, woollens, linens, shoes, stockings, hats, in short

1546.





every article which we require either for food or raiment will be reduced in price by such a measure. But have you been told of something else which will be the consequence of a repeal of the Corn Laws? Have you been told of a result which will follow from this measure, of much greater importance to you than any of these advantages we have mentioned, which are put forth in so decided and positive a manner by its advocates? Have you been told of a fact, or rather that which will become so we fear, as to use the language of the day a *great fact*, which will proceed from the repeal of the Corn Laws? Have you been told that your wages—yes! mark that, I entreat you—your wages, will be reduced in amount, and that in a far greater proportion than any reduction which can possibly take place in the cost of the necessaries of life? Would you rather think not; this part of the story has been kept, with great care, in the back ground. Your informants know very well that this will be the sure and inevitable result of the repeal of the Corn Laws; but they would scarcely venture to tell you of it, well aware, as they must be, that the knowledge of such a circumstance, on your part, would cause all their arguments and declarations about the other benefits of the measure to appear worthless in your eyes. What advantage would it be to you for bread, for vegetables, for liquors, to fall in price, for the cost of your coat, your hat, your shoes, to be diminished, if the means which you possess for the purchase of such articles are to be reduced in amount at the same time, and in a much greater proportion? No. You will tell them in that case, “we care not for your arguments and your fine speeches about repealing the Corn Laws, about free-trade, and removing restrictive duties. We live by the wages which we receive, we do not keep ourselves and our families by long arguments about such matters as you are talking of. If our wages are to be reduced, how are we to go on as we have hitherto done? Tell us that, and perhaps we may then

listen to you with a little more patience." But they cannot tell you that, clever and ingenious, full of devices to answer every purpose, and ready at giving reasons or what appear to be such—much the same thing perhaps with them—as many of these persons are, we believe it is beyond even their ability to inform a working man how he may go to market with ten shillings and purchase a greater amount of articles with that sum than he did before with twenty shillings. And yet such, or something very much like it, will be the effect of the reduction of wages, resulting from the repeal of the Corn Laws.

No. Such a question as this would stagger even their audacity, and raise the flush of shame—can such a thing be possible—in a member of the Anti-Corn-Law League.

But, perhaps, you may think that I am also seeking to deceive you. Perhaps you may think that I am also telling you what is untrue, when I say that your wages will be reduced if these laws are repealed. Be it so: only give me your attention for a brief space, and I think that I shall be able to change your opinion. Suppose the repeal of the Corn Laws to be carried; the consequence of such a measure will be—and remember that this result is what the friends of repeal are continually holding forth as an inducement for urging it on—that corn will be admitted from abroad without the payment of any duty at all, or of one so small in amount as to be only nominal, and the price of wheat will fall immediately in a very considerable degree. "Well then," you will, perhaps, turn round upon me and say, "We shall have cheap bread." Perhaps you may. But what will the farmer do, who even at the present time obtains a very moderate profit from the cultivation of corn? He must look about him, and see how he can be able to meet this reduction of his profits. The first thing he will naturally do, will of course be, either to pay less wages to his labourers, or else by altering the cultivation of his land, to employ a smaller number, which will of

course produce the same effect in the end, as those labourers who are thrown out of employment, will immediately offer their services at a much lower rate, in order to obtain work. One of these courses the farmer will be compelled to take, or else he must prepare to be ruined. But you will say, "he must pay less rent for his farm, that will enable him to go on as well as before." That you may be assured is the first step which he will take. You may depend upon it, that he will immediately ask his landlord for a reduction of rent, and in addition to this, as I have already said, will reduce his expences, and amongst others, the amount of the wages which he pays to his labourers. Whatever may be the reduction in his rent, you may be certain he will do this. All persons engaged in business endeavour, by all fair means, to obtain as large a profit as they can. We suppose it will not be denied that the farmer has as much right to do this as any of the large manufacturers, who are at present agitating the country from one end to the other, in order to obtain a repeal of the Corn-Laws. The farmer then finding his profits diminished one half, in order to counterbalance this great loss, will curtail his expenditure, and give a less rent to his landlord. But as the wages which he pays to his work-people cannot be reduced below a certain amount, so neither can the rent which he pays be diminished to such a degree as would leave him in reality in possession of the land and all its profits. The landlord, I suppose, has an equal right to enjoy his own with the rest of the community. Perhaps you may think his rights a matter of very little importance. Great pains, we fear, have been taken by wicked and designing persons, to impress such an opinion on your minds, by the gross and scandalous falsehoods which, for the sake of their own base and interested purposes, they are in the habit of propagating with regard to this portion of your fellow-countrymen. I hope your own good sense has enabled

you to disregard and treat with contempt their evil and wicked suggestions. If not, perhaps your self-interest may influence you a little. "What has our interest to do with the property of the landlords?" you may perhaps say. answer, much more than you think. If the rents fall, and those pecuniary means which the landlords have to spend are diminished in amount, how will they be able to make the same purchases as before, how will they be able to buy the same articles, whether necessities or luxuries, which they have been accustomed to do, the making and fabrication of all which articles, remember, keeps you in employment, maintains you and others like you, together with your families, many in great comfort, and all in a state far removed from want. But if the tradesman refuses to sell the same number of those commodities in which he deals, how can he *also* go on? He must either, in the case of the farmer, employ a less number of workmen, or else reduce the wages of all. In either case you will suffer grievously, and there will unhappily be no remedy for your suffering. The tradesman, as we said of the farmer, must live, must maintain himself and family. But if the profits which enable him to do all this, are taken away from him, as they certainly will be, by the measure of which we have spoken, what other resource is left him, however painful it may be, but to dismiss many of those persons whom he employs, or else, should he still keep them on, to pay them smaller wages, so as in some degree to enable him to sustain his loss of business.

But this is not all. The pecuniary means which the landlord possesses being greatly reduced, he will, as a matter of necessity, be compelled to contract his expenditure in other matters, besides those which we have already specified. He will be obliged to employ fewer servants in his house, fewer labourers on his premises, and to discontinue those various works and undertakings, for the purpose either of improving or ornamenting his estate, which give

occupation and the means of subsistence to numbers of persons who would otherwise be destitute of work, and many of which are set on foot solely for this excellent and benevolent purpose. But what is much worse than all, he will we fear be compelled, painful and distressing as such a course will be to his feelings, to contract and reduce the number and amount of his charities, to curtail that vast and extensive benevolence which is exercised in such a liberal, generous, and impartial spirit by the landlords of England. However much you may have been set against the landlords, by those mischievous and wicked persons, who, although they may call themselves your friends, are in reality your bitterest foes, you cannot, I say, deny to them the praise of great and unbounded charity towards the poor and needy; of kind and benevolent assistance to the wants and distresses of their poorer brethren.

In no country in the world indeed, is such an amount, or anything like such an amount of money given away to the poor, as in this, your native land; and when I say this, I do not mean to speak of the great and magnificent public charities of this country; I am speaking of what is given away in private charity, in voluntary benevolence; and who shall dare to say that by far the greater portion of this, is not bestowed by the landowners of England, by those very persons who you are so often told forsooth! think only of their own interests, and their own comforts?

Now all this, and much more than this, if we had space or time to state it to you at length, will be the sure and inevitable consequence of this measure about which you hear so much said, the repeal of the Corn Laws, namely. Do you think that these results are to be classed among the *benefits* of such a measure? Have I answered your question then; have I deceived you or have I told you the truth? I leave it to your own good sense and experience to decide. I am quite certain that if left alone with these you will be able to form a right judgment.

Do not then suffer yourselves to be acted on by every statement which you hear, no matter how monstrous and incredible it may be, without giving yourselves time to examine whether it is true or not. Do not permit yourselves to listen to crafty and designing persons, employed by the manufacturing interest to impose on your understandings, by making statements, which they themselves well know to be utterly false and without foundation, and which they put forth only to lead you astray, that they may use you as tools for effecting their own selfish and interested purposes, which are neither more or less, than to bring down the price of bread, in order that they may reduce the wages of the operatives whom they employ in their manufactories, and thus be enabled to send abroad a larger stock of goods, utterly regardless of the misery and wretchedness which they will inflict on you and others by so doing. Do not suffer yourselves to be gulled and deceived by such shallow artifices and contemptible pretexts as these. Do not take up with falsehood, when truth is offered to your choice. Do not follow in the path pointed out to you by craft, artifice, and selfish cunning. Do not blindly and voluntarily permit yourselves to be hoodwinked by those, who however they may profess to the contrary, are your real enemies, to the prejudice of those who are your best friends. And whatever you may think, such will be the case if you determine to take part with the manufacturing interest, who are endeavouring to introduce free trade, in order that they may build up overgrown fortunes at the expense of the comforts, nay of the means of subsistence of their countrymen, instead of following those who in advocating protective duties, are not advocating their own interest alone, neither the interest of the landowner, the farmer, or the tradesman only, but in a much greater degree, the interests of British industry, the interests of the natives of the soil, the claim to live by his own industry, of the English labourer, and the English

workman—in one word, the rights of British labour, as opposed to the labour of the Frenchman, the Belgian, the Prussian, the Russian, or the American. This after all is the question to be determined ; whether you will lend your assistance to those who are desirous to repeal the Corn Laws and all other laws which act as a protection to British labour, and by so doing, become the means of bringing into this country a large and overwhelming supply of articles, the production of foreign lands, which will instantly displace in the English markets all articles of a similar kind up to this time manufactured by your countrymen under the operation of the Corn Laws and other laws protective of trade; the makers of which, remember, will be reduced to destitution and ruin from their inability to compete in lowness of price with the inhabitants of foreign countries—an inability which can never be removed, owing to various causes over which there is no control.

THE END.

[REDACTED]

13

**ORN AND CONSISTENCY.**

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**A**

**FEW REMARKS**

**IN REPLY TO**

**A PAMPHLET ENTITLED**

**MR ROBERT PEEL AND THE CORN LAW  
CRISIS."**



**LONDON:**  
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AN apologist of Sir Robert Peel has written a pamphlet upon "the Corn-law Crisis." It is written in a spirit of candour and good sense, with an apparent desire of ascertaining and enforcing what is really best for the country in the peculiar circumstances in which it is placed, irrespectively of party prejudices and of personal predilections or animosities. The aspect of this spirit, so rare in a politician, and so impossible in a partisan, combined with an unaffected and agreeable style and the practical acuteness of an obvious man of the world, must secure to it respect and attention; but in proportion as these are deservedly bestowed, it is worth while to examine, if its view be really sound and irrefragable, and if it really embraces all the physical and moral elements involved in the momentous decision which the country is called upon to make upon the conduct of its government. For there are two questions,

essentially separate, which are to be considered in coming to this decision ;—first, whether the opinions entertained upon the question at issue are right or wrong, necessary or uncalled for, in themselves ?—and secondly, whether, supposing them to be necessary, that necessity has been created, and is to be succumbed to, in the manner most conformable to the principles upon which a moral popular government should be conducted ? It is very essential, in the endeavour to form a correct judgment upon the present aspect of political affairs, to keep these questions distinct ; for while one of them is of too complicated a nature to make dogmatism on either side expedient or safe, the other depends upon principles with which every one is much more familiar, and to which every one has much more unerring guides in his own understanding and moral sense. The vexed abstract question of the probable effect of the free importation of corn, does indeed involve so many considerations of a kind to render all but conjecture and plausible influence impossible, that there are few reflecting and philosophical minds which do not confess, at least to themselves, that it is beyond their power to estimate those effects with any approach to certainty. Who ever read a pamphlet upon the subject in which he could not put his finger upon a fact distorted, or an element omitted ? Who ever at-

tempted to combine those elements and their probable results into a definite system or conclusion of his own, who did not find himself met at every turn by possibilities upon which he could not presume to be positive, and entangled in a maze of intricate statistics, of various economical and legislative fluctuations, sufficient to impair the most plausible hypothesis, and arrest the career of the most conceited economist? Accordingly, the abstract merits of the question, which have besides been over and over again tested with as much elaborate analysis as their intricacy was capable of, are but lightly touched upon in the pamphlet, and might be suffered to rest upon the footing on which previous writers and speakers had placed them, without further allusion to them, were there not a few remarks of the author on that branch of the subject, which, from their apparently fair and common sense view, are calculated to have an undue effect if not a little examined. But as it is the inevitableness rather than the wisdom of the proposed innovations which seems chiefly to affect his prudent mind, and to be the chief object of his essay to develope, it will not be requisite to work out the objections to this class of his remarks with the minuteness of which they might be capable, but merely to throw a passing glance upon them sufficient to prevent their being altogether taken upon trust.

His first inference in favour of the innocuous character of free importation as affects the agriculture of the country, is derived from the description of persons who support it; "Men like the Dukes of Bedford and Devonshire, Lords Spencer and Fitzwilliam, amongst the greatest landed proprietors—and their wealth consists exclusively of land,—without questioning their disinterestedness and public spirit, it may be assumed have not the smallest inclination to become martyrs, to descend to a condition of mediocrity, and immolate themselves on the altar of Patriotism."

This short argument seems to involve a fallacy in principle, and a fallacy in detail and fact. In principle, it is seen every day that party habit, party passion, and still more, perhaps, party persuasion, lead men to rush with a blind eagerness upon measures and actions which the calmer and perhaps abler bystander perceives to be injurious to them, as surely as the keen observer of a rubber at whist appreciates the ruinous result of the card of the inferior player, as he contemplates with an amused disdain the perilous complacency of the unskilful victim. The success, or the expediency, of the political game, is not always either determined or discerned by the interests of those who have the greatest stake in it. Before any great importance can be attached to the views of men, even upon those questions which

most nearly concern them, it is necessary to inquire, first of their capacity, and next of their tendency, to think originally for themselves, or to be swayed by the thoughts and wills of others. More especially is this necessary in deep and intricate philosophical questions, which it requires habits of severe thought and profound inquiry to appreciate. All arguments based upon the assumption that men invariably know what is best for themselves, are eminently fallacious in principle.

It will be found, on a careful attention, that as a matter of fact and detail, the argument of the pamphlet on this point is still more unfounded. Nothing is more remarkable in the Corn-Law question,—nothing accounts more curiously for the comparative apathy of some of the higher aristocracy in regard to it, than the observation, how little the interests of the greater proprietors are affected by it in comparison with those of the smaller. It is in truth a yeoman and gentry question. When about half a dozen of the greater landed proprietors, possessed of superlative incomes, have been named, we have probably nearly all whose incomes are derived exclusively from the surface of the soil; the remainder have great extrinsic anchorages, which render their revenues almost, certainly their enjoyments, independent of the cultivation of the soil at all. Mines, coals,

canals, railways, docks, wharfs, large tracts of streets and markets in those towns which are to thrive upon the ruins (if ruined) of the rural country, make the large majority of the higher territorial aristocracy comparatively indifferent, as far as their own income is concerned, to the price of grain, or the abandonment of a further portion of the land to their woods, parks, and chaces: assuredly those named (probably from the ingenious acuteness of the writer, the best that could be selected,) would not be among the most stripped and prominent martyrs of the new faith, whose shrine must smoke with humbler victims. There is enough in Bloomsbury, St. Pancras, and Covent Garden alone, to preserve unabated, to an easily liberal owner, the luxurious comfort of Woburn, though all the surrounding domain of that perfect abode should revert to its original forest. Do not scores of cities, towns, and districts, crowd upon the memory, equally favourable to the felicitous conversion of the bigoted agriculturist to the liberal economist?

The small squire, the humble yeoman, or the toiling cultivator of the poorer soil, whose hard-gotten return will be the first to vanish from the fall, if any, of the remunerating price,—may indeed find his understanding convinced by either of the opposite lines of argument addressed to

him; but he will look well about him before he is seduced from his suspicion of the menaced danger to his slender patrimony by the unexpectingly enjoyed economic prolusions, or party vagaries, of Dukes of Sutherland and Bedford.

The general concurrence of able thinkers and writers upon political economy, and that of active public men of different politics, in the enunciated dogma, (to which, however, so many of the latter have been rather suddenly and recently converted,) might no doubt have a strong influence in inclining the mind to a belief in its correctness, could the eyes be shut to the powerful extrinsic causes which lead to the profession of it. The theory itself is superficially captivating. It is of course greedily embraced by the crowd, to whom the notion of cheaper food is naturally attractive, and has been in all ages and countries the deluding cry with which ambitious men have successfully laboured to enlist in their favour the suffrages and passions of the populace; all its ulterior bearings upon that populace itself are kept out of sight, or derided as the suggestions of interested property. In proportion as the poorer portion of the community advance in physical and political power, it becomes more necessary to conciliate, and more expedient to deceive them. All the meaner and more selfish qualities of their flatterers are embarked in ad-



ministering to the passions through which they thrive, and which place them in their own position. The voice of moderation and truth is lost in the noise of the hurly-burly biddings for mob approbation, and the most extravagant professions become requisite to eclipse the feeble adulations of the last candidate for it. The author of the pamphlet lays great stress upon the circumstance of so many of the principal speakers who command attention being opponents of the Corn Laws; but in estimating the value of their apparently abstract opinions, it must be remembered that a large portion of those speakers dare no more, with reference to their interest with the peculiar constituencies created by the Reform Bill, utter a word in favour of agricultural protection, than a Greek orator would have dared to recommend the appropriation of the revenues of the theatre to the most imperative exigences of finance, or than a Roman would have dared to propose the exile of ever so pernicious a citizen.

It is a confined and hazardous, though not uncommon habit, to suppose the most obtrusive and constant declaimers upon political topics,—who are, for the most part, the persons who “command attention” in popular assemblies,—to be those who are the best capable of forming a sound judgment, or are the safest index of

popular opinion. The power of arresting the attention of an audience, by addressing to them just such observations as they are in a mood to hear, in a way that is agreeable to them, is of itself so influential upon the senses, and so productive of reputation, that the possessors of it are very apt to pass for more than they are worth. But if, in addition to this, it should turn out that while the chief part of the assailants have a direct interest in class, power, and position, to enforce the theory, while the most influential of those who should defend, are in a condition to be personally indifferent to the triumph of a creed which it is unpopular to oppose,—the community chiefly affected being a little prominent though valuable second class, who may be swamped by the roll over them of the tide of municipal and manufacturing power, an ocean on which new powers may yet triumphantly ride, and in which leviathans may still disport themselves, the apathy, or the conversion, of members of parliament may be accounted for upon other principles than those of philosophical thought, and the multiplied influences operating upon their sentiments and votes, will leave to these no great authority in the mind of a philosophical observer.

The next argument, that the landed proprietors had been raised to a more than just prosperity by

the war, from which they have not, as yet, been justly lowered since the peace, (an argument, by-the-by, which supposes the removal of protection to be a punishment, but a just one,) will, it is believed, be found to rest on no surer foundation. The rise in the nominal value of land, both by the stimulus applied by the war, and still more by the enormous depreciation of the currency which artificially affected price, was doubtless great; but in proportion to that very nominal value, has been the unexampled practical depression of its profits and resources since the taxes and engagements, imposed and assumed under the system of those nominal prices, have continued to be paid in a restored currency, and in the face of hostile tariffs and the competition of the world. Is the price of land in such a locality as Lancashire any criterion for the condition of the land of the kingdom? Take a purely rural district;—inquire in the village who it is that lives in the modest gabled house, and the yeoman's farm, and ascertain how many such are still inhabited by the descendants of the families who had been there from Charles II. to 1815. The fields and the houses are there, it is true; the land exists, and it is not contended that there will be *no* proprietor; but a race has, under the dispensation of 1819, and the influx of foreign produce, passed silently away. They are not missed by the great mansion on the hill, or

by the butcher in the village, who gets the same profit on his 6½d. as he did on his 10d. a pound. True, the more fastidious lord of the former, who associated with the departed, somewhat shrinks from the novel tenant, (a great moral change, though not an economical one,) and the tradesman has abated somewhat of his respect for an inhabitant whom no antiquity or remembered benefit links with the neighbourhood; but these are not the sufferers. It is the small intermediate landlord who vanishes. The tide has swept quietly over him, the ripple rapidly closing over the pool in which he has sunk, and he is extinct, or wanders about in towns and colonies in a subordinate position.

A reflection upon this fact, which may be brought home to the experience of every one who examines a rural neighbourhood, may justify, even if the Free Trade theory be sound for the general wealth, the anxiety of those who have felt their small annual income to be dwindling to a pittance during five and twenty years, and even excuse a doubt if the increased accumulations of Manchester and Sheffield will repay to *them*, at least, the decline and decay to which they may be personally subjected. It may be some praise to a statistical minister, if great changes and transfers of property are so conducted as to take place without convulsion, but the feeble cry of

the extinguished, as they subside with a weak and contemned resistance, may at least be deemed natural and deserving of allowance. Is it true that land in rural districts brings, if sold, an undiminished price? It must be a very peculiar experience that would say so. It may indeed be sold at as many years' purchase; perhaps the desire, on many accounts, apart from the mere profit, to possess it,—combined with the difficulty of employing the accumulations of trading capital—may even have augmented that number of years; but is such purchase calculated on the whole, or on two thirds, ay, or on one half, the rent which it would have been twenty years ago? Would anything like the same sum be given for the same land? Assuredly not. The landed proprietor does not exist who is receiving anything approaching to the amount of farming rent which his father received, and upon which he has to discharge the same burdens and engagements; and, observe, must always have to discharge them, except under a national bankruptcy, or an adjustment of contracts.

The author's arguments upon the difficulties of suddenly augmenting production abroad, and his allusion to the statistical probabilities of the question, have a sounder character, and are doubtless among those best calculated to inspire a hope that the dreaded convulsion of most important

interests may be more trifling than is anticipated, or, at the worst, more gradual. But although it has seemed desirable somewhat to neutralize the force of the general remarks of the pamphlet upon the abstract question, that question must, after all, be left, to any mind desirous of truth, in the difficult dilemma in which the reasonings or declamations of its most strenuous adherents combine to leave it. Up jumps the agitator of the hungry mob,—the delegate of the avaricious manufacturer, who desires, for the purpose of increasing his profits, that he may feed his workmen for less, and sell his cottons cheaper, secure that whatever advantage the operative gets in price will go into his own pocket in the shape of saved wages,—and announces that the producer of corn is a grasping tyrant who starves the poor by an inhuman protection to his own affluence, to which their lives and little children are the sacrifice. “The people,” cries he, “are the hungry and emaciated victims of a class; (as if the class were not also the people;) the ports of Europe and America are golden with grain waiting upon their shores to bless you with abundance, and a patrician legislation forbids you to eat it. Sweep away this pestilent monopoly, and loaves will fall into your laps for asking. Who cares for the ruthless oppressor who has for years deprived your families of bread? Perish the selfish and abandoned producer, and let the poor

man live !” No wonder that the admiring crowd stand agape at the benevolence of the oratorical philanthropist, and are aghast at the ogre cruelties of the convicted, though indirect, assassin,—the famine-striking giant of the field ! Anon appears to the flexible auditory, a tenant farmer, converted, by some miraculous process, spite of his acres, to the sublime theories of Free Trade,—pregnant with practical experiences,—swelling with statistical details,—“ holding in his hand” Reports from Dantzic, and Tables and Travels from Odessa,—M’Culloch on his lips, and Marshall at his finger’s ends,—

“ In sums and mathematics greater  
Than Tycho Brahe or Erra Pater,”

and demonstrates with geometric scale and inextinguishable precision, that nothing of all this can take place ; that freight and foreign means, limited powers of production, and limited capacities of transport, difficulties of foreign land, and difficulties of foreign legislation, interpose inseparable barriers to importation, and make it impossible that price can be seriously affected. He asserts that it has never been maintained by protection, nor can be diminished by repeal ;—that nothing, therefore, but a blind and besotted ignorance of geography and fact could make the farmer suppose that either protection or repeal was of the least importance to him ; and that the inoperative enactment may be effaced from the statute-

book with as little change to the community, or any class of it, as if it were a law against witches. Is it credible that the same audience should eagerly applaud and adopt these mutually destructive reasonings? If the allies thus shoot from north to south into each other's mouths, and are content mutually to annihilate each other's arguments by their antagonist thunders, the third and neutral party might be contented to leave the result to the wisdom of their united efforts, if reason and reflection had that power over the minds of men which the author of this pamphlet must suppose them to have, before he could look upon the convictions of a multitude, or the professions of fencing politicians, as an authority to which we are bound to defer.

It is possible, perhaps even probable, that the agricultural Free Trader's view may be correct. But either that appeal is a gross falsification of the question, to lull the fears or intimidate the judgment of the class to be sacrificed,—or the other is the most barefaced delusion for personal objects by which insolent faction ever attempted to excite the hungry stomach and agitable brain. It is difficult to see how the Corn-Law question, whichever way its merits be resolved, can be extricated from this dilemma. If the appeal to humanity be just, it is only through the injury of the home grower that the remedy proclaimed



can be effected, and his solicitude, at least, is justifiable and inevitable. If the liberal economist's pretext be rational, and no convulsive alteration of price is to be looked for, then the vilified law, legislator, and landlord, are wholly innocuous, and nothing can be more vicious and immoral, or more supremely ridiculous, than the yell and the assault by which it is attempted to hunt them down.

When a question is in this condition among its most animated adherents, deriving their inspiration from such opposite mysteries, we need not suppose it to be such as no good or wise man can continue to doubt upon. Even the thoughtful convictions of those who, having recorded their deliberate sentiments against the repeal, and enjoyed ten years of power without propounding it, "fling it down," upon involuntarily taking upon themselves the wide irresponsibilities of opposition, "into the arena of political strife" to embarrass their successors, and decline, upon being afforded the opportunity, to undertake the perils of recommending it as ministers,—need not dazzle or prostrate our individual understandings, or constitute us disabled from entertaining and enforcing those individual sentiments, the aggregate of which makes up public opinion; and which every honest citizen of a free community is called upon to entertain and enforce

according to the understanding within him, lest public opinion should come to mean only the expression of the most vehement and headlong wills and the most unscrupulous consciences. The apologist himself appears to be somewhat embarrassed by these perplexities, and to be infected by that fashion of Free Trade which relies upon positions that contradict one another. One elaborate group presents us with the principle of protection, caressed, cherished, and proclaimed by the leading statesmen of all parties,—fondled in the joint bosom of Tory and Whig—defended by common consent and with a joint affection, against a coarse Cobden and a visionary Villiers; the other, the land alarmed by constant warnings and mysterious hints of hostility—dim vistas of danger and ruin continually presented, with an oracular meaning, to their wilful blindness—the suspicious chorus of the Carlton perpetually aroused by kind preparations for disaster, and intended to break to them the unwelcome “Explanation” that the pretended principle was only an agreeable masque performing for their temporary gratification; and that while they were dreaming away their hour in the pleasing illusion of its reality, there was to be found, in some dark recess of a three hours’ speech on some scanty night of the session, a half-formed embryo of expression which con-

tained the germ of a brighter intelligence, before whose adult effulgence they would one day be called upon to bow down.

“Such welcome and unwelcome news at once” it is no doubt somewhat “hard to reconcile.” There seems to be something or other in this Corn-law affair, and in this political position, which at any rate makes it extremely difficult for plain, reasonable men to show, or perhaps to know, what they clearly think and mean;—“Quare, ut ad id, quod institui, revertar,—tolle mihi? e causâ, nomen Catonis,” and let us consider ourselves free to look upon the aspects of the political condition with reference to general principles, without being unduly overawed, either by numbers or authority. Indeed, the writer does not found his appeal upon any decided conviction of the justice or the propriety of the proposed measure itself. His chief argument in favour of a support of the Government in carrying it resolves itself into this: “Some people liking it so very much, and so many, for one reason or another, yielding to it,—the people to be injured being so powerless and stupid, and those to be gratified so pressing and clever,—the thing, right or wrong, must be done;” not a very high ground, it must be confessed, to take upon a matter which, either way, affects the interests of an empire; but even after this conclusion, it would

be rather a *non-sequitur* that it must be done by those persons who had always most resisted it, if he had not also established as a postulate in his mind, that it was impossible that a government could be carried on in England unless Sir R. Peel were at the head of it. He is the "Sole Sir o' the world," whose star is so completely in the ascendant that all other influences must droop in its presence, and succumb with a mute passiveness to whatever he may choose to dictate. This leads him into a comparison of the relative claims of his party and himself upon one another, which is scarcely just by the flock, and upon which he founds an inference rather too favourable to the shepherd. There is little temptation, to a fair and ingenuous mind, to descend with a vulgar malice to mistrusting the capacity, or to impugning the motives, of a man like Sir Robert Peel. Every honourable mind must be eager to do justice to his zeal for the welfare of his country,—his earnest desire to propose such measures as he deems to be beneficial,—the vigilant prudence and expert sagacity which he displays in procuring their enactment,—the absence of selfish objects in his career, excepting so far as the suggestions of a high and honourable ambition may be termed so. He may even be the man of the realm the most possessed of these qualities and capacities, and of those multiplied attributes

whose union is essential for the supreme administration of affairs ; and yet there may be courses which are not to be permitted to him, and positions which he ought not to occupy. Higher and more eternal principles of constitutional government may be involved than the mere abilities and eloquence, and even honest intention, of any individual statesman can compensate the violation of ; and the neglect or contempt of them may even impair his own reputation and usefulness. If we would preserve anything like a high-minded tone in political life, it is well to examine whether this may not be the case in the present instance ; and what is the real political position in which Sir Robert Peel has seen fit to place himself, and in which it is contended that, *per fas et nefas*, he must be sustained.

His apologist has drawn up for him a manifesto setting forth the great services which he rendered to his party while in opposition ; and every one has admitted the skill and power in debate with which he contributed to cement that great combination which arose out of the fragments of the political society shattered by the explosive violence of the Reform Bill,—a combination partly engendered and endowed with vitality by that very violence itself, and the alarms which it very properly gave birth to.

But, whatever benefits the cooperation and skill of Sir Robert Peel conferred upon that combination, it cannot be denied that it conferred fully equivalent advantage upon Sir Robert Peel. A head it no doubt must have had; and fortunate it might well be deemed in securing to itself (as it thought) such a head as it raised and fostered; but the absence of that head could not have quenched the principles, or stifled the sentiments and attachments by which its vitality was informed and animated; and the same interests, the same attachments, and the same alarms, would have combined it, and brought it into parliament, though Sir Robert Peel had taken his place, as perhaps he ought to have done, on the more innovating side of the house. Whatever difficulties, from party arrangements, may now surround the Conservative body in the choice of a champion, or the formation of a cabinet, those difficulties certainly did not exist when Sir R. Peel, encouraging their alarms, applauding their enthusiasms, and favouring their revenge, led them on, with a cry to which he perceived that the country responded, to the overthrow of the Whig Administration. That administration was not overthrown, because it was thought that no individual mind but Sir Robert Peel's was capable of accomplishing the destinies of the country;—it was not overthrown, as is sometimes the case,

because the genius of one man was felt to be of so commanding and paramount a nature, that there was no safety but in his personal views of affairs, and in the preponderance of his individual ideas in the councils of the Sovereign, and the guidance of the vessel of state. The Whig Government was contumeliously destroyed, because it had come to be universally considered as the friend, or at least the flatterer and the slave, of O'Connell, and the enemy of the Protestant Church of England, both in Ireland and here,—the cold protector, if not the insidious foe, of fostered interests and existing institutions,—the party, at any rate, whatever their inclinations, so inextricably pledged by their peculiar position to municipal and popular agitation, that men thought they saw that they had no security even in the possible virtues and understandings of its members, against the perpetually downward course in which they must be hurried,

“ Not having power to do the good they would,  
For the ill which did control them ;—”

a course in which all change was to be considered as synonymous with improvement, all antiquity and attachment voted identical with bigotry and dullness of mind, every new theory and rising influence to be hailed and courted at the expense of the old, as the fit object of worship, and the infallible sign of enlightenment. It is

not intended here to pronounce upon, or to inquire into, the justness or the fallacy of these views, or to moralize upon the disqualifications for government, so sedulously provided by statesmen to themselves, by their improvident passions in opposition; but any one who in those days frequented the re-unions, either public or private, of conservative or neutral parties, or who read the newspapers over their breakfast table, will readily admit that this was the feeling which had gradually grown up in England, and which led to the remarkable manifestation of its power in the elections of 1841.

Was this a feeling dependent upon the talents or character of any individual, however distinguished? Was this a feeling which needed mere expertness of tactics and sagacity of details to make itself heard and respected in Parliament? Must the combined sentiments—passions if you will—of vengeance for the past,—contempt for the present,—and fear for the future, have lacked a leader or a voice, unless expounded through the sagacious subtleties of Sir Robert Peel?

His own course furnishes the best reply to these interrogations. Sir Robert Peel was chosen to represent and embody this great compound of political elements, because the whole tenor of his career and professions had induced a general belief that his political mind was in unison with it.



Without examining, with a special pleading accuracy, whether an occasional and obscure shade of language, lost in the general glow and colouring of his conservative eloquence, might not be construed into a dim prediction of the change to come, it must in fairness be considered clear, that the whole general tone of his language, of his maxims, and of that portion of his political mind which he permitted to appear, was founded upon, and fell in with, this rising, or risen, wrath of the conservative interests of the kingdom, and was eminently calculated, instead of modifying and tranquillising, and making it more modest, to assure its confidence and self-love, and render it, as it supposed, triumphant.

When the ecclesiastical or economical policy of the Whigs was so fiercely denounced, did Sir Robert Peel step in, like the moderating chorus of the Grecian drama, to temper the passions, and assuage the extravagances of the passing scene, and impart the decorous propriety of a philosophical scepticism to the creeds or the cries of the actors? No. "The battle must be fought in the Registration Courts!" What battle? Who were the combatants thus adjured to gird on themselves the means of victory, and what were the implied objects for which they were to be armed to contend? Free Trade,—Catholic endowment,—offended farmers,—and the econo-

mical wisdom of the League? Any or all of these things may be such as great or good men may contemplate as essential for the exigences of the time; but as there was a very fair chance of their accomplishment through other agencies than a conservative majority, it would not seem absolutely requisite that tories and agriculturists should "register," with a view to such a desirable consummation.

The real state of the case, without any particular praise or blame of either side, may probably be fairly stated thus:—Sir Robert Peel plainly perceived at this period, that a great conservative party had remained in the country, and gathered a mighty re-active force which must, for a time at least, be dominant, and might, by a discreet management, be turned to high and shining purposes of political pride and power. He perceived them to be animated by, and to derive their moral strength from, a set of predilections and prejudices which had a deep root in the English heart and system, which might safely be applauded, hurrah'd, perhaps almost participated, in the abstract, and gradually loosened and undermined, (as no doubt he thought it for the benefit of the empire that they should be,) in the detail. If without their observation, or by their gradual cession to the illuminations of what he deemed reason and experience, so much the

better ; but that at any rate, a machinery might thus be consolidated, irresistible by an opponent through the force of principles, yet manageable by an engineer through laxity of tenets,—which partly by their own subserviency, partly by the pressure supplied by their antagonists, might by degrees be conducted to ends far other than their own, but of which they would ultimately reap their reward in the general benefit, and of which he should himself be the admired and applauded instrument.

This is no inimical estimate of the probable dictates of Sir Robert Peel's political mind. It is, no doubt, a somewhat hazardous and slippery course for a statesman, and one of which the wisdom may be questioned ; but it by no means follows that it is taken with a dishonest intention. A highly cultivated and profoundly reflecting imagination may be so dazzled and inflamed by visions of a bright futurity of regeneration and perfectness, that it may overlook minor scruples and nice refinements in party ethics, (which have some confusion in their very constitution,) in the earnest desire to arrive at their glorious goal.

Sir Robert Peel on this occasion, appears to have subscribed the " 39 Articles " of the conservative creed, " in the sense of Tract No. 90. He had lights and inspirations beyond the reach of his followers at the time, but to which he

might hope, through the agency of that very subscription, by a judicious course to guide them ; but in order to do so, it was obviously necessary to start with more conservative impression, and less prospect of innovation, than befitted a real sincerity. Somehow or other, notwithstanding the indications of a double construction which we are told were ingeniously diffused through the Delphian *Carmina* evolved from the Shrine, an universal belief provided among the "*laudatores temporis acti*," that upon the contumelious dismissal of the government of 1841, something very different and opposed was to be substituted. Without questioning the singleness of intention in regard to the ulterior end of good government, a query can hardly fail to suggest itself, whether it was possible that a leader so presenting himself should not be mistaken, and a party so constituted should not be deceived. The more or less of the false impression on the one side or of the undue encouragement of it upon the other—the nice frontier between the suppression of the true, and the suggestion of the false, which partook partially of each—the folly of confidence on the one side, or the demerit of concealment upon the other, may be dismissed as little worthy of discussion, by one neither desirous of depreciating Sir Robert Peel, nor of exaggerating the soundness of the views and convictions of the Conservative body.

The degree of dissimulation in the leader, or of negligent trust in the led are more interesting to the personal passions of the parties, than to the calm observer of both ; but it is otherwise, (admitting the result,) with regard to the political position which that state of things has brought about.

For good or for ill, (and it is very doubtful which,) the government of this country is conducted upon an admitted principle of party ; It seems indeed to be universally recognized as a machinery inseparable from the due course of representative governments ; and one, into which, to secure their regular operation at all, and to preserve anything like unity of design or fixity of demeanour, they must inevitably fall. It seems, *primâ facie*, a monstrous anomaly, and an almost ludicrous departure from all notions of civilized government, and of deliberative assemblies, that three or four hundred persons should be banded together in a kind of hereditary feud of politics as a clan devoted to the wills and dictation of one or two leading chieftains, prepared to form, propound, or suppress, all kinds of opinions, and bring to bear the energies of debate, or the inert but still more useful massiveness of votes, against whatever measure is concocted, or whatever act is resolved upon by the honestest and ablest statesman ;—a statesman who will have

probably stormed, by a majority composed upon similar arrangements, the executive citadel of the crown. It is a system in which at first sight, individual judgment, conscience, and the decent respectabilities of inquiry and deliberation would appear to be absorbed and swamped,—the counsel to the sovereign by the subject for the best, to be rendered, if not absolutely impossible, more difficult,—and the safety of the empire to depend, not upon the vigilance of able and patriotic bodies, who while they control and guide, also assist, the administration of the state, but upon a set of men, actuated, to think even the best of them, by the most obstinate prejudices, the most arbitrary personal allegiances, and the most fantastical notions and fetters of clanship and party etiquette. Any long observer of the working of this machinery must have seen so many occasions in which the best course has been absolutely impracticable from party arrangements, and some of the worst indulged in for the same reasons, notwithstanding a general patriotism, knowledge, and public spirit in the nation,—so many weak governments with all the materials for a strong one—so much disguise of real opinion, and fraudulent profession of pretext,—that he may be even sometimes driven to a passing doubt, whether, with a view to complete good government under a popular system, even the

flatteries and intrigues of the court are not preferable, as a means of arriving at power, to the frauds, exaggerations, passions and pretences of party;—whether it be not safer that the choice of the ministerial instruments should be practically, as it is in theory, in the hands of the Crown,—and that its measures, and not the persons, should be the real objects of the watchfulness and examination of parliament. And unquestionably such a doubt daily gathers additional strength from the present aspect of the House of Commons, when, instead of being divided into two great parties, animated in the main by nearly the same maxims of Government, though injuring and stabbing one another in conformity with the received obligations and code of party cohesion, it daily becomes more and more broken up into various little detachments of political condottieri, banded together for small crotchets or personal objects, and able at any moment, by this kind of neutral and independent influence, still further to corrupt the views and perplex the combinations of the more established and regular parties. Nor can the circumstance of its being now necessary for every one to pass perpetually through the doubtful and fettering, often corrupting, ordeal of a popular election before he can become, or continue,

even a subordinate servant of the state, however fitted for administrative and departmental Avocation, be by any means omitted in a due poisoning of this question. This, however, is not the place for a developement of either the vices or the merits of the system ; it is, as we all know, easy to supply solid arguments in its favour, and at any rate, whether for good or for ill, England is still governed by party.

But the only conceivable principle upon which the government by party can possibly be conducted for any honest and useful purposes, is that each of the principal claus or parties should strictly and obviously represent some definite sentiment and tendency of government, which, gradually clustering round it all admirers of that sentiment and tendency, should rise to the surface when that sentiment and tendency are predominant, and subside, when from changing circumstances, real or supposed exigency, or the fluctuations of theoretical opinion, the wants and wishes of the community, as expressed in elections, decidedly exhibit themselves in a contrary direction. It is the very essence of the present system of government that that rule should be invariably adhered to ; for in no other imaginable way can there be any security to either an elector or a representative against the counterfeit by any ambitious rogue of feelings and in-



tentions diametrically opposite to his real designs. The harangue of the hustings must become a still more misleading fraud than it is,—an habitual and universal mistrust of public measures and public persons must result; and moderate disinterested men, not seeing where to rely, or what to prognosticate, from the presence of any particular persons in power, would grow at last to suspect and dislike the operation of popular representation itself, and fly to some forms more definite and intelligible, of which they might at least appreciate the aim and the probable issue. There would be a shame in recapitulating truths or truisms so obvious, if there were not so much symptom of overlooking them upon occasions when there is the greatest reason for bearing them in mind. There can be no doubt that this important keystone of safety in the popular party system received the rudest possible shock from the mode of carrying the Roman Catholic Concession Bill, in 1829, when the obvious and obtrusive violation of the principle amounted to an insult to it. It was asserted, perhaps with truth, (for such nicely-balanced difficulties in the selection of a course must always be occurring in human affairs,) that the state of Ireland, the excitement produced by equiponderance of parties here, the growth of a sentiment in a portion of the community of more enlarged tole-

ration, had made the evils of refusing it less than those of granting it. This is a species of ratiocination not unworthy of an upright statesman, nor one to which a philosophical mind can ever be indisposed to listen ; but it was proposed and voted for by those identical persons who had built up their influence, and arrived at Parliament itself, upon the direct faith and understanding, that they were opposed to it from a reasoned and immutable conviction of its being fundamentally contrary to the principles of the state, and the truths of religion,—and it was so carried, with declarations that those convictions were not changed or shaken,—and in the face of a party who had never held those opinions, and who had been excluded from power for years on account of their advocacy of the contrary.

There can scarcely be a doubt in the mind of any one unbiassed by a habit of those lower calculations in politics in which all the finer moralities are frittered and effaced in the estimate of immediate expedencies, and the necessities of occasional compliance, that the Peel party had not a moral right to pass that bill ; that the opponents, who had always advocated it, had an absolute freehold in the measure, and were the only persons who could advise their sovereign to pass it, with an admission on the part of the whole people of England, that they did no more

than their duty, and than was to be expected of them: and if, in the minds of any considerable portion of those opposed to them, such a change had come over the spirit of their political and Protestant dream, as made them ashamed of their original error, and desirous of atoning for it, they might indulge in the new-found light by a generous support of their former adversary, secure at least from the possibility of any imputation of a base subserviency, or a forgetfulness of duty in the pursuit of personal objects. Without desiring to impugn the generous motives of those high-minded persons who offered themselves up on this occasion upon the altar of expediency,—motives which can clearly be understood, and even admiringly appreciated by those desirous to be just,—it is yet possible, consistently with that appreciation, to be of opinion that they committed a grave political error in their idolatry of the minor principle to which they determined to sacrifice. The mere possibility of imputation, however it may appear unjust and improbable to those more disposed to candour and a leniency of criticism, effects, by wounding the general confidence, and imparting a general complexion of insincerity and pretext to the conduct of public men, a more certain and indelible evil in the political condition of a people, than any that a narrow and timid com-

promise of fundamental and comprehensive moralities, for purposes of a supposed convenience, can, even in its best acceptation, avoid or cure. The boon itself conferred seems divested, by the very channel of its transmission, of all grace and propriety ; coldly bestowed by its conferrers,—sullenly mistrusted, while snapped at, by its recipients,—regarded as a grudging sop which fear prompts, and necessity alone has extorted, it abandons power without producing obligation, and lays more bare the breast to the assault of the antagonist, without blunting or turning aside the point directed against it. It is hailed as a hostile triumph, instead of the conceded benefit of an amicable policy, and inspires a more audacious cupidity for the future, without effacing the bitterness of the past,—without even the poor reward of neutralizing the animosity or evading the inconvenience of the present.

These points are not adverted to with the ignoble object of resuscitating extinct passions, and re-opening wounds which time may have begun to cicatrize, but to “point the moral” which should be gleaned from the past, and prescribe the path for the future. The experience of all these natural effects of the mode of carrying the Roman Catholic Relief Bill,—together with a more decided feeling against the particular innovation threatened at the period of the

Reform Bill,—led then to a more legitimate action of the fundamental principle insisted on, though the repetition of the pernicious precedent appeared to be at one time by no means impossible, (so dangerous is the devious path from public rectitude;) and perhaps it was mainly owing to the principle embodied in the unjustly censured declaration of the Duke of Wellington, that the better course was preserved. If revolutions abroad,—the growth of towns at home,—the necessity of reconciling practice with theory,—the increase and varied distribution of population,—the undue weight of the aristocracy in the government, or any of the plausible reasons advanced with all the arts of popular appeal and delusion, and assisted by all the fusions, and combinations evolved from the crucible of party passion, had really generated in the national mind a serious prevailing desire for parliamentary reform,—assuredly the Whigs, who had always advocated it, (though never such a measure as they had the courageous unscrupulousness to propose,) were the persons entitled to administer that agreeable and stimulating potion to the national palate, and to inherit all the credit of its lusciousness, and all the odium of its venom: nor could, from any other hands,—it may be confidently asserted,—the draught be so grateful, or the poison so innocuous. A firm and conscientious band of

physicians, whose distrust of the sparkling mischief had remained unmoved by menace, and un lulled by seduction, remained to regulate the wilder delirium of its intoxication, and to apply to its virus the necessary antidotes; and on no occasion whatever has the signal advantage of political consistency as the rule, been more remarkably illustrated.

But it seems that there is now again a peril, and the able author whom we are considering, appears inclined to contribute to it, that the worser precedent is to be followed, and the present occasion to be exalted into a necessary exception. It might almost be sufficient to adjure a comparison of the respective results of these two great epochs of legislation, (without any dissertation upon general principles,) in order to prescribe the proper course of conduct, not only to those conscientiously convinced of the detrimental tendencies of repeal, but to those who consider what place the conservative minister, and the conservative and agricultural member of parliament ought to occupy in the public eye, and what they have a moral right or none to do, in connexion with that belief in their constituents which sent them to parliament. It is no doubt desirable that much liberty of general judgment upon details and modifications of questions as new circum-

stances arise to affect them, should be left to a representative; but this is no new question starting out of fresh incidents and unknown elements, to be decided upon by a member suddenly, by the light of his own fair judgment, according to his best construction of the trust reposed in him. The great and fundamental bearings of this question had been probed, sifted, and known to the bottom, as far as the knowledge of man is capable of reaching them before trial, for years. If the conclusion of the wisest should be that of "Athena's wisest son," upon the aggregate of human contemplations,

"All that we know is, nothing can be known,"

that is a dictum which does not affect him or his constituents, who have at least decided, in concert, with earnestness, and by acclamation, that "what *they* know, they know," and have imagined and declared themselves in an harmonious unison of resolve, to believe and to enforce. He cannot constitute himself a discord in this unison without a repulsive shock and violent offence to his fellow performers; and he cannot offend in so delicate a matter as mutual trust, and a professed communion of principle, without doing far more mischief to himself, to those who wish him best, to the Conservative cause generally, even to those whom he would serve, and to the patriotism and

public spirit of the nation itself, than anything which he may fancy a liberal neglect of his own character, and a generous support of a good man in a difficulty, will ever save them from. The reputation of a public man, whether a leader or an adherent, is not a matter affecting himself alone, for which he may legislate according to what he may personally fancy, and as a chattel of his own possession alone. His character and its personal purity and propriety are the property also of the country. A conscious innocence and singleness of intention are not all he has to look to in deciding upon his course, nor a treason to his own thoughts and heart all the treason which he has to fear. To perform his duty to those who look up to him for counsel and assistance, it must be apparent to them also, that he has no other motive. They are a party concerned in his actions, and have a right to call upon him for such as support their own convictions, that he is the man that he pretends to be. To preserve in them that conviction pure and untainted, which he knows to be of the first importance to their mutual respectability and moral elevation, he will not indeed do anything which he does not approve, but he will avoid many acts which might be intrinsically virtuous.

The first object in his mind, whether he be a leader or an adherent, is, and ought to be, a



desire that his fellow citizens should believe in his sincerity, and anchor upon his fidelity. The first postulate in Sir Robert Peel's calculations ought to be, that as a Conservative leader, brought in and supported—no matter under what blind or reckless reliance, by a protectionist party, he CANNOT be the minister to do away with protection. The first postulate in the arithmetic of one of his supporters, either conscientiously averse from the experiment, or firmly believed to be so by his constituents when they elected him, should be that it is a clear moral duty not to vote for Sir Robert Peel in a contrary course: to postpone to that duty all general approbation of the man, and to disregard the always suspicious casuistry, which by an undue exaltation of the end proposed, would soften down all sorts of perfidies and immoralities in the means by which it is to be attained.

There is no reason to suppose anything in the aspect of the time, or in the attributes of the minister, to call for the general confusion of principles, dissolution of ties, and amalgamation of primary elements into chaos, which are preached to us as indispensable. However, it may suit the Free-traders now, and perhaps hereafter, Sir Robert Peel, to make the most of the deficiencies in the supply of food, (deficiencies, of which even the possibility and the shadow

can never be approached without awakening the deepest interest and solicitude,) there is nothing in any symptoms which have as yet appeared to justify an extravagant and hurried apprehension. The notion of the deficient harvest of grain in England, is by this time ascertained to have been most grossly, and on the part of some, most culpably, exaggerated ; and to be, indeed, almost entirely without foundation. The failure of the potatoes is unfortunately more real, and there seems little reason to doubt that it has extended to that part of the empire where it is of most importance ; yet even here all external symptoms are in favour of the supposition that the condition of Ireland in this respect, has imparted no real alarm to the government ; notwithstanding the fears expressed in some Irish newspapers, we have heard of no measures on the part of the Irish government to form dépôts or storehouses of either potatoes or grain ; no extensive purchases of rice or other substitutes either there or here, (as have, it is said, taken place on the part of some continental states,) nor any particular warnings against waste or wanton consumption. Such would probably have been the case if anything like real danger of a short supply was to be apprehended ; nor is it at all credible that the ministers should not impart the knowledge of a really perilous state of things either to the public or to the

influential chiefs of his party, but without taking any specific steps for relief or warning, (many of which were completely in his power, though others were less so,) should assemble parliament very little before the usual time of its meeting, and defer to that period the announcement of a momentous calamity, and the application for measures of remedy which would, in the supposed case, be immediately, and imminently, and almost undiscussably requisite.\*

Still less, it may be said, with all respect to Sir Robert Peel, is there anything in the Premier and his career which ought so to prostrate the faculties and rebuke the genius, as to induce the individual legislator, regardless of all usual maxims, and those suggestions of political honour all but immutable in their nature, to suppose that he is here exhibiting a praiseworthy act in persuading himself to violate a conscience or a trust.

Although there is much to call for his respect, his gratitude, and his candid interpretation, there is nothing whereon to found the somewhat arrogant expectation, that with blinded eyes and a mute surrender, he should fall down and worship with a deference which, at least, should be reserved for the most unerring instinct, and the

\* This was written before Sir R. Peel's first statements, but they do not seem much to affect the argument.

most commanding genius. A constant change of opinion upon specific objects of regard and attachment, however conscientious, is not very favourable to inspiring or dignifying so absolute a reliance. It must, at least, be regarded as an evidence of habitual fallibility.

With what a trembling consciousness of insecurity must the Irish Protestant now put the annual question, or endeavour to form, from speeches and newspaper articles the, to him, important conjecture; what Sir Robert Peel now thinks of the Repeal of the Union! It is not unnatural to suppose that the obstinate adherence of O'Connell himself to the profession of this delusion, an adherence so rebellious to the sentiments announced, under two descriptions of ministry, from the throne,—and so insulting to the imperial government,—have been partly fostered by a latent hope founded upon the philosophic mutability of the minister. What a perpetual source of alarm to establishment, and of indomitable hope to artful disaffection, in this sensitive infirmity of conviction.

It is indeed no proof of inferior powers of thought, any more than of a low moral aspiration, to be subject to great fluctuations of sentiment or impression; but as suspense and uncertainty are among the most disturbing elements in a community, such a turn

of mind is not the best or safest for a nation, or its presiding demigod. The habit of so minute and nice an analysis, as perpetually losing sight of principles in seeking details, keeps his mind in a nicely balanced state, ready to be weighed down on either side by slight and accidental influences, leaves a man without attachments, or wise and lofty prepossessions. It is fitter for the contemplative than the active life. Those of more eager, it may be, less philosophical temperament, do not find in it sufficient fixedness to advance or protect them. It is in fact fitter for a despotism than a free government; because in the latter, interest, passion, and vehement attachment, always animating the assailant, something like these is wanted for the defence;—an over philosophical and fleeting mind, so Protean in its form, and so vibrating in its action, eludes the votary who would embrace it, and slips from the sympathy which would rest upon it. An involuntary diffidence of its being right must inevitably spring from so frequent an acknowledgment of being wrong. Baxter, in enumerating in the narrative of his life, several opinions which though he thought them self-evident and incontrovertible in his first entrance into the world, experience and knowledge had disposed him to change, yet mentions it with humiliation, as

a proof of human error and short-sightedness, and as a feature in his case which took from him the right to dogmatize.

It is not necessary to suppose a man systematically unfaithful to a creed, or insincere in his transient professions, from observing in him a proneness to that sceptical spirit of inquiry which developes to him new mysteries, and inspires him with new devotions; on the contrary, it is perhaps, the clearest and honestest mind, the most desirous of truth, and the most sensitively jealous of error, which is the most liable to similar fluctuations. The most careless have convictions forced upon them, and the lectures and lessons of time pierce the ears of the most unwilling auditors. But no man ought to continue the High Priest of a religion, of which he has left the Creed and the Canons, and it is a dishonest and injurious course in itself, whatever the motives which prompt it, to be led away by any sophistries, to the wishing it.

It is not difficult to comprehend, or to partake, that generous and simple instinct of a thoughtless chivalry, which prompts an eminent English subject to seize, or to resume, his arms to save his sovereign from an apparent perplexity, or even a momentary inconvenience. But the service and interest of that sovereign perpetually demand a more far-sighted prospect of consequences,—a

“ looking before and after,” with a more comprehensive and reasoning, and therefore genuine loyalty, than is supplied by such effervescent devotion, or exhibited in such rash, though unselfish ebullitions. There must be more than a doubt whether such an enlarged loyalty ought not to have dictated to Sir Robert Peel a contrary course to that which he adopted ;—whether his first, most loyal, and least egotistical duty, was not to impress upon the mind of a gracious and most constitutional mistress, that it was impossible that it *could* be for her Majesty’s ultimate service, that her conservative minister should be seriously damaged, and inevitably, (whether justly or the reverse,) in the eyes of those who had so long fought with and for him, and who had been, in fact, the sole means of enabling him to devote to the welfare of herself and the empire, those abilities which he seems to have deemed so indispensable to it ; that he should inflict upon those natural devotees and props of her person and throne, the harsh and difficult alternative, of either abandoning the leader and the friends with whom they had so long hoped themselves identified, and the support of the immediate government of that crown which is peculiarly the object of their wisely-prejudiced affection—or of stripping themselves of every faculty of being hereafter worthily and nobly useful to either, by disregarding their

known convictions, falsifying their most solemn engagements, and implanting a mortal wound in the trust and affection of their own political disciples and patrons. Can it be questioned that such reflections must have forced upon Sir Robert Peel a sounder, though remoter, view of the real allegiance requisite for "the crisis?" It is a low and narrow perception of the functions and destiny of the Conservative party to suppose them merely a set of men united for a few confined and partial objects,—a body, of which the country has no interest in the existence or the character, as soon as a few confined and partial questions shall have been solved. Whoever contemplates the present relative aspects of the three great powers of the constitution,—(powers of which the beneficial working depends upon a certain antagonism,) with that dispassioned and impartial veneration for each of them which becomes a thinking atom of so illustrious a fabric, must be profoundly sensible that it is from the towns,—the popular masses,—and the ambitious tribunes who thrive upon their suffrages and their passions,—that the chief danger is now to be apprehended to the state. Looking to the events of the last twenty years, and the prospects of the next twenty, it is of the greatest importance to the welfare of this kingdom, that a compact, cohesive, conservative party should exist in it, to watch over, and when neces-



sary, to resist, the assaults of faction, and of those who without being generally and absolutely factious, constitute a party which has for its very element and essence, as the professedly popular one, a favour to the advance of the democratic ingredient, and which, when not favourable to it, is rendered by their position in regard to it, and by its bearings upon their own ambition, inadequate and unfit to repress it. It is of the greatest importance to the utility of this band of guardians that the country should have a deep and unsuspecting confidence in their sincerity and trustworthiness, whatever may be at times the current of public opinion upon their views of particular questions ; and it is obvious to the experienced reflection of the profoundest, as to the instincts of the meanest, capacities, that it is impossible that this confidence can be preserved at all, if, when seen to be declaring, and known to be thinking one thing, they are perpetually found, from some dazzled personal predilection, ingenious solution, ruffian threat, or subtle persuasion, voting for another.

This simple proposition ought to be sufficient to outweigh a whole rabble of reasons drawn from a plausible but superficial and injurious allegiance, or from ingenious, but perhaps meaner, calculations.

Sir Robert Peel is a high-minded Patriot;

anxious for the weal and greatness of England, postponing many personal considerations to the prosecution of them,—loyal to his sovereign, loyal to the laws, the happiness, and the freedom of his fellow citizens,—full of the most various knowledge and most enlarged consideration, endowed with the most facile expression of all he knows, feels, and thinks, in debate :—but he has, (and it is a flattery which corrupts both the giver and receiver to say otherwise) some great deficiencies. He either wants enthusiasm and political affection, or what he has is chilled and kept down by a false position. In either case, he is the last man in the world whom the conservative body is called upon to approach with the words addressed in the worst times of Roman slavishness to Sejanus, “*Non est nostrum æstimare quæ suprà cætera, aut quibus de causis, extollas;—tibi summum rerum judicium Di dedere; nobis obsequii gloria relictæ est.*”

Away then with the misplaced and timid suggestion that it is not competent to a Conservative member of parliament in this crisis, to act according to the dictates of his political and statistical conscience,—to his notion of what is good for the class to which he belongs, to his own professed and recorded pledges and promises upon the hustings. Whether those pledges and promises were wise or not, is another matter; but

he has made them, and he probably would not have been sent to parliament without them: a great principle, a great party, a great safety, are involved in each man's solution of this problem of, "how shall I vote?" on this occasion.

The concurrence of the two great guides of the House of Commons and of party councils in one particular course, is no doubt of very ominous appearance for any question. We must hope that persons so distinguished for intellectual power and oratorical superiority will never degenerate into the panders to passions which they should apply themselves to moderate and assuage,—the mere Polks of Britain, bawling out their clamorous advances in the auction of popularity,—but whatever view they may take of the duties and demands of their station, neither their conflict or their conjunction, especially the latter, can fail to have a great influence upon our destinies. If this joint influence has already doomed the Corn-law, and many another law in its train, and a new system founded upon new views of society dawns upon our startled eye, let us at least be supported in our staggering endeavours to keep upon our legs in these heavy lurches of the boat, by a respectable minority of steady preferences, remembered obligations, and grateful regrets. It is a decent compliment owed to a policy once worshipped as a miracle of prudence and

sagacity, that those at least who do not yet join in the discovery of its error, should bestow upon its funeral some evidence of their respect. It is a serious and solemn duty in them to admonish its heir, that there are somewhere men who are sober and grave enough to watch over a riotous adolescence, and interpose bounds to its licentiousness.

There are many who can afford to vote according to the immediate expediency, although their vote may be different from what it would have been last year;—there are others who cannot. There are neutrals, and there are men who have promised nothing; but there are some with a strong internal conscience upon the subject, and others who specifically represent those who have.

Neither of these latter classes can honestly be led away, by speculations on the arrangement of cabinets, and adding up and subtracting of the lists of whippers-in, from voting in conformity with their consciences as citizens, or their all but oaths as candidates; and if the blessing of Providence, invoked by the author of the pamphlet, be destined to wait upon our land, we may be assured that it will be by our acting as much as possible upon all occasions according to the strictest and plainest dictates of the general moral sense and ethical rule which that Providence has implanted in us, and “that the power in this

country of righting its equilibrium," depends, and has been shown to depend, upon the recognition and cultivation of that general moral sense and rule, in preference to plausible and jesuitical departures from them.

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**A FEW WORDS**

**ON**

**THE CORN LAWS.**







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**BY A LANDOWNER.**

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**LONDON :**  
**JAMES RIDGWAY, PICCADILLY.**

**1846.**



## A FEW WORDS ON THE CORN LAWS.

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ENGLAND is a country but little remarkable for the natural production of articles that are not to be found elsewhere. But our strength, spirit, and industry, our supply of some of the natural materials and instruments of manufactures, and our means of external and internal communication, have for some time past enabled us to produce and export manufactures, to an unequalled extent.

Now no nation, unless composed either of madmen, or of Christians or philanthropists in a degree of exalted perfection, which has never been found in any community, small or great upon earth, ever manufactured and exported goods, for the pleasure of doing so. The sole object we can have in view in taking so much trouble, is the quantity of other goods, of a nature to us more desirable, that we are to import in their place. Each individual parts with his goods for the sake of what he is to get in return, and, most undeniably, so must the nation. Accordingly our ships, or other people's, bring us from all parts of the globe, however distant or difficult of access, all sorts of things that can supply real wants, or pamper fanciful luxury.

But there is one grand exception ; and we might safely challenge the collected ingenuity of all mankind, if the fact were not known, to guess what that exception could be. It is *food*. The first object with the individual seller, the first necessary of life, we, in ordinary times at least, obstinately refuse to receive at all. Nay, we were even told, not many years back, by the Chief Ruler of our state, that to *alter* this most extraordinary system, could be proposed only by a maniac.

I say, "the grand or chief exception ;" because the principle is still heard of in other instances. But the prohibition of imported corn, though at present only produced by way of a high duty, operates, and is meant to operate, as a stronger prohibition, than exists at present with regard to any other article of consequence ; and the principle of complete prohibition is now not only urged in argument more strongly as applies to the corn trade than any other, but the agricultural interests are now so good as to promote the general principle of restriction with regard to all trade, when the persons engaged in other branches of trade have become either less earnest about it, or disclaim it altogether.

This is a remarkable change. Adam Smith, in speaking of the restrictive principle, calls it the Mercantile System, as chiefly entertained by merchants only, and not agriculturists ; and observes, that merchants have succeeded in introducing it

into legislation, because they contrive to combine, and to enforce their wishes, while agriculturists are scattered and careless, and practically powerless in comparison.

It is not a little remarkable, that in the present day, when the political weight of the agricultural interests is generally supposed to be so much depressed, compared to that of the mercantile, the agriculturists should be the great advocates of the restrictive system, and should enforce it by pretty vigorous and active co-operation, while the mercantile restrictions have been abated to a very considerable extent.

The friends of restriction, however, still tell us, that this and that branch of our production must shut up shop, if it is not protected against the competition of foreign countries. Now, at the same time, Mr. Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, one of the most able men in the world, is telling his countrymen that this and that branch of their trade must shut up shop, if it is not protected against the competition of *England*. What a ridiculous and deplorable picture of human nature and human affairs is this! And yet there are ages, long past, on which we think fit complacently to bestow the title of *dark*! There are nations, far distant, to which we are pleased condescendingly to apply the epithet of *barbarous*!

And all this is on the particular and express subject of *trade*; of that whose very nature and

essence is exchange, communication, and reciprocity.

Suppose their speculations are right, or in some degree, at least, well founded. That is, this country has the advantage naturally over that, in respect of some branches of production, and that has the advantage over this in respect of others. Then, take away the respective restrictions, and each will gain an advantage in point of cheapness, confessedly, on the shewing of the friends of restriction themselves; to counterbalance the disadvantages they predict. But the taking away of the restriction will, besides that, increase the amount of trade on the whole. Here is a clear additional advantage, then, over and above; and no evil to counterbalance it at all.

Non-importation is a game at which evidently, not even *two* can play; for it would contradict itself. If A is resolved not to import, B cannot export. How could nations ever lay down as a proper rule for each, that which never can be adopted by all; that which in its adoption by each, implies its violation by the rest?

But on the other hand, it is said "we shall only ruin ourselves if we are ready to import from other countries, and they will not import from us." This is like the principle on which, in all ages and countries, people shift off the obligation of honesty and humanity. "Others will not do so, and what will become of me if I practise it towards them, and they will not towards me?" This is said, or whis-

pered, continually, even now, in private; it was avowed, in a grave treatise, three hundred years ago; but the author has thereby, notwithstanding his great merits in other respects, become a by-word of political profligacy ever since; and it has long been settled, at least in all declarations of opinion that will bear the light, that if all of us were to reason in that manner, there would be no honesty or humanity at all; the world could not go on; that somebody must begin; that the existence of those qualities, generally, is indispensable to the good of mankind; and that the only way to arrive at it, is for each man to adopt them in his own case, as far as he can.

The principle of pure restriction, however, though it was always, and is still, blindly felt to a considerable extent, both in the mercantile and agricultural world, has often been content to lurk, and within the last twenty years has been yet more compelled to lurk, under cover of the more moderate forms of exclusion which are usually avowed in public. It is entertaining to see how it retires from one strong-hold to another, and suits its diminished pretensions to the advancing spirit of the times. But, *solito inter finitimos odio*, it really seems as if, the less wide the breach becomes between the exclusives and their opponents, the more fiercely is the remaining difference debated.

I proceed to consider some of these modifications.

“Never import from another country an article which we can get at home.” Why, surely, such a



rule must be needless ; if we can get it at home, we shall never think of taking the additional trouble of going to fetch it from abroad. " But we can get it at home, only not so cheap as from abroad." Then, to a large portion of the people, it cannot be got at all. " We can get it at home." But who are "we?" What is the sense of telling me, a poor labourer, employed perhaps in the producing of this very article you are speaking of, but unable to enjoy it myself, from its price, that I may have my tobacco or tea from abroad, and welcome, but must not have this, because somebody else, my landlord perhaps, or you the legislator, who live at your ease, can get it at home? Surely, the sense and justice of the rule, as to each man, must depend on whether that man can get it at home ; and not whether other men can.

Or perhaps, I can get it at home, but not in the same quantity that I could if it were cheaper. So much as I cannot get, then, escapes from your own rule, evidently. I ought to be allowed to get that much from abroad, at any rate. I can get four loaves at home, perhaps, when I might be able to get five from abroad. As to the fifth, then, the rule allows me to do it. And therefore, in fact, as to the whole five ; for I cannot afford to get five at all, unless you let me have them where they are cheapest. Surely when we talk of being able, or not, to get a thing, the *quantity* is a pretty material item in the question.

"Every article of home production ought to be protected by a duty on the like article when imported from without, equivalent to any tax that is laid on the production of it from within." I am far from having learned, yet, by what proofs this universal doctrine is founded. But, how is it applied, when we come to the case of corn? Are taxes on rent, or which fall ultimately on rent, to be reckoned into the amount of taxes on the production of corn? We continually hear this implied, at least, by the convenient term of "burdens which press heavily on the *agricultural interest*;" which "*interest*" is generally meant, by landlords, to include themselves. But it is quite untenable, on every principle. The home tax on an article, which is to justify a countervailing duty, must be a tax which checks its production. That is the principle we go upon, when we talk of protecting a branch of industry, or a class of producers. It is as producers, for the public good, and not as individuals, for their own comfort, that we think of protecting them, and their line of business. If you are to protect landlords as landlords, call it the protection of a class in society, as you might talk of protecting the fundholders, for instance; but do not edge them in under the general notion of protection to trade or to production, for they are not traders nor producers.

I say *as landlords*. That is, so far as they are mere receivers of rent. For, a landlord, (passing

over of course the obvious case of farming one's own land) is in many ways a part-producer of corn with his tenants. He builds, he drains, he fences, he learns improvements and promotes them, &c. This is however very unequal, as between one landowner and another. How difficult, then, to fix any just amount of countervailing duty with a view to landlords directly.

The next difficulty is to know, on principle, whether any, and how much taxation, such as the poor-rate, nominally laid on the tenant, is really ultimately paid by the landlord. In general I should say, that any tax laid on the whole body of tenants of land in proportion to their tenancy, and laid on them only (not, like the Property-tax, in common with the rest of the nation) will in the long run shift itself, and in theory wholly, to the landlord's shoulders. Tithe-free land, for instance, always was found to let so much higher : but when the tax is increasing or diminishing, the new setting of rents, which the theory supposes as the mode whereby the tax is to be shifted, cannot keep pace with it ; in the case of an increasing tax, much will remain on the tenant's shoulders, not capable of being discharged upon the landlord ; in the case of a diminishing tax, the tenant will profit by it more than he should do. And in all cases, the fact which the theory supposes, as part of the more general and fundamental principle of A. Smith, viz. that if the farmer is taxed more than other capitalists in pro-

portion, and cannot shift it off on his landlord, he will go to some other employment for his capital, and the lessening of the number of farmers will then work the reduction of rents which the theory supposes : I say, this fact is far from completely true. Farmers, though less hampered, in a transfer to another employment, by fixed capital, than some classes of manufacturers, especially in our times, are from want of capacity and from want of inclination, perhaps on the whole more irremovable, than any class besides. These considerations add to the difficulty of designating a certain amount of taxation as clearly bearing on the producer of corn only. But suppose we could do it ; the difficulty of countervailing this by an import duty arises from the natural variations in the price of corn. The home tax is not directly laid on corn, but on rent, &c. What sort then, and what amount, of tax on corn, will be equal to these home taxes ? It is impossible to reckon it. It must be matter of the roughest estimate only. Different people will never agree in deciding what is to be considered a real equivalent. With a sliding scale it is clearly so. One calls the present amount of protection 20 per cent., another 50. And no other than a sliding scale, or some variable duty, has ever *really* and *practically* been proposed.

Another way of meeting the principle of countervailing duty, is to take off home taxes. I should be sorry to see the poor-rate, at least, taken off from

the occupiers of land ; for the proper vigilance and check to that branch of expenditure depends greatly on its being laid upon them.

Exclusion of competition is improperly called protection to native industry ; it is protection to native idleness. When, in some branches of our manufactures, the total exclusion of foreign articles was removed, the home trade did not perish, as had been predicted, but the fabric improved. And in agriculture, the near approach and threat of free trade has already caused a great stimulus to better farming, much to the benefit of the public, and of the agricultural classes themselves.

It cannot be an argument for restriction, that most nations have practised it *Sapientiæ patrocinium, insanientium turba*.—That would be an argument for torture, for slavery, &c. “That nations have practised it and been rich.” If it has been general, this can prove nothing, for we cannot know what would have happened if they had done otherwise. But it is in vain to run after the argument from experience when it is brought forward, as we generally find it in this case, by people who have evidently no notion of cause and effect at all. Whether, where two facts are found together, one of them really causes the other, is not a question to be settled in a moment ; it is often one of the most difficult that can exercise the human mind. Bacon, at least, thought it worthy of much disquisition ; but perhaps he was a man of weak powers, or of insufficient confidence in them !

I am very far from admitting, that the class to which I have the good luck to belong, ought to be materially oppressed or weakened. I believe its existence as it at present exists in this country, is incalculably valuable and important. The attacks made upon it are pretty violent. The principle, that property has its rights as well as its duties, seems to be almost exclusively levelled at it. Not at wealthy capitalists ; not (as has been well observed) at that immense class of rich persons, whose income was at one time stated to be greater than ours, yet whose very names, by the astonishing policy of this country, are kept secret ; and exactly for the reason that, one would think, would of all others make them public, that they are the creditors of the nation. In our judicial functions, and the local management of public affairs, we are peculiarly attacked ; yet I know not, that the corresponding authorities in towns have much claim to superiority in these respects. It was otherwise in former ages : law and civilisation then confessedly emanated almost entirely from the towns.

“ In case of a war, France, or the hostile country whatever it may be, will reject our manufactures, refuse us their corn, and so drive us to submission.” The moral of course must be that not only we ought not to import corn, but ought not to export manufactures ! This is a new view of the restriction system. Usually it has been one-sided, aiming at exporting all and importing none. I really think the restric-

tion on the other side, on exportation, would be the more reasonable one of the two, if the object is merely to be independent of such distress as can be caused by the stopping of intercourse in war. I believe, that in a highly commercial country like this, more distress is produced by not allowing us to sell where we have been used to do so, than by any thing else. It appeared so in the war. The evils of scarcity were considerable in 1812, when almost all countries were inaccessible to us; but we suffered less from that cause, than from the injury to trade by the decrees of Bonaparte, and the effects of our orders in Council; less than from the revolutions in trade that have happened more than once since, and which seem to be the periodical scourges, that await communities in a highly civilised and commercial state, as famines do in the less advanced states of society. This is the frequent argument of the agriculturists themselves. If they are told that the poor labourer will be the better off for cheap bread, they answer, that the welfare of the labourer does not depend on cheap food, but on getting employment. I believe that between such a country as this, and another which habitually supplies it with corn, the stoppage of such a trade would hurt the selling country, as in other kinds of trade, quite as much as the buying country.

But you have no objection to import from Ireland; you have no objection to import from Canada; yet Ireland is, I think, hardly one of those countries

from which we "continue to receive," as the Queen would say, "assurances of amity;" and Canada has been in open rebellion.

But can we conceive, that of all times and places, England, in 1845, should be the place where intercourse with other nations should be denounced as an evil; and that *through fear of our enemies?*

The mutual dependence of nations on one another which commerce produces, undoubtedly puts it in their power to hurt one another in war, when it may take place; but it greatly tends to prevent war itself, for that very reason.

The increase of wealth and population, unless accompanied by effeminacy (of which, though predicted, or rather announced as a present danger, ninety years ago, we see no symptoms yet in our military proceedings), is the great security for us, in war, and therefore against war. The Corn Law is a drag upon both these.

We have been referred by the exclusionists, with an air of triumph, to the case of the Athenian Republic, who were deprived of their democratic constitution, and of their dominion and ascendancy in Greece, because, having been to a great extent dependent on foreign corn, their enemies were able when they had defeated them by sea, to blockade their port and starve them out.

The instance is remarkably ill chosen. If the Athenians had not imported corn by sea, the war would have ended in the same manner in the first year of it, instead of in the twenty-eighth; for the



home crops were perfectly defenceless. Every year the enemy's army marched freely through their lands, and laid them waste. Their dependence was their only protection. However, suppose we look at the story by itself, and without this answer to it. What was the real amount of the evil that fell upon the Athenians in consequence of their dependence on foreign corn? Why did they not get still worse treatment from their conquerors? They were not deprived, for instance, of the whole of their navy, or near it. Yet Lacedæmonian mercy, in itself, was never worth much; and the Athenians had set examples, as to others, which would have justified any thing against themselves. But it was thought better not to "put out one of the eyes of Greece." Extermination, the Spartans very probably thought, would weaken the whole race against any external danger; and, their allies thought, would make the Spartans themselves, uncounterbalanced, too proud and tyrannical a set of leaders. And short of extermination, it was thought that the power, and still more the influence, would still lurk in its ashes, and be likely to revive the more fierce for injury and degradation. Would they have been an "eye of Greece," would they have become an object of so great consideration and fear as this, and that even when beaten, if they had confined themselves to be no more of a nation than what might have been fed on their own extent of country? They recovered their constitution in a year or two; their naval power not long after; and

their former superiority over the islands and former rank in Greece, soon followed. "No country," says Demosthenes, "ever depended so much on foreign supplies" as this; and of all countries it is the most celebrated in history for having made a great figure with small means.

The Romans received corn from Sicily before the time of Hannibal; and, while Hannibal was in Italy, we find them making a treaty to import from Egypt, and complaining that corn was so dear that the *Sicilian* bushel cost such and such a price. I infer, that the receiving corn from Sicily was pretty common and usual before that time. "In times of scarcity only." Very likely; but what sort of *independence* is that? They certainly became, not long after, permanent importers; and all the world knows what vast conquests were afterwards achieved and maintained for centuries, by this "dependent" people.

There are three questions as to the corn trade at present.

Is the system of free trade preferable in general to the restrictive system?

If it is, are there circumstances, peculiar to the corn trade, that should except it out of the general rule?

Supposing there are not, how far is it proper that protection should be afforded at times, when from accidental circumstances, the price of corn has been forced up in a country, to a decidedly higher

amount than what it would have been with the ports open?

The last question, of course, though its application is temporary and occasional, depends on a principle not confined in its nature to corn, however it may be thought by some persons that the interests, or the classes, immediately connected with or dependent on the production of corn, are more entitled to protection, on such particular occasions, than others.

Now the principle would be this, generalized; that whenever circumstances have raised the price of an article to a certain height, there it ought always to stand. This seems not very reasonable. But, as prices are in substance a matter of exchange, and money only the measure of them, it is plain that such a rule is also impossible. You cannot raise all prices. To make corn exchange for more cotton, is to make cotton exchange for less corn. As soon as you extend the rule to the case of the second article, the rise of price which you had conferred on the first is, so far, cut down; and so of a third; till, all having been alike nominally indulged, the real prices would be just as they were before.

Individual hardship, no doubt, must arise in such cases, whether the temporary high price was caused by war, or any other accidental state of the channels of trade, or by artificial laws. It is one of the evils of a restrictive system, as eminent writers have observed, that it does harm while it continues, and it does harm again in the removal:

Curvato robore pressae  
Fit sonus, ac rursus redeuntis ad æthera sylvæ.

But to say that therefore these temporary states must be perpetuated, would be to say that an army must not be reduced on the return of peace.

If all that is claimed is time, that the change should be made gradual, the fall broken; then *thirty years* is rather long for such a graduation to continue.

And further: At the peace, when the Corn Bill passed, the population of England was about eleven millions, where it is now sixteen millions and more. The agricultural interests could not have complained, if they had been secured in the perpetual supply of the eleven millions whom they then supplied, and at the same price; that is, average price; to be kept up to a scarcity price they could not claim. They would not have lost any thing, if this had been done. They would only not have gained something future and additional which they otherwise might have gained. Now, this would have allowed foreign importation, at this moment, to the extent of food for one third of the people, for five million persons. They, at those seasons, would allow of no importation at all; and tell us, that is necessary, barely to keep them up to what they were.

As to the second question. So far from its being true that corn ought to be restricted, though other articles are not, there is a main reason why corn

should be left free, though it were proper that other articles should be restricted. I do not mean now, on account of the importance of it, in that it is our food ; but that there is a circumstance belonging to corn which does not apply to most other things. Nature has made the supply of it fluctuating. The only cure for this, is the freest opportunity of relief for the deficiency of one place, by the overflow of another. The seasons, as far as relates to Europe, it is true, are often apt to go alike. But that is no reason for not doing what we can.

The same fluctuation of supply, and consequently of price, produces a practical difficulty, too, in the way of restriction on importation by way of duty. It is scarcely possible to say what is a duty of so much per cent. *ad valorem*, in the case of corn.

The sliding scale was an improvement on the prohibition system of 1815. That had been founded on former laws, only altering the price at which the exclusion was to take place. But it was liable to cause great fluctuation. From eighty shillings, we might, on the opening, drop down to seventy, or God knows what. The sliding scale was contrived on principles that seemed good, to give us importation in scarcity like the other, but not to go by so sudden a *jump*; to introduce importation gradually, as our prices rose ; and to accelerate the introduction as we bordered on actual scarcity. But it produced untold and unforeseen uncertainty ; there is always the uncertainty on the importer, that by the time

his corn arrives, the price, and therefore the inducement, may by natural causes, have fallen one, two, or three shillings: and the scale at least doubled, as to the inducement, each of these steps of uncertainty; and in the higher parts of it, it trebled, or even quadrupled them. It added to uncertainty therefore, in those states of price where it did not make importation quite out of the question. It thus injured our own market. And as this uncertainty deterred importers, it injured us as consumers also; it held out an apparent accommodation in scarcity, which would be but imperfectly realized. This is very greatly remedied at present, by bringing down all the *jumps* to one shilling each.

Not only did the uncertainty deter importation, but the importers, having a prospect of higher gain if they were not too much in a hurry, were tempted to wait, (though the actual prices might be high enough to afford a profit,) till it should rise still higher, or perhaps to the point where they would be charged with no duty at all. The theory of gradual importation, as scarcity was increasing, was, therefore, liable to be defeated in practice. And this applies to the law of 1842 as well as its predecessors; these are unavoidable objections to any sliding scale at all.

Uncertainty is one of the chief evils belonging to dependence; it was part of the definition of the prædial slavery of the middle ages, that they should never know to-day what they were to do to-morrow.

The Corn Law aggravates uncertainty, while it is boasting and professing to get rid of dependence.

This uncertainty, coupled with the false hopes continually entertained by the farmers that there would be no further relaxation of the law, or, sometimes, even that it might be made more strict, is I believe, one principal cause of all the distress of agriculture since the peace. When an evil is unavoidable and clearly perceived, there is in business, in politics, or in morals, as in physical events, a counteracting process in nature which exerts itself. But when people are taught to be constantly looking for something else, instead of sitting down to their altered situation as it really is, the mischief is very likely to get deeper and deeper, or at least not to find its level, or its proper and permanent mode of settlement.

Those who profess to rely on experience, tell us that in the middle of the last century we became an importing country, and that the contrary system, which had prevailed before, can be shown, from the tables of prices, to have answered better. But the system which had prevailed before was not a mere system of non-importation. It included a very material ingredient, now, by common consent, disused, and not, I believe, proposed to be revived; the bounty on exportation. I have no sort of intention to recommend this in itself; but if you leave it out, you cannot reason so dogmatically "from experience," from a system which took it in.

Bounty on exportation, and restriction on impor-

tation, are two principles totally unlike and opposite. A bounty on exportation (laying aside the question whether it is worth while to pay it, for the sake of the object) does certainly tend to encourage cultivation, and, probably, to lower the ultimate permanent price of corn, (notwithstanding the arguments of Smith); but it does so, by affording a readier vent in cheap years than would naturally have existed, and by thus relieving the farmer from part of his uncertainty, from part of those chances against him, which form the discouragement to till. But a restriction on importation has a directly contrary effect; if it prevails in a country where there would otherwise be importation in average years, the consequence of it must be, that the average price of corn is higher, and that therefore it is less easy for the farmer, when there comes a year of plenty, to relieve the glut by exportation. Naturally, his consolation in a scarce year is high price, in a year of plenty, exportation. The Corn Law denies him both.

With regard to the effect of abolition on prices, I believe the extreme disputants in this question, in their zeal to magnify the benefit or the evil, are both wrong: and that the effect of abolition would be very small, compared to what they both assert. In 1841, the more eminent publications and speeches on both sides agreed in thinking so; and the same thing is maintained now by competent judges. Divided as the country already is on this question, one might make a new line of division on a different principle,



now for the most part unseen and unperceived; and construct two parties, quite different from the present two; viz. of those persons who expect a great effect from free importation, and of those who do not.

It seems by this time clear that the true principle as to the effect of lowered prices on rent, is not what has been often supposed. Prices have been as low, or lower, than the point at which the fears of landlords predicted the entire destruction of rents, and the hopes of Cobbett, the total subversion of the funds. It was a bold view of history and experience, that could lead men, calling themselves by preference *practical*, to predict the existence of a great country without rents as a possible case. It would be called a pretty specimen of wild *theory*, if it had come from the other side.

More moderate predictions were, and are, that all the light lands would be thrown out of tillage, all lands of this or that description, &c. But prophecies are like asseverations of a man's *age*; they get weaker by repetition. The fears of agriculturists, that utter ruin would be the consequence of abolition now, have been as strongly expressed against former alterations. In 1815, "it was impossible to raise corn under eighty shillings:" and so since, from time to time, "under seventy," or "under sixty," &c.

As to the case of *total* abolition, we may consider too for our comfort, that we have been going by steps all this time; it no longer means so great a change as it did; most part of the interval has been passed;

it is only the first-floor window that we shall have now to fall out of. But such is the nature of panic, that the nearer they approach to the ultimate object of their alarm, the more they magnify it; the more they contrive to lower, in expectation, the amount of price, that is to be the consequence of free ports.

If the danger to agriculture is unequal, if some lands will be thrown out of tillage and some not; if lands where grass prevails will be but little affected in comparison, the more clamorous opponents of change may at least consider, that their cause is not the cause of all agriculturists alike; that they cannot claim, and insist, that in another tract, or a distant county, other men must go all lengths with themselves, or be traitors to the cause.

“But,” they say, “all classes ought in fact, to join us; it is for the good of the mercantile classes themselves; the interests of all classes are the same; we ought all to live and let live.” One would think people might perceive, that these maxims are capable of being used both ways. If “the interest of all classes is the same,” it seems a preposterous proceeding to take so much money out of the pockets of one, in order to put it into the pockets of the other. And, to “live and let live,” one would think, must mean, that every body, and every class, and every nation, should be free; should dispose of the fruits of their labour, to sell or buy, just as they think fit. But what these gentlemen mean by it, is exactly the reverse. That all should, every-

where, be alike tied up. It is the liberty of Bedlam. "Maniacs," as Cowper says, "dancing in their chains;" each happy in their own restraints, because they are alike extended to all the others.

Every artificial system is in danger of being evaded, and of requiring fresh expedients to prop it up. Some ten years ago, I remember hearing some country gentlemen, who were sturdy advocates for protection, complaining that the labourers about them were taking to live on bacon which came from Ireland, and which, with their potatoes, cut off much of their usual demand for wheat. That is to say, the agriculturists having first, as they believed at least, made the wheat by their laws too dear for the labourer to consume, then felt the consequence to themselves, grudged them a substitute, and wished they could contrive to shut that out too.

The price of labour is thought a decisive reason by many. "A country where the price of labour is much lower than it is here, must of course undersell us." I do not know that. But we must first enquire what the price of labour means. Most of these reasoners do not know. They confound the lower price of labour, with the lower amount of daily wages of the labourer. But the latter of these is no proof at all, in different countries or times, of the former. There is obviously this further question, *how much work* do the respective labourers perform daily, and with what effect? Low *daily* wages belong to a poor country; i. e. to idleness, unskilfulness, and unproductiveness. Accordingly we learn,

that a greater amount of agricultural labour, as estimated by the result or effect, may be got in England for a given quantity of silver, than in Russia; more in Middlesex than in Ireland.

I must confess that to see the richest and most commercial, and one of the most agricultural countries, that ever existed in the world, frightened out of its senses at the fear of being ruined by what the miserable serfs of Poland and Russia can do, is to me a most unaccountably modest and self-undervaluing instance of panic. Yet the same principle is not uncommon elsewhere. On the Jura, we find the force of the first military power on earth arrayed, in triple line, against the watches and musical snuff-boxes of one town; whilst Geneva, on the other hand, is quite at ease as to all that French art and exportation can do against *her*.

Would it not be more to the purpose to inquire how it happens that we are so much richer than Poland, and such sort of countries, where the soil is as good as our own? The source of increased agriculture is commerce and manufactures. This is the chief cause that has made our agriculture so much greater than it was seven or eight hundred years ago.

“But we had better not be too rich. There are higher objects than riches. We are going too fast.” Very well; that is a matter of particular taste: only do not mix up different arguments and different subjects. Do not complain first, that you are in

danger of being ruined in purse, and then that you are in danger of being ruined in morals by over wealth, both from the same cause. The one of these apprehensions is an answer, and a refutation, of the other.

It is not my object to enter into statements or calculations. I only aim at mentioning several general principles and topics, which are frequently introduced into the controversy, and which, in the pursuit of minute facts and figures, however necessary for the complete decision of the matter, the mind is apt to overlook or take for granted; or else to decide on seeming reasons, but which it has not, amidst the other sort of labour, leisure enough to consider fairly, and yet decides upon with a confidence, claimed on the strength of that very labour. Figures, indeed, are always in danger of producing delusion from over-confidence; because as far as they go they really are quite conclusive, and yet the basis and foundation of the argument may all the while be wrong.

But there is one point, as to the probable result of free import, which, as being an affair of principle, I would wish to mention. It is extremely difficult to be certain what the price really would be in that case, even with regard to the existing amount of foreign corn; the prices hitherto having been so much affected by the demand of this country, coupled with the restriction itself, and its exceedingly fluctuating degrees of relaxation. But it is

generally assumed, that whatever the actual price may be, it will remain as low, or, as many think, be still lower, when free import shall have greatly increased the quantity of foreign production. The reverse, it seems to me, will be the case. It is a principle in the application of capital to land, that you cannot double the produce by doubling the outlay, *ceteris paribus* ; the second portion will produce less than the first, and so on. I mean on the same land. Else it would be possible to raise all the corn of a country on one farm. And if on different lands, the same conclusion applies, because, generally speaking, people have chosen the best land first to cultivate, both in quality, and in situation for carriage &c. I do not apprehend therefore, that if Poland, for instance, can furnish one million of quarters at such and such a price now, she could furnish twenty more as cheap, or any thing like it. In fact, it is this very principle that makes our own corn dearer, naturally, (if it is so,) than other people's, viz. because we raise so much more in proportion to our space ; though the operation of that cause, no doubt, is much counteracted by our increased skill and knowledge.

To suppose that any large tracts of land in England should actually be thrown out of cultivation altogether, seems to be further overlooking the question of carriage and proximity. The price of foreign corn quoted, or inferred, is the price at the

ports. Every mile you go inland, the home grower gains, and the foreign corn loses in the scale.

Though I presume to doubt, whether there is really so overwhelming a tide on the other side of the flood-gate, as is generally supposed, I may have here and there argued as if there was, either from the difficulty of disengaging the mind from an idea that is constantly maintained by others, or else by way of answering those others on their own ground.

The violent opponents of the Corn Law, at present, are as remarkable for the daring effrontery of their exaggeration, as the foul-mouthed asperity of their invective. How it can be supposed that abolition will, and almost all at once, immensely increase the demand of foreigners for our manufactures, I cannot conceive; even if I agreed with them in their belief of the immense amount of corn that we should be led to import. Some political economists talk as if addition to importation produced, of itself, an equal amount of remunerating exportation. I never could see why. Our first business when we have imported, must be to pay for the imports in money. But this is a process tending, in itself, as far as it goes, simply to calamity and distress. In 1841, it would probably have been destructive indeed. The immediate evil then was the contraction of the currency; and this would have further contracted it enormously. That contraction, and the export of money, no doubt, by degrees, makes it more the interest of foreigners to

ouy our goods than it was before ; but it does so merely *by lowering their price*. That is not prosperity ; it is, on the contrary, the very evil which these reasoners are professing to cure ; the very evil in which the distress consisted. These theories, and the prophecies of the League, will, I am afraid, produce immense mischief, whenever abolition, or a great relaxation of duties, shall take place : a great spur will be given to speculation in exports, very little of which can be realized.

But at any rate, how they can go round and tell the people, that wherever manufactories are shut up, and towns depopulated, and trade slack, it is owing to the exclusion of foreign corn, an exclusion which existed just as much, and more, when the greatest prosperity prevailed, is nearly inconceivable, if any instance of popular delusion ever could be so.

No Corn Bill, properly speaking, was ever brought in by the late Government. A Corn Bill is an affair of the Board of Trade, not of the Treasury. They attempted nothing for ten years ; they resisted everything ; they denounced abolition as lunacy. At last, they said, we want money, and a tax on corn is the proper way to raise it. Others had imposed duties as they had prohibition, from a notion, right or wrong, of public policy ; and professedly for the general advantage. Their measure might be given up, if their ideas of policy should be changed. But these bribed themselves, as it were, never to let the importation of corn be free. They said, we



cannot afford to do so. They made it their interest, as a Government, to lay a duty ; and not a principle only. It may be equally asserted that a *fixed* duty never was really proposed. It could never have been actually levied in scarcity. And what is scarcity, besides ? Here are many, now, calling 56 shillings famine. In scarcity, then, we should have had a *jump*, not of one or two shillings at a time, as by the scale, but to the whole amount of the duty ; we should have had it unexpectedly, since there was to be avowedly no rule to shew at what point it would take place ; we should have had it arbitrarily, by the act of the executive, instead of by law. And this discretionary power was proposed by Whigs ; and this uncertainty, by those who complained of the fluctuations of the sliding scale. Add, that the *amount* of the duty was rather an important circumstance, whether their object was income or protection. A sliding scale can hardly be nugatory ; but without it, everything depends on the quantum. Now this was not even announced, positively. Eight shillings was talked of. Very easy to reduce it to five ; especially for those who, a few months earlier, had reduced the £8. franchise for Ireland, unconstrained, unpresse, to £5. And so from thence to three, or two ;—

“And stones to dust, and dust to nought at all.”

*Their* plan, and not the sliding scale, is “slippery.”

But let it have been ever so certain in its own

amount, its fixedness in itself, was, in its bearing on the price of corn, relative uncertainty and variation. The sliding scale is uncertain in one sense ; a fixed duty is uncertain in another ; that is, owing to the price of corn being naturally and unavoidably changeable, a fixed duty will be at one time a sixth, perhaps, of the value, and at another an eighth. It is not like other protecting or countervailing duties.

With regard to arguments arising from the present state of things, the higher price during the last half year has been in a great degree owing to the better condition, and improved means, of the labourers.

The present price is about that which Sir Robert Peel contemplated as the ordinary result, and as the object, of his measure of 1842.

The state of the potatoe crop, no doubt, forms a separate ground of consideration. But the chief consumers of potatoes are the agricultural labourers, and they, on the other hand, would be the persons, if any, who would most suffer from a repeal of the duties.

The evils arising from arbitrary government are sufficiently understood in this country. One of the evils which arise from what are called free, popular, or constitutional states, is that the question of government seems too often to be considered as an affair of victory and predominance, of one party, faction, interest, sect, or whatever may be the title

of the particular subdivision of the people at large, over its opposite. It is not even the will of the entire nation, much less its real good, that directs affairs. A minister is brought in by the success of one set against another; and he is sure of blame, if he aims at anything else but to please that set to the utmost. Each party is a world within itself; and the greater part of its members think it little less than a crime to trouble themselves about what the scoundrels on the other side may presume to say. War is above all things congenial to man; and where we cannot have it, we love to keep up the image and similitude of it in peace.

To this in part is owing the hatred for any thing that has the appearance of inconsistency in individuals. To vary from the mass of one's party is looked upon as deserting one's colours. The *mass itself* may change and chop round as it pleases.

However, there needs not the aid of party spirit to make the vulgar always ready to cry out upon any thing which appears to them to be inconsistency. Their opinions not being founded upon reason, they would be constantly in danger of losing them, if they did not substitute the instinctive firmness of obstinacy, for the more candid, and possibly convertible, steadiness of conviction. A Spanish proverb says, (and they are not a light versatile people :) "The wise man changes his mind and the fool not." A good deal, however, of what is abused as inconsistency, is not even a

change of opinion ; but a change of action under altered circumstances, in consequence of the principle remaining unchanged. The boy touches his hoop sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other. If he did not, he would be called a fool. If a statesman does the like, he is in great danger of being called a knave.

Two sorts of corruption arising out of the system of popular representation, have been long and largely dwelt upon. The corruption of the representatives by the government, and the corruption of the electors by the representatives. A third sort of corruption is but little mentioned, the corruption of the representatives by the electors. Men of independent fortunes, habitual and comprehensive education, large experience and leisure, are the natural guides and instructors of the people. But as things are, the people teach them. Unless they are so quiet and indolent as to be little likely to be of any use at all, they are apt to seek after political influence, and thus they are obliged to adopt the opinions of comparatively ignorant, violent, and interested multitudes. The same reason which leads to this, makes us often too blind to perceive, and generally afraid to complain of it. We do not perceive it, because not liking to confess ourselves slaves, our self-love imperceptibly persuades us that we really think with those, whom we must at all events follow ; and because one-sided arguments, which we put ourselves in the way of continually hearing,

will in time incapacitate the best heads from forming impartial and enlightened opinions. And we are afraid to complain, because "where the people have the upper hand," as the experience of the most splendid of all democracies had taught one of her finest writers, "there is no freedom of speech."

The ill blood which the existence of this question unsettled creates, has been strongly described by Lord Melbourne. He indeed described it as what *would* take place, if the question of abolition were distinctly brought forward in Parliament. But it needed not to wait, and it has not waited, for that condition. It existed when he spoke the words ; it has formidably increased ; it is in us, and about us. It is not only an evil like any other political heats and enmities on any particular question. It has more than any other question, I believe, except Parliamentary Reform, the further evil of connecting itself with an enmity and division between the great and important classes of society. It thus leads to disunion, on points of more political importance, than even the supply of corn itself.

Now, this ill blood can never be brought to an end by a settlement of the question in one direction, but only by a settlement of it in the other. The abolition would be a simple, final, act, or event. There is no other one, simple act, opposite or contradictory to this. There are only an infinite number of possible arrangements or rules ;

different degrees, amounts, modes, of partial restriction. The most that any advocate of restriction hopes for, is one of these modifications. Total restriction is not wished, or at least not hoped, under any circumstances, by any one human being. Total abolition is claimed by millions. Take what point you will, in the scale and stages of restriction, another beyond it will immediately present itself, as a fresh point for attack and defence. If you say, there is a limit when it can be shewn, that the restriction only countervails the taxation; this very point is open to endless dispute, both as to its principle, and as to facts.

*Una litura potest.* One point, and one only, is the point of rest. One act, and one only, can be a settlement.

There are some whose taste it is to live constantly in hot water; but for my own part, I would rather undergo some material reduction of rent, than continue to hear the whole body to which I belong, cried down as the tyrannical oppressors of the people.

Κτείνων τε μέρος βαιὸν ἐχούση  
 Πᾶν ἀπόχρη μοι, κάλληλοφόνους  
 Μανίας μελάθρων ἀφελουση.



# LETTER

TO

A. \_\_\_\_\_ B. \_\_\_\_\_, ESQ.

ON THE

IMPOLICY OF REPEALING

THE

PRESENT CORN LAWS.

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*Dedicated to the Farmers of Norfolk and Suffolk.*

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## P R E F A C E .

THE following Letter is the substance of a Series of Letters Published in the "BURY AND SUFFOLK HERALD," and addressed to the Farmers of Norfolk and Suffolk. The present agitation on the Corn Law Question again drew the writer's attention to the subject, and he was strongly advised to revise them, and again offer them to the Public. Amidst so many powerful and ably written papers as have of late appeared, the following may not rank very high; but as the Quarterly Review and other Periodicals, containing the most able expositions and examinations of the merits of Free Trade, are not so frequently within the reach of men of the middling walks of life, the writer thought that a small Pamphlet adapted to the case, and circulated in the various Markets of the two counties, would open the eyes of the Agriculturists to their real position, and urge them to unite heart and hand in opposition to a scheme—the accomplishment of which can only bring ruin on them and those connected with them. Greater use might have been made of figures; but in general much faith is not placed on the calculations of political economists. Any one who has ever been connected with a joint stock company, will know how easy it is to mistify accounts, and make calculations to bear advantageously on any particular point. The writer, therefore, confines himself to an examination of the bearings of the question on the several parties connected both immediately and remotely therewith, and has freely quoted from the History of the French Revolution, such warnings as should deter wise and rational men from embarking in any sudden and violent political change, especially when few or no valid reasons can be offered for such a change.



TO \_\_\_\_\_, ESQ.

DEAR SIR,

Knowing your strong bias towards a Total Repeal of the Corn Laws, and having heard that in case a General Election should shortly take place, a party in a neighbouring Borough Town, (whose views on that important measure are similar to your own), intend to propose you as their Representative in Parliament, I am induced to offer the following observations on the great question which now agitates the two parties into which this country has the misfortune to be divided, for your consideration. In what I now write I am prompted neither by party views, nor the solicitations of party men. Having a stake in the matter at issue, I claim and exercise a right to form an opinion for myself; and to give expression to that opinion, if by so doing I can benefit others and establish a truth.

I am aware that a person writing on political subjects, must more or less be ruled by present impressions, which are created by certain causes influencing his own views and the opinions of those with whom he is in immediate contact. These may be temporary or otherwise according to circumstances: that is, whether they arise from a principle of reason and sound judgment, or from the impulses of a vivid imagination and unschooled feelings. When our impressions arise from principle, they possess a truthfulness which neither time nor circumstance can alter in any material degree. If otherwise, they are as unsolid and evanescent as a shadow on the wall. If the saying holds good that what has been is that which shall be, and that like causes are productive of the like effects, both in the natural, moral, and political world; then it will follow as a matter of course that traces of future events will be found foreshadowed in the pages of the

past ; and by a right use of our perceptions and due exercise of our judgment we may arrive at something near the truth, and pronounce with some degree of certainty on the results which must follow any given line of proceeding.

Our attention at the present moment is directed to an investigation of the motives by which the leaders of the two great parties are urged onward in their course. Motives they must have, which though hidden from general observation, are nevertheless the mainsprings which give life and force to their present proceedings. The task indeed is difficult, for every man has an opinion and a remedy ; and he who can reduce the chaotic mass of our present disordered constitution into something like order, must have both mind and resolution much beyond the common stamp. Quacks there always are, and plenty, who presume to assure us that an efficient and speedy remedy is easily to be found for all the ills a body politic is heir to. But such men are—

“ Nimble jugglers that deceive the eye—  
Disguised cheaters, prating mountebanks,  
And many such like liberties of sin.” SHAKESPEARE.

With such we have nothing to do. My object is a calm and dispassionate enquiry into the necessity of a particular change, and which, if effected, then as to the probable results which may be expected to arise therefrom. Too much rancour has already been generated, and too much general and particular abuse has been banded about during the agitation of this great question. For my own part I cannot avoid the conviction which presses forcibly on me of the great ignorance generally manifested concerning the history and laws of our country, and the violation of truth, reason, and common sense unblushingly urged by the leaders and would-be-leaders on both sides. I have heard also of the free current of national industry, of unfettered commerce, of purchase and sale. And a celebrated writer observes, that “ were all nations to follow the liberal system of free exportation and free importation, the different states into which a great continent was divided, would so far resemble the different provinces of a great empire. As among the different provinces of a great empire, the freedom of the inland trade appears, both from reason

and experience not only the best palliative of a dearth, but the most effectual preventive of a famine ; so would the freedom of the exportation and importation trade be among the different states into which a great continent was divided. The larger the continent the easier the communication through all the different parts of it, both by land and by water, the less would any one particular part of it ever be exposed to either of these calamities, the scarcity of any one country being more likely to be relieved by the plenty of some other. But very few countries have entirely adopted this liberal system." And why ?—because the rule according to his own admission is inapplicable in practice ;—because there must be exceptions ;—"because in a Swiss Canton or in some of the little States of Italy, it may perhaps sometimes be necessary to restrain the exportation of corn."\* Even this writer on political economy as well as others, is reluctantly forced to admit that however consistent his views may be in theory, they are either impracticable or practically injurious.

In the present instance, it is the extreme of folly to suppose for a single instant that the mere existence of the Corn Law or any other commercial restriction can cause such a commotion in the State as at present subsists, independent of some other motive. To do so, indeed, were to confess an utter ignorance of men and things. A body politic is no doubt as subject to the law of change as the most trivial portion of the earth we stand upon. The effect of causes are equally obvious in both. Those revolutions which are produced in the globe by the agency of chemical power, are brought about among men by the ebullitions of passions and high-excited feelings. And as men rise in their own esteem in proportion to the development of their mental faculties, so will they manifest the ruling impulse of their nature in the attempt to controul and direct their fellow-men.

Here we have a body of men raising their thousands and tens of thousands, not for the promotion of their country's honour, the cause of religion and virtue ; not to free the prisoner, relieve the sick, clothe the naked, and feed the hungry ; not to console the fatherless and widow, so that glory may shine on our land. But these hoards

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\* Adam Smith.

are lavished to debase the ignorant by falsehood and delusion, to bribe the selfish and covetous, to sell their birth-right, their own and their countries liberties, and assume the chains of a slavery more galling than those of the benighted Africana ; slavery that shall eat into their hearts core, the very idea itself of their former freedom and intelligence adding weight and bitterness to their self-imposed miseries. The fact of the collection is itself a refutation of all the charges brought against the inutility of the Corn Laws, for it is under the Protection of these Laws that the hoards have accumulated, portions of which are now drawn forth in order to beat down all opposition with brute force, and elevate the modern Cræsus's to an undue influence over their fellow men. The language which this lavish display speaks is comprehensible by the meanest capacity. Wealth is power—we have wealth and will make it conducive to the promotion of our views of ambition—we will make it an instrument whereby we will bring you into subjection to our wills, and your destinies henceforward shall be under our controul. Like one of old we have erected an idol which we command you all to worship and obey—the barriers of your protection are broken down—the bulwarks of centuries are swept away—our sovereign wills are now the law, and woe be to him who dares dispute it.

Need we seek further for a motive which leads men to act offensively against their fellow citizens ? Here is a something to be attained, more than the repeal of a law or the removal of a restriction. In a country like this where wealth is power what shall bind the possessors of it within the limits of justice and propriety when once determined—not by its use but abuse to attain an undue elevation—even though they may be individually and collectively unable beneficially to exercise it when attained ?

That there does and ever will exist a diversity of opinions among men cannot be denied. What one man may consider just and proper, another may esteem as the very reverse, and it rarely happens that any two men can cordially agree on a given plan. This diversity of opinion must have its weight, and it is by adjusting the balance carefully between these conflicting elements that the real truth shall stand a chance of being brought to

light. But when a system in a body politic has existed for any length of time, and has, on the whole, proved beneficial, good cause should be shown why that system should be superseded by another or destroyed in toto. I therefore ask why the Corn Laws which have existed for more than three hundred years,\* and under the operation of which this country has arrived at its present pitch of greatness—are suddenly to be cast aside? Before a change of system is enforced let us feel convinced of the absolute necessity of a change and be certain that the removal of the restrictions complained of will prove really beneficial. Mens minds in the present day are too alive to the powers of reason and argument, and will not readily give up a present and real benefit for a speculative and problematical improvement. It has often been justly remarked that merchants and manufacturers know perfectly well how to enrich themselves. But to know how foreign trade enriched the country was no business of theirs. This subject never came into their consideration but when they had occasion to apply to their country for some change in the laws relating to their foreign trade. It then became necessary to say something about the benefits of foreign trade and the injurious effects of certain laws operating on them. They assert that foreign trade brought money in the kingdom, but that Protective Laws only checked the circulation, and prevented it reaching its proper channel. This argument is more plausible than true, for it is only under a system of Protection that the manufactured produce of this country has been able to keep in advance in every market, and we may be sure that no artisan would devote his time and energies to the improvement of any single article were he not assured by a certain degree of Protection of a remuneration for his time and his labour. The assertion is also verified by the small difference that exists in the rate of exchanges between this and other countries.

Wherever trade is free, and where the trade between two countries consists of their native commodities, you may assert, that they will both gain equally or nearly equally, and, as before observed, the deficiency of one

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\* See Mr. Cayley's able letter, in which he treats at large on this important point.



market will be supplied by the surplus of the other. But you must recollect that in order to do this there must be an equality in all respects, both as regards to the productive powers, and the producers of commodities, on either hand. Any inequality of burden laid on the one or the other, will at once destroy the balance, and the gain will be to him whose productions can be brought into the market at the least cost. It must also be shown that there is an inequality in the balance of produce and consumption at home; for if there is a sufficiency at home, then all that is imported must be an excess, and will operate, as all excesses do, in producing a glut, whereby the value of the home market is unduly diminished. This is practically evident in every market in abundant years. Hitherto our supplies have equalled or nearly equalled the demand. Throw the home market open to foreign competition, and an uncertainty is at once created—for the farmer will never know what he has to expect in return for his produce, and the consequence of this is palpable to the commonest observer in the change of system, for he will turn his arable into pasture, and most of his labourers about their business.

If, however, in opposition to all this you assert that public opinion is hostile to the continuance of the Corn Law, and that every point must be conceded to that force, I, for one, must protest against any such doctrine of the infallibility of public opinion. Because I consider public opinion in the present day is not the general expression of the feelings of mens minds, or the result of reason and sound judgment, but is in reality the offspring of party spirit and party clamour. If those who now call soloudly for the removal of a restriction and change of law, after creating a great deal of excitement, noise, and clamour, presume to designate this by the name of public opinion—what man in his senses will admit of such a claim.

“ Must these have views, that can yield them now,  
And straight disclaim their tongues?

It is a purposed thing, and grows by plot,  
To curb the will of the nobility;  
Suffer't, and live with such as cannot rule,  
Nor ever will be ruled—”

SHAKESPEARE.

When you look at the constituent parts of the aggressive party—for they are not normal—you will see that

they are composed of several elements hostile to each other, and incapable of real amalgamation, without the risk of an explosion. The object sought for by each of these elements is one and the same; namely, the acquisition of power, which, when gained, would only become the fruitful cause of distrust and discord.

"For treason is but trusted like a fox,  
Who ne'er so tame, so cherish'd and locked up,  
Will have a wild trick of his ancestors." SHAKESPEARE.

Whatever they may say in regard to the removal of commercial restrictions, their declarations can only be a blind for the concealment of their real object. For we may feel assured that no man in his senses will run a certain risk and encounter a deal of trouble for nothing. Indeed we cannot look upon the removal of a presumed commercial restriction to be a matter of such vital importance to a great and wealthy party, as to call forth so great a display of energy and lavish expenditure. I have clearly shown that the aim of their ambition to which the outcry created is only a stepping-stone, is the acquisition of power, which, when attained, they are, from want of mind and education incapable of using, and which, in their hands, can only become a weapon dangerous alike to friend and foe.

I looked attentively for some valid reason for a change, which I imagined would, at all events, be adduced before the late Meeting on the Corn question, held under the auspices of the Lord Mayor of London. Sadly was I disappointed. A vast deal of breath was spent but to little purpose. Assertions were made which were unsupported by the testimony of a single fact—facts themselves were falsified to suit a purpose. Ribaldry and abuse was banded to and fro in the room of argument and plain common sense. That men are governed by an idea is a fact beyond dispute, and it is a singular instance in the history of the human mind, that reason and common sense are often compelled to yield to fancy. The idea which rules in the present instance, and whereby many well-meaning and sensible men are misled, is this—that general good is only to be attained by unhinging the whole framework of society, in order to rebuild from the foundation a more faultless structure; and strive for the attainment of this end by means neither politic nor

just. The time however is arrived when the great antagonistic principles are brought to a crisis, and any want of energy on the part of the agriculturist will be hereafter most sensibly felt when the time of action shall be passed away. It is acknowledged on all hands that Farmers are of all people least subject to the spirit of monopoly. They rejoice in mutual improvement, and are ever ready to confer on others the benefit of their experience. If they are anxious to secure the benefits of the home markets for themselves by restrictions on importation, it is only under a sense of a total inability to meet the calls on the land, in the shape of rent, tithes, rates, and taxes, that they feel the imperative demand of some stringent restriction on the importation of foreign corn. It becomes more necessary than ever that practical men should bestow greater attention on the principles whereon the Corn Law is founded, they should study the history of these laws, and whilst discussing the merits of the Sliding Scale, they will merely give it its just value, not by regarding it as a cause but only as an effect—not as a principle but as an instrument—of no real value except as a piece of mechanism designed to work out a given proposition, and valuable just in as far as it accomplishes the end proposed in its enactment.

I cannot too strongly urge that the difference between the Landowner and Occupier on the one hand, and Anti-Corn League on the other is one entirely of principle. As I have shown, the Manufacturer is striving to raise capital into an all ruling power, sweeping away every obstacle that can impede its course with a violent hand, and crushing all opposition in its march to power with brute force. Whilst the Farmer struggles for a Protection from the Law, not to secure him a monopoly—for that is impossible where the home produce is unequal to home consumption, but to maintain his very existence under burdens to which he is liable, and from which in fact he cannot escape. In a word it is only a struggle for the ascendancy of a floating over a fixed capital.

The capital of the Merchant and Manufacturer is floating, a very small portion of which only is vested in machinery, or shipping, and I cannot do better than adopt the definition of Adam Smith, "Who says," speaking of the capital of the Manufacturer, "it may be employed in rais-

ing manufacturing, or purchasing goods, and selling them again with a profit. The capital employed in this manner yields no revenue or profits to its employer, whilst it either remains in his possession or continues in the same shape. The goods of the Merchant yield him no revenue or profit till he sells them for money, and the money yields him as little till it is again exchanged for goods. His capital is continually going from him in one shape, and return to him in another, and it is only by means of such circulation and successive exchanges that it can yield him any profit. The larger then the circuit which this capital has to describe and the greater the number of changes it has to undergo, the greater the revenue brought to the owner."

The capital of the Farmer on the other hand is fixed. That is to say, it consists in instruments of agriculture, and of labour; in stock on hand—cows, horses, sheep, hay and straw, these last are generally reserved, and are not therefore a marketable commodities. In fact every thing which he is necessitated to keep on hand, and from which he does not realize a profit. The capital of the Merchant and Manufacturers being represented by money, value is always available, and they consequently can avail themselves of all the advantages of the market and make the most of them.

The Farmer must first change his fixed into floating or money capital, by turning the labour of men and cattle into profit, and also the surplus produce of his lands. Seeds of all kinds are of course included in fixed capital. It is only the surplus produce that is available for profit. In order to do this he must have time. If he cannot command the time necessary for this purpose the monied capitalist will step in before him, and having by means of capital in hand obtained command of the market, when the Farmer does come in, he finds himself as it were fore-stalled; and should his immediate wants compel him to do business, he can only do so on the terms of the market previously imposed by the monied capitalist.

The present Corn Law is the only remedy he has to protect him from this cruel hardship. Its object is to secure him the time necessary for the conversion of his surplus produce or fixed capital into money, and thus to meet the manufacturer on even ground. This is a plain statement of the present Corn Law and principle of the

sliding scale. And in dealing with this subject, men in general act more like ignorant medical practitioners who physic for symptoms, instead of attacking the cause of the disease.

The manufacturer is fully aware of the advantage which his floating and money capital will give him over fixed capital; provided he can deprive the farmer of the time necessary for the conversion of the latter into the former. He is sensible his floating capital does not contribute one iota to the necessities of the state. He knows that the value of floating capital increases in proportion to the diminution in value of fixed capital, and whilst the gain to floating capital is confessedly great, it is rendered still more so by leaving fixed capital as the only security to the state creditor. It is admitted by all that a free importation will lower the price of corn, and as labour is regulated by that it will also diminish the value of labour. And this to a much greater extent than is generally supposed.\*

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The Quarterly Review, writing on this, observes:—

\*“In this light it becomes important equally to all classes to see the prodigious amount of property that must be affected by any mischievous tampering with the Corn Laws; for whatever the loss, the whole nation will divide it with the landlord and farmer, let legislators make what provisions they please against such impartial distribution of ruin. As to compensation,—making the extravagant admission that it is possible to compensate the landowner and farmer for large deductions from such sums, as we are about to state—who, we ask, is to compensate the compensation to the country?

“The value of the fixed capital vested in the soil, or immediately connected with it, in Great Britain and Ireland, is, in round numbers, £2,605,000,000, and the capital vested in agricultural stock and implements £710,000,000, making together the prodigious sum of £3,315,000,000. The income, rental, tithes, and direct and immediate burdens from this and upon this is £87,000,000 yearly, exclusive of the profits or income from the farmers’ stock, &c.

“The abolition of the Corn Laws, or, in other words, just protection to the highly-taxed British agriculturists, in favour of the untaxed, or very lightly taxed, foreigner, would lower the value of every description of agricultural produce about *one-fourth*, and consequently sweep away to an equal extent the value or amount of fixed capital above adverted to; thus:—

Rental, &c., one-fourth	... ..	£21,750,000
Decreased value stock	... ..	177,500,000

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Agricultural loss	... ..	£199,250,000
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The first sum yearly, and the latter at once.

For though the price of corn is reduced, and also that of labour (they being reciprocal) and consequently the value of money increased, (for in that case it would buy more goods of all kinds,) yet if the amount of bullion in circulation was not diminished in proportion, the just balance would be destroyed and whatever is lost by the British Farmer would first go into the pocket of the Manufacturer, and eventually into that of the foreign grower.

Nor in this instance is the interest of the Farmer alone at stake. The Corn Merchant must also suffer, for the intercourse between him and the Farmer is mutually beneficial. The Corn Merchant is the great outlet for the Farmer's produce, and by whom he turns his fixed into floating or money capital. Whatever then injures the Farmer, must effect the home market in the like manner. Whenever the value of Corn in the home market is reduced below a certain point, the Corn Merchant is consequently circumscribed in his dealings, and a portion at least of his floating capital must find some other outlet for profitable investment. He is also the medium of communication between the grower and consumer of Corn. Diminution in the price of Corn will create also a decrease in the price of labour. This will of course curtail the means of consumption and diminish the demand in the home market. It is useless to speak of the increased value of money—a shilling is but a shilling in the eyes of a poor man, and not all the persuasion you can use will make him take it for fifteen pence. It will stand to reason that the price which is injurious to the Farmer, and disables the labourer by diminishing the gains of both, must prove injurious to the Corn Merchant. But the Corn Merchant is in general the means of communication between the Manufacturer, and the consumer of manufactured articles. Whatever, therefore, tends to diminish home consumption, and home consumption is two out of three parts of all articles manufactured, must curtail the demand of his services and capital. As an intermediate agent he is

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The first sum, rental or fixed property, taken at *thirty years'* purchase, would destroy *bond fide realised capital* to the extent of £652,500,000, making, with the loss of capital vested in stock, £851,750,000, more than the whole national debt, for which the capital in land is the only certain and stable security. What, or who, could compensate this loss? and which, after all, is only a portion of the ruin."

circumscribed in his dealings; for he can only supply the demand—and that demand is diminished by the injurious operation of foreign competition.\*

It has often been stated that the question at issue concerns the Landlord more than it does the tenant. Let us look a little into this important point and we shall soon see our way clearly.

The landlord has a right, and an exclusive one, in the soil of his estate. But in order to render this right beneficial to him the soil must be cultivated so as to produce a remunerative profit. To do this

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Here again I refer to the Quarterly Review :—

\*“Let us bring these statements to the proof by facts and figures which are undisputed. The yearly value of agricultural produce in Great Britain and Ireland, calculated at a rate much lower than the present scale, is in round numbers as under :—

Grain of all kinds, and potatoes	... ..	£160,000,000
All other articles	... ..	390,000,000

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Total produce	... ..	£550,000,000
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Out of this are to come the rent, tithes, &c., £87,000,000; direct wages, £140,000,000; and £268,000,000 for supplies of every description, without reference to interest or profits of any kind.

The depreciation of *one-fourth* on the above vast sum would amount to £137,500,000, and deducting the rent supposed lost to the landlord there remains £115,750,000, which the farmer has to reduce from his present yearly expenditure, and which must be reduced by curtailing his personal and family expenses, and in his outlay or expenditure with every one with whom he has to transact business for all descriptions of supplies. His servants and every one of the other classes alluded to must submit to reduced wages and prices in everything that their labour produces for sale, and both he and they must only have cheaper clothes, but fewer of these, and consume yearly so much less tea, sugar, beer, wines, spirits, and other articles yielding revenue, and so also must his landlord in proportion to the extent of £21,750,000 reduced rental.

“The state of the agricultural interest presses first upon the manufacturing interest, and next upon the public revenue.

“The fixed and immediate capital vested in every branch of manufactures in the United Kingdom, is at present about £240,000,000, of which £135,000,000 are yearly expended in wages and salaries. On the averages of the whole *eighteenth century* are consumed at home. These productions must all be produced at a lower rate to meet the capabilities of the agriculturists, and, consequently the value of capital invested, all wages and expenditure must be proportionally reduced. A deterioration of real capital to the extent of £20,000,000, must ensue, and a reduction of wages to the extent of, perhaps, £30,000,000, must follow.”

another species of capital must be employed returning a profit sufficient to satisfy the right, cover the risk and interest, and furnish the necessary labour. If the owner farms his own land, that is, if he advances the floating capital necessary to render his right productive, both the risk and the profit are his own and this part of the question is at rest.

If, on the other hand, another advances the floating or money capital necessary to render this right productive, then it becomes a co-partnership or joint concern. The Landlord receiving a certain portion of produce as rent in satisfaction for his right in the soil, the Tenant taking the remainder, for management, risk, interest, expense, and profit. The Tenant thus becomes the instrument (whether by capital or by labour, or both, amounts to the same thing) through which the Landlord receives the satisfaction for his right. The certainty or uncertainty of his receiving this satisfaction must depend on the skill and integrity, and solvency of his co-partner or Tenant, or of him who advances so much money or labour capital as will render his right profitable. The Tenants power of meeting the Landlords claim must depend on many contingent circumstances—weather, markets, shortness or abundance of crops, and over some of these he has no controul; but others are open to certain influences operating rather directly or indirectly on produce, whereby his capital is affected. A question therefore influencing the price of corn—the opening or closing of markets, the outlets and inlets of produce must bear upon him and his returns before it can reach the Landlord. So long as the Tenants vested and fixed capital is secure of its proper and adequate returns, so sure is the Landlord of his rent. But the moment the returns of the Tenants capital are insufficient to meet the proper demands on it, so much less is the amount and value of that capital to the owner, and by so much are the means diminished of his paying rent to the Landlord. It is hence clear that the diminution of the Tenants capital must precede the Landlords loss of rent, and thus the question rests in the first instance with the Tenant Farmer; secondly, with the Landowner, and both are eventually sufferers by the loss of capital.

It is therefore certain that any cause which shall either



threaten or produce a diminution of capital invested, to render land productive and remunerative, must in the first instance fall on the owner of that capital before it can possibly reach him, the value of whose right rises and falls with the excess or diminution of such capital so invested. Now the Repeal of the Corn Law will immediately cause a diminution in the value of the capital so invested. This without diminishing the burden contingent to that capital. And the Owner or Tenant finds himself on the brink of bankruptcy, and the Landowner has the prospect of an unremunerative right returned upon his hands. The Landlord it must be admitted has an interest in the solvency of his Tenant, and the Tenant cannot be expected to satisfy the Landlords right out of his vested capital, for no man could afford to embark capital on such terms since he would incur all the risk without any chance of remuneration. It is therefore the Tenant Farmers interest and duty which he owes to himself and his family to oppose at all hazard any sudden change which shall injure the market for his produce and rob him of his capital.

These facts are plain and incontrovertible, and it is the most serious consideration of these facts that the Landholder and Farmer ought to direct their attention.

The great point then, involved in the present Corn Law, we may regard as time. It is this which remedies the inequality subsisting between fixed and floating capital, and by so doing places the contending parties somewhat on a just level.

That this is a correct view of the case we have an evidence in the system pursued in regard to railroads. No sooner is a line suggested, offering the least prospect of a good investment, and profitable returns, than money is instantly ready for the undertaking, not by slow conversion of fixed into floating capital, but from a redundancy of floating capital, ever on the watch for a remunerative market. This being done, it becomes at once a fixed capital, and liable to all the depressing influences on capitals of similar kind. For it is plain that the railroad returns must entirely depend on the activity in the home market, and the greatness of amount of home produce transferred from hand to hand. That diminished by foreign competition, the returns of interest on capital

invested must of course diminish in equal or perhaps greater proportion. And no one can deny, or be blind to the fact, that the rail-road system as now carried on is nothing more than the establishment of a monster monopoly under the influence of floating capital, against which private property and social rights find it in vain to contend. Every thing here must give way to the all pervading influence of money, be it right or wrong. In truth, go where you will at home or abroad, you meet this power of floating capital directing your steps and controuling your very existence. But we have this satisfaction that in as far as rail-roads are concerned, there must be a limit to their progress, and the capital invested in them being fixed by such investment, the interest involved is a guard against aggression, since it blends the interest of the capitalist with the other fixed capital of the country, and both must rise and fall together.

The power then, I say, of floating capital is aggressive, and if not met with a superior repulsive influence will bear down all opposition, and we shall soon become as Tyre, as Venice, as Genoa, whose merchants were once the great ones of the earth; whose rise, progress, and decline read us a powerful and instructive lesson. They were once masters of the world, but now either perished from off the face of existence, or else sunk in abject submission to the dominion of some petty potentate. Their splendid palaces, their noble halls, testimonies of past grandeur and wealth, are gradually sinking into the dust from whence they rose. These perished in their greatness—shall England be like them? Her noblest of poets says she must

“Like Rome, fall in her own greatness,”

and it would seem that the time was now arrived when the truth of his prophetic foresight was to be tested.

If the facts be as I have stated them, and I do not apprehend that all the mere assertion in the world can prove them otherwise, it offers to us this conclusion; that should the Farmer or Landowner either neglect or fail to make good his position against his unscrupulous assailants, the inevitable consequence must be, that the land of the whole kingdom shall be held merely as a security to the state in behalf of the monied capitalists, and the holders thereof both Owner and Tenant, mere

serfs or slaves of the soil, to hold and cultivate it for the benefit of the revenue and pauper population. Whilst they themselves may bless their stars if they can get sufficient to satisfy their own necessities.\* Whether the land is in the possession of the present holder or in the mortgagee, the principle is the same, the capital must remain a fixed one. Whatever its internal change may be, it must also be held as a security to the State creditor as long as the debt continues uncanceled. In fact the whole land is mortgaged for the payment of the national debt, and that discharged, allow me to ask, what will remain to the private creditor? The answer is plain—very little! You may, if you please, turn round on the state creditor, and coolly tell him that a sponge will wipe out all his claim and cost you nothing; but ere this can be done a great convulsion must take place, which is most likely to involve both friend and foe in one common ruin. You cannot for a moment suppose that any thing in the present day is to be gained by a revolution. And the assertion that changes produced by revolutions tend only to the placing of men in their proper positions is denied by experience.† No good man would wish to purchase a benefit to himself on terms which he knows must

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\* To prove this the case, I may cite the following circumstance:—In the year 1822, the rates of a parish in the neighbourhood of Andover, in Hampshire, were so excessive that the owner of some land therein, threw it up and let it run to waste, the returns being insufficient even to pay the demands of the parish.

† This and the following notes are extracted from a scarce and valuable work on the French Revolution, by Ant. Fantin Desodards, fourth edition, printed in Paris, 1801, and it would prove a blessing to the cause of peace and humanity if the leaders of the Corn Law agitation would only read with attention, and apply to themselves that portion which relates to the troubles which fell on the city of Lyons, and their frightful consequences. I have given the extracts in the author's own words for reasons which will be obvious to the reader.

“ Dans tous les temps les hommes les plus éclairés, les plus distingués des grandes places attendirent comme Cincinnatus que la voix publique les tirât de leur solitude. Cette disposition est encore plus générale au milieu des vastes commotions populaires et lorsque tous les ressorts de l'état sont visés. L'homme le plus instruit est précisément celui qui apprécie le mieux ses connaissances qui lui manquent, et s'enveloppe dans une prudente obscurité. La carrière politique est abandonnée à la foule des intrigans qui ne doutent de rien.”

cost his country a deal of suffering—nor could he enjoy any advantage which he was sure had been obtained at the expense of blood and tears.

But let us suppose for the sake of argument, that the Corn Laws are done away with, would Corn be cheaper to the poor man? Not an iota for the present! The first effect of the Repeal would be to raise fixed capital abroad to a level with the fixed capital of this country, and with this advantage to the foreigner, that whilst the fixed capital at home is diminished and the means lessened wherewith its burdens are to be met, all the foreigner has is clear gain because his land is not mortgaged as a security for social and state burdens. That this would be the case was freely admitted by that friend to Repeal, the late Earl Spencer, who, blind to his own want of consistency, acknowledged that the Repeal of the Corn Laws would tend to raise the price abroad, and of consequence the value of labour. He must have been perversely blind to the fact, that as home labour is regulated by the home market, the value of that, as already shown, must fall in an equal, or, perhaps, a greater ratio to the fall in the price of Corn in such markets. And thus the Labourer will be the first to suffer, and the Tenant and Landlord in succession.

And I dare affirm the capitalists will not reap the advantage he expects from so violent a change. The foreign market will not increase in due proportion to the diminution of home consumption, neither have we any reason to expect that the foreigner will resort again to the system of barter. In general he has manufactures of his own which he will support in opposition to all our preconceived opinions. He will act upon the plan so loudly spoken of at home, and will buy as cheap and sell as dear, and moreover being sensible that in the act of exchange he is as likely to be a loser as a gainer, he will at once demand its representative of value, namely gold. He will say give me your gold for my corn, for with that I can go to what market I like. If I approve of the price of your goods I will purchase, if not I will go elsewhere; and thus whilst an uncertainty is created in foreign trade, the home market is falling into utter ruin. Do what you will, say what you please, under a non-restrictive, non-protective principle, floating and fixed

capital both here and abroad will sooner or latter find their reciprocal and due level, and though you may for a time elevate one at the expense of the other, the disorganization created thereby will sooner or later revenge itself on those who strive to pervert the reasonable and natural course of things, in order to promote their own grasping and ambitious views.

We may venture to admit that after a while the Repeal of the Corn Laws will have but little effect in the aggregate on the price of Corn. But by Repealing that Law you rob the Farmer of the time guaranteed to him thereby, and so place him at a disadvantage, and this not altogether to advantage the Manufacturer, which I have shown, you cannot do in the long run, but to enrich the foreigner, and gradually impoverish the home operative and labourer of every class. If, as I have already said, the land is a security to the state creditor for the loans advanced by him, it is very necessary for the honour and integrity of the country that the value of this security should not be diminished. And the more so when the benefit of the change is not reaped by your fellow countrymen, but by strangers, aliens in blood and language, and who would rejoice above measure to have you dependant on them for that very subsistence which now enables us to keep them at defiance and dictate laws to half the habitable globe.

When we contemplate the Agrarian system in this country, we cannot be even wilfully blind to the vast mass of interest involved; wheel within wheel, from the crown to the humblest peasant; intricate combinations, not the result of years, but of ages, there meet at every turn, and there is a harmony pervading the whole, most wonderful and cheering, and without which its very existence would be worse than a blank. No minister dare venture to stake the credit of the country on mere speculation, though for some years past there has been too much of that. At present we have this system of law bearing on the land simple and comprehensible, the machinery whereby its operations are carried on is effective, and whilst it secures the benefits necessary to the Agrarian population, it is a safeguard against abuse. Whilst it protects the Tenant Farmer it secures the means of subsistence to the Labourer, and whilst it maintains the value of national securities, it

throws no unreasonable impediments in the way of manufacturing industry and commercial enterprise. Had our land nothing to bear but simple taxation, some room might remotely have existed for complaint that the powers of Protection to the landed interest were injuriously extensive; but when we number up the various burdens it has to support, we cannot in justice grudge them the boon they hold. Look at that great ulcer, the Poor Law, eating into the vitals of the land, corrupting and tainting the whole body politic and demoralizing the community at large, and consider how deeply the land is burdened to salve this deformity. You must confess that the limit of Protection is not too extensive, and especially when you consider that the manufacturing interest whilst it helps to an enormous extent to increase the evil, does not contribute one iota to the means necessary for the support of the pauper; all, all is borne by the land. We are tempted to assert on this ground alone, that the limit of Protection to the Landowner is fixed at the lowest possible point. The Tenant Farmer of course is the best judge of what is most proper for his own interest, but that interest cannot safely be established and maintained, only in accordance with sound principles; and the working of the Corn Law has clearly shown that the principle of Protection is agreeable to the rules of reason and common sense.

Party legislation is at all times bad, and if the Corn Law was merely part and parcel of class legislation, the sooner it was done away with the better. But I have clearly shown that such is not the case, for it secures and has long secured to the manufacturer himself nearly two thirds of all his gains, which, with the shallow foresight, and reckless spirit of a gambler, he is willing to sacrifice for a more than precarious chance of prospective gain—for the attainment of power, which when he shall have gained it, he has neither wit nor strength to manage. And when we reflect on the numerous uncertain ties incident to manufacture and commerce, their subjection to caprice, to fashion, and foreign rivalry; how soon the sunshine of to day may be replaced by the wretchedness and gloom of the morrow, when all may perchance be swept into one vast sea of neglect and oblivion. What will then remain to them or us but our broad acres and their produce; not merely as a solace for many disap-

pointments, but also as the only means left us by the various turns of fortune, for comfort, and perhaps subsistence. The Court of Bankruptcy furnishes us daily with instances of the uncertainty of commercial and manufacturing pursuits, and where other nations are using every means and taxing their energy to the utmost to rival us at all points, the danger is ever impending. The reports also of the Schools of Design show how greatly we are inferior to the continentals in matters of taste, and that our manufacturers send abroad not only for their best pattern, but also for artists to carry on their works. Is there not an evil in this? and does it not show that the manufacturer has little or no patriotic feelings, when men neglect native talent, and sacrifice even their own prospective interest in the present thirst for gain? It is time for the wise and prudent to pause ere they lend themselves to aid the schemes of the unscrupulous, and greedy worshippers of mammon. But I truly believe that were the Corn Law at once repealed, the rich manufacturer would regret it, as much or more than most; because such an act would deprive him of his most plausible reasons for agitation, and then the more if the repeal did not accomplish the object he had in view. It would be difficult for him to find another subject equally good for his purpose; and if found, it would take years before it could be brought effectively to bear. During the interval the home consumption being nearly ruined, the foreign trade neutralized by competition, the capitals of the lords of the mill would melt by degrees, till their owners, instead of creating political agitation, would have enough to do to keep their station in the world.

I have gone great lengths in this letter, but am now drawing to a close. The world is wide enough for us all, and there is ample means afforded in both for our wants and our happiness, provided we do not reject them in our pride, or mar them in our folly.

"The present joys of life we doubly taste;  
By looking back with pleasure on the past;"

But this we cannot do, unless the retrospective view is enlivened by the testimonies of duties performed, and of having each of us contributed our quota to the general improvement and happiness; and the consideration of this will brighten

our onward course. Where the claims of our country, our families, and ourselves demand our constant care and unwearied exertion, (we live in perilous times,) we all ought to be alive to the danger of our position. Each of us has an equal share in all the interests and changes of government with those around us, and to the man who possesses a larger stake, the duty of care and circumspection and activity is the more pressingly urgent. When storms are raging and dangers threaten, the bold undaunted mariner stands firmly by his helm, watches undismayed the mighty billows cresting round him, and seizes every advantage to guard his ship from frowning rock and devouring quick sand. Taught by experience and knowing the merits and powers of his vessel; under the guidance of an all Providence, he strives to steer her course into a peaceful Haven. Nor will he strive in vain, for to those who bravely dare in the cause of truth and justice, the end is generally conceded. What then will our feelings be at a future day, if we now desert our post, and for want of that noble daring basely sacrifice the interests and happiness of ourselves and our children? The wild spirit of unbridled change usurps the seat of reason, and drives our vessel of state into a situation of peril. Shall we desert her in this her hour of need? The platform on which we now stand, and on which we have seen the glories of England's brightest days, is insidiously undermined, and is slipping beneath our feet, shall we resist, or shall we tamely sit by and wait till ruin comes? or perchance cry out when it is too late, and the time of action past, when the strength we might have commanded has fled, and through the craven feeling of our hearts we are left to the mercies of a cruel and ignorant race, who strive to supersede all faith and truth with the crude and undigested schemes of visionary wildness? Shall we sow in the wind to reap in the whirlwind? Is our country fallen so low—are our nobles so ignorant and debased—are our gentry so sunk in selfishness and ease—are our yeomanry, those mighty sinews of the land, so unnerved, that from amongst them all we cannot find men of understanding and integrity sufficient to be entrusted with the helm of state; but we must rake into the draft and filth of our factories, and draw out of that polluted source some half tutored, half barbarian,



but brightly gilded tool, wherewith to rule the destinies of this great nation? I look for better things. Thanks to the blessings of education men's minds are not now so easily deluded as formerly, with mere sound, and empty nothings, and there is scarce an operative or day labourer but is fully aware of the stake he has at issue.

The artisan and labourer whose savings are deposited in the hands of government, and for which he knows the revenue is security, he will hardly be induced to promote those wild speculations whereby his savings shall be endangered. Create but an alarm in his mind for the safety of his hard earned gains, and see what will be the consequence. He is satisfied with the present state of things, shake his confidence in the integrity of his government, which you must do, when you pit him against the foreigner to his disadvantage—when you, under a specious mark of good, depreciate the value of his little capital—when you curtail the sources of his gains by diminishing his rate of wages, and with habits of a higher cast induced by education, degrade him in his own eyes; from a quiet subject you will change him into a turbulent rebel, who will wreak vengeance if he can on you, and all the upper classes, at whose door he will lay (justly or otherwise, it matters not to him) the loss he has incurred and the miseries which threaten him. This is no fancied picture, for it has already been painted in stains of blood.\*

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Speaking of the miseries which fell on the inhabitants of Lyons our author says—

\* Un individu, accusé d'avoir dit qu'il donnerait volontiers, cinq cent mille livres pour reconstruire le superbe Hotel-Dieu de Lyon, écrasé par les bombes, fut condamné à mort en récompense à l'action vertueuse qu'il se proposait de faire. Cet importuné était père de dix eufaus, sa femme allait accoucher du onzième; elle se jette aux pieds des commissaires conventionnels. La tendresse conjugale, la pitié filiale, et tous les élans de la nature, qui déchirent l'âme de l'homme sensible, n'avaient aucun accès sur le cœur de ces êtres féroces. Qu'on éloigne les rejetons d'une race rebelle: telle fut la récompense de Collot-d'Herbois. Cette rebellion consistait à passer pour riche, et ce crime était irrémissible.

L'accusé est traîné à l'échafaud en présence de la famille. Eu vain sa malheureuse épouse, entraînée par son désespoir, s'élance jusque sur l'instrument de mort; son mari est frappé dans ses bras; son danger rejaillit sur elle. L'horreur qui la saisit, hâte dans ses entrailles les douleurs de l'enfantement, on la porte chez elle mourante. Les agens de la commission militaire y arrivaient

The age is not yet passed away which witnessed those scenes. The horrors of the lengthened wars engendered by them are not yet obliterated—men yet live who can tell you of cruelties most savage and inhuman, and who would earnestly warn you to beware of creating a political storm, which you will neither be able to controul or lay, but which will involve both leaders and actors in one common ruin.

Here then I close. In this review of the state of things I have confined myself to the discussion of a principle, and in how far I have succeeded in establishing a truth or supporting a right, I leave to the judgment of others. In committing these reflections to paper, I trust not to mar a system which it is my sincere desire to uphold. I know a weak advocate is often more dangerous to one than a declared enemy, and fearful were I to proceed farther. I shall run the risk of committing this error. I will conclude in the words of Horace—

“ Hinc tibi copia  
Manebit ad plenum, benigno  
Ruris honorum opulenta cornu.”

“ Here to thee shall plenty flow,  
And all her riches show,  
To raise the honour of the quiet plain.”

FRANCIS.

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en même tems. Les scelles sont apposés sur ses meubles les plus indispensables; on la chasse de sa maison sans lui permettre d'emporter les linges nécessaires à l'être auquel elle venait de donner le jour. Cette femme succombe à son infortune, et ses enfans sont relégués dans un hôpital.



**GOD'S LAWS *VERSUS* CORN-LAWS.**

**A LETTER**

**TO**

**HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.**

**FROM A**

**DIGNITARY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.**



**LONDON:**

**HOULSTON & STONEMAN, 65 PATERNOSTER ROW ;  
QUINTIN DALRYMPLE, 29 FREDERICK STREET, EDINBURGH ;  
GEORGE GALLIE, 99 BUCHANAN STREET, GLASGOW ;  
AND G. & R. KING, ABERDEEN.**

**MDCCCXLVI.**



MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

It is with the greatest reluctance that I sit down to my present task; and nothing but a strong sense of duty could induce me to undertake it. Were I addressing your Grace alone, it would suffice to submit the following remarks to the private consideration of your Grace; but as I wish to bring my views on the subject of this letter under the eye of a great and influential body, not only in the Church, but also in the State, I have taken the liberty of making them public, and of addressing the publication to your Grace.

I make no apology for writing to my ecclesiastical superior upon what is commonly called a political question, because you, as well as the other Spiritual Lords in the Upper House of Parliament, are, by the very tenor of your offices, bound to exert your utmost sagacity and wisdom in correcting what is wrong, in supplying what is defective, and in confirming and strengthening our political system, both in Church and State. I do not sympathize with that false delicacy which has for nearly a century induced the bench of Bishops to confine their legislative efforts to cases merely ecclesiastical, because I know that legislation not-ecclesiastical, has been very operative in inflicting unmixed evil on the great body of our Christian community.

I also, in my inferior position in the Church, would not willingly forfeit the privileges which the State, by conferring upon me civil rights, practically calls upon me to exercise. Among these, one of the highest, undoubtedly, is to make my opinions known on any question affecting seriously the welfare of my fellow-citizens—these rights, in certain emergencies, become duties.

No one can deny that it is most unbecoming for Christian ministers to interfere in party squabbles, to direct their attacks against men, and not against unsound principles—to lend their active support to-day, and to withdraw the same to-morrow, because the agents for carrying such measures may have been changed.

If I read aright the declaration of our Lord and Saviour,—  
“My kingdom is not of this world,” and which has so often

been quoted in controversy, the meaning is, that the ministers of Christ are not to engage themselves in the dangerous intrigues for setting up and pulling down civil magistrates, but to perform their religious duties in those communities, whether Christian or heathen, in which God's providence may have placed them. Had our Saviour needed ministers to establish a kingdom of this world, legions of angels were at his command, who could much more effectually, and much more innocently, have executed his will in this respect, than legions of ministers who, in such a work, would naturally taint the whole proceeding by their limited powers and unholy passions.

His ministers were, in his own words, to be "the salt" of the world, the antiseptic principle of social life, the source of health and purity, of strength and vigorous life. Should these ministers, therefore, cease to be "the salt" of the great mass of mankind, nothing but universal corruption can be the result.

Should, then, in a community leavened apparently by the great truths of the Gospel, and acknowledging Christ's ministers as an important element in its constitution, certain principles prevail, and practices be grafted thereon, which tend to add to the wealth of the rich, and to diminish the narrow comforts of the poor, it appears to me that the ministers of God, who, by their arguments, maintain, or by their silence connive at, such principles and practices, betray the cause of the poor, whom it is their essential duty to protect, and are in great danger of ceasing to be "the salt" of the social mass.

Believing, as I do, that the Corn-Laws, which, for a generation of thirty years, have regulated both the price and quantity of food in Great Britain, have tended, and do still tend, to increase the wealth of the rich, and to diminish the comforts of the poor, it is my bounden duty to profess publicly this belief, and to attempt to relieve our poorer brethren from the pressure which these laws seem to inflict upon them.

It is not my intention in this letter to your Grace to refer to the prevailing systems of political economy, nor to those doctrines which, under the name rather than according to the principles of Malthus, have heathenised, if I may be allowed to coin a word, many of our greater men. The principles upon which I propose to argue the question, are drawn from a much more authoritative source, and are more holy and binding upon the conscience of a Christian, than any vain philosophy devised by man.

When it pleased the Creator of this world, known to us but imperfectly by his visible works, but much more intimately, even in our present state, from his revealed Word, to call it and us into

existence, it was in accordance with his will consigned to the care of our first parents. The commission by which this great trust was devolved upon them, is thus written :—" So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him, male and female created he them. And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth, and subdue it, and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth. And God said, behold I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is on the face of all the earth ; and every tree in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed, to you it shall be for meat."

Again, in the judicial condemnation of Adam :—" Cursed is the ground for thy sake ; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life. Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee, and thou shalt eat the fruit of the field ; in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread ; for out of it wast thou taken, and into dust shalt thou return."

This commission, originally given by God to Adam, never revoked, but still binding on his descendants, was renewed in the charge given to Noah :—" And God blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them, Be ye fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth. And the fear of you and the dread of you shall be on every beast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air, and upon all that moveth upon the earth, and upon all the fishes of the sea ; into your hand are they delivered. Every moving thing that liveth upon the face of the earth shall be meat for you, even as the green herb have I given you all things." It is not very clear under what providential dispensation with respect to the seasons, and their various produce, the antediluvians lived—probably it was more immediately theocratic than the patriarchal age. Assuredly, some of the bitterness of the curse was allayed, and men had to labour with better hope and greater confidence. For we read that " the Lord said, I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake, for the imaginations of man's heart is evil from his youth ; neither will I again smite any more every thing living as I have done. While the earth remaineth, seed-time and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, and day and night, shall not cease."

Under the terms of this commission, a right seems to be given to *all* men to partake of *all* the fruits of *all* the earth, provided they be willing to earn it with the sweat of their brow, and that no human legislation can intervene with this vested right of every individual, without violating God's law ; and that all attempts, either direct or indirect, to limit this great end, can



originate only in violence and tyranny—at least, not till the terms of the commission be thoroughly fulfilled, and the whole earth be subdued and replenished.

To the persons who received this commission on their descent from the Ark, the execution of it, were they not possessed of strong faith, must have appeared almost impossible. Were they as well acquainted as we are with the extent of the earth, with its breadth and length, its mountains, deserts, and marshes, they could have hardly realized to their imaginations the picture of a thoroughly subdued and cultivated world. The means to be employed seemed scarcely adequate to the effects to be produced. But very early in the stage of progressive advance, a power was developed which soon promised an earlier fulfilment of the terms of the commission than proved agreeable to some of the leading spirits among the increasing mass of mankind. These saw with regret, as the wave of population undulated from the centre to the most distant extremities, that the out-goers into the untamed wilds prevented that dense population from being formed, which alone can save the few from earning their daily bread by the sweat of their brow. Hence arose the first post-diluvian attempt to contravene the direct command of God, and to confine to one spot the energies of a great portion of mankind, who all at the time had but one language and one set of institutions, social, religious, and political. The builders of Babel, finding themselves happily placed in the fertile and spacious plains of Shinar, felt a strong desire to make it not only their own abiding place, but the pleasant abode of their children also. They shrunk from the task assigned. They could not endure the thought that their younger children should go forth and subdue the waste portions of the earth,—should extirpate the thorns and thistles with which it was overrun, and cause them to be replaced by those fruits and trees which are given to man for his meat. They said, “Go to, let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach into heaven; and let us make a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth.”

This rebellion on their part was instantly repressed by God himself. He miraculously confounded their common language, “So that they understood not each other. So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth, and they left off to build the city.” In the learned Bochart’s language,—“From this dispersion it appears that Solomon was right in saying, ‘The evil which the wicked fears will overtake him.’ The fear of being dispersed caused them to plan the building of the city and tower. ‘Let us build,’ said they, ‘lest we be dispersed.’ But by God’s will, the very building which the fear of

dispersion led them to found, became the more immediate cause of their dispersion; and their intended remedy, the reverse of their plan. In the meantime, the same God, as he elicits good from evil, and 'in his wrath remembers mercy,' so over-ruled events, that the dispersion became useful to mankind, and resulted in much greater advantages than the builders had proposed to themselves. They intended uselessly to grow old on the ground-floor of one tower. But God dispersed them that they might become the founders of great states, and the builders of cities, over the whole face of the globe, and might broadly lay the foundations of the numerous cities which flourish in our day."

There can be no doubt that the dispersion was as miraculous as the confusion of tongues, and that under a divine impulse, the progenitors of the races now inhabiting various portions of the globe, were sent out loosely to occupy those allotments which, under the providence of God, were in due time to be fully subdued and replenished by their descendants. Those who fled westwards from Babel, carried along with them in their flight into the farthest extremities of Europe and Africa, the bread-seeds, and the tame animals, which they had inherited from the store-house of the Ark. Those whose lot it was to settle in the west of Europe, whether we call them Slavonians, Celts, or Teutons, brought along with them their wheat, barley, oats, and rye, their horses and dogs, their kine and sheep, their goats and swine, and their poultry. Nor had they any real addition to their food-stores to acquire from the later visits of Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans, to their countries, except superior systems for tilling their ground and improving the breeds of their flocks and herds.

Thus the dispersion was rich in results for future ages, but painful in its immediate effects. When Tacitus took a philosophical view of the unsubdued forests and marshes of ancient Germany, its rude soil and ungenial climate, he could not imagine it possible, that such a region could ever have been peopled by human beings, had they not from the beginning of time sprung from its soil. "For who," says he, "would have left Africa, Asia, or Italy, and have settled in Germany?" But had the great historian consulted his copy of Polybius, he might have read that some three hundred years before his own day, nearly the whole surface of the splendid vale of the Po was nothing but unsubdued marshes and forests, through which the multitudinous herds of its Gallic conquerors wandered in search of food.

I have no intention to trace out the gradual corruption of the patriarchal ages, until the time arrived when God, for his own wise purposes, selected a peculiar people, who, amidst the increasing darkness of the heathen world, and its corresponding moral

pollution, was for a time to be the sole depository of a new revelation, and to preserve the spiritual knowledge of God on earth until the appointed time arrived when a more perfect and catholic establishment of the truth of the real relation between man and his Maker was to take place, and all the descendants of the dispersed races were again to be united as one common family, and in the bond of peace to acknowledge but one faith and one Lord. The Mosaic dispensation was thus intended for a purpose the very reverse of the patriarchal system. It was planned for a particular purpose, and one of the means calculated to this end, was to build a wall of separation between the Israelites and the rest of the world.

This principle of sectarian separation runs through the whole body of the Mosaic law, and coercing its followers within narrow limits, and founding the whole system on a territorial division of land, inheritable by the representatives of certain families, and not to be enlarged legally, has undoubtedly exercised a strong influence upon the policy of Christian states, and induced them to look for authorities, and deduce examples, for their own conduct in political legislation, in the Mosaic code, which was never intended by God to be more than a temporary institution. Of this intention we have multiplied proofs in the writings both of Moses himself, and of the Jewish prophets,—proofs depending on testimonies which I need not quote to your Grace, who knows them so well. But had there been any doubt of the revelation of this intention, it would have been dispelled, by the declarations in the New Testament, of the same Divine Spirit, which spoke alike through Moses and the Prophets, and through the Apostles of our Saviour.

The restriction of the liberty granted to Noah equally to use as meat all the creatures of God, and which was a stringent and effectual means of separation between the children of Jacob and the rest of the Noachidæ, was removed by the revelation vouchsafed to St Peter, previous to his visit to the Gentile convert Cornelius. The limitation of the formal service of God to a personal attendance at the temple at Jerusalem, was revoked by our Saviour's express declaration to the woman of Samaria. The certainty of the spread of the Gospel among all nations is clearly foretold in various parables and prophecies, uttered by our Saviour himself. And St James, as chief of the council of Jerusalem, seems to allude to a period when, after Christianizing the whole world, the Spirit of God will operate effectually in bringing into one fold, the long contumacious outcasts of Israel, and thus again to make but one family of all the children of the dispersion. The revelation given to the ministers of either dispensation, seems to be combined in

these remarkable words,—“Simeon hath declared how God at the first did visit the Gentiles, and take out of them a people for his name; and to this agree the words of the Prophets, as it is written,—‘After this I will return, and will build again the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down, and I will build again the ruins thereof; and I will set it up that the residue of men may seek the Lord, and the Gentiles, upon whom my name is called, saith the Lord, who doeth all these things.’” After this quotation, the Apostle adds, in his own person, “Known unto God are all his works from the beginning of the world;” that is, it was the same God who made his mercies universal in the beginning, limited them through the instrumentality of Moses, and again impressed upon them their original universality through Christ. To the same purpose are the words of St Paul to the Athenians, “God hath made the world and all things therein. Seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands, neither is worshipped by men’s hands, as though he needed any thing, seeing he giveth to all life and breath, and all things, and hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on *all* the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation, that they should seek the Lord.”

No proofs can be derived from Scripture, except from misinterpreted passages, applicable only to the period of the Israelitish exclusion, that a human being should be tethered to a local spot,—that he should be regarded as an “ascriptus gentæ,” incapable of being profitably transplanted,—that it is any portion of his duty to starve on an island, owing to the multiplication of his fellow-creatures within its sea-lashed limits, at the very time when boundless ranges of unsubdued continent lie open to his honest labours. The sacrifice of a local home was a test of obedience exacted from the beginning by our beneficent Creator. Without this, his great object could never be attained, nor could the earth be peopled. The descendants of Noah, even in the Patriarch’s own life time, when called upon, in the course of duty, to make this sacrifice, refused to obey; they rebelled against their God, and were instantly visited with signal punishment. Abraham, at a later period, was called upon to make the same sacrifice, to leave home and kindred, and to go forth a sojourner in strange lands. He obeyed, and became the father of mighty nations, the very type of faith, and the spiritual father of all the faithful children of God. Yet to him personally the promise was not fulfilled, he died a stranger in a foreign land; nor did his posterity for generations enjoy the promised inheritance. For centuries they lived as banished men among a persecuting and oppressive race. So true

it is, that the suffering of the individual is apparently disregarded, as far as time is concerned, by the wisdom of God, while the race which springs from his loins becomes numerous and prosperous, and eventually God's chosen instruments for removing the curse of barrenness from the earth, and spreading divine knowledge and civilization over the darkest portions of the globe.

In the fulness of time our Saviour appeared,—the bright ensample of life and conversation to us all. He, although the lineal representative of the royal house of David, claimed no earthly sceptre, attached himself to no local home,—he had no place wherein he might lay his head. His sympathies were most strongly manifested in behalf of those poor children of Abraham whose physical infirmities prevented them from earning their daily bread by the sweat of their brow. It was in healing the withered arm, in restoring vigour to the palsied limbs, in opening the eyes of the blind, and in restoring his mental powers to the maniac, that both his beneficence and wisdom were principally manifested. He removed their infirmities, *i. e.* their want of strength, and enabled them to fulfil the original commission given to man. His apostles and disciples followed the footsteps of their great Master; many who had lands sold them, and went forth to the ends of the earth seeking to recall the wanderers from the paths of virtue to the fold of the great Shepherd of souls. They passed the boundaries of the so called "world" of the ancient historians and philosophers, made disciples in regions where Rome had acquired no subjects, and planted the Cross where the standard of the Greeks had never been raised. In such regions many of them sealed their witness-testimony with their blood, and laid down their lives where no sympathizing eye met their dying gaze, no friendly tongue conveyed to their ears, in their mother tongue, some cherished word of consolation. Yet they have their reward a hundred-fold in heaven, and, if there be any truth in the aspirations of our highest nature, no mean reward on earth also. They are held in honour among men, their memory is more a reality than any world-built fame, and they still live in the wonderful results of their labours, in the fruits of their devotion, in the imperishable monuments of the nations who, through their instrumentality, were brought to the truth, and still remain a faithful record of the past, a heart-inspiring token of the future. The natural man, the selfish creature, as known to us from actual experience, and as we find him faithfully depicted in profane history, acts upon principles directly the reverse of these. He loves his own locality with an instinctive feeling. He wars steadily against all attempts to enlarge the sphere of his local attachments. His home, be it ever so home-

ly, is his paradise. Within that narrow limit, he cherishes those prejudices which have grown with his growth, and strengthened with his strength. He values all his petty privileges in proportion to their exclusive character, and resolutely resists any attempt to communicate them to others ; and if he is a member of the more favoured class of the community, values his position, not according to his own real elevation in the scale of humanity, but according to a fictitious standard of his own invention, of which the favourite test is, the graduated depression of all placed below him.

On such selfish principles were constituted the world-famous constitutions of the ancient states of Greece : Sparta itself, that wonderful creation of the human intellect, presents us with a view of the most vigorous attempt ever made by man to fix within narrow limits energies which never can be permanently thus controlled, to cast all minds in one unvarying mould, and, as it were, to stereotype an everlasting imprint of social life. There were many points in this system which a disciple of Malthus would gladly re-produce. Sparta had an aristocracy as fixed in its dimensions as the everlasting hills which looked down upon her mean-looking capital. Into her sacred band no new blood could possibly be infused,—no merits, however great, or whatsoever might be their nature, could entitle a Spartan, not legitimately descended from members of the privileged class, to have his name registered among the blood-nobility of Sparta. Her middle class was limited in number, and her laws positively forbade any increase of its constituent members. The first-born male of every Perioecian family was alone regarded as the representative of his class. His brothers, debarred from marriage, were compelled to servile labour on his territorial lot, without any hope of improving their position, except by the death of their brother without male offspring. The lower classes were represented by the Helots, slaves of the lowest description, without any social rights, without property, and whose numbers were kept down to suit the exigencies of the times by private assassination and public massacres. It has been supposed—and the supposition is partly borne out by tradition—that Lycurgus borrowed some of his institutions from Moses. The only conservative principle, in this exclusive state, was the exemplary self-denial of the aristocracy. Its members were contented to forego all the luxuries of life, and to restrict their wants, as far as the body was concerned, to a provision for sufficient protection against cold, hunger, and thirst ; they were, literally speaking, contented “ with food and raiment.” A Spartan noble, for centuries, lived as plainly, if not more so, than the

lowest Helot of the community. Such self-denial was not without its reward; for the power of the Spartan aristocracy flourished for a period of time, of which we have no similar example in the histories of ancient states. To secure power, the desire of which is the last infirmity of noble minds, they voluntarily resigned those more sensual enjoyments which ignoble minds regard as most to be desired. Even the fall of Sparta had nothing abrupt or destructive in its results. She died of a gradual decline, without any dangerous convulsion, without any internecine war of brother against brother, or wholesale massacre of citizens by kindred hands. But Sparta fell "without a sign;" her greatness is really the "*magni nominis umbra*" of the poet, recorded in books alone, and not leaving the impress of her mind upon the history of man. She stands alone,—her pedigree begins and ends with herself; she had no ancestors, and left no successors.

Athens was less exclusive in her institutions—her population consisted not of the pure Cecropian race alone, but was an amalgam of almost every tribe in Greece—repeated revolutions had fused most of her free inhabitants into a compact democracy, instinct with life, and boundless in ambition—her movements were consequently less cramped, and her activity more decided, than those of any other free state of ancient Greece. At a period almost antecedent to the regular history of the race, Athens had sent forth colonies which in time swelled out into the fair proportions of the Hellenic states of Ionia—nor did she, to the latest period of her power, cease to act upon the same principles, and to send her surplus population to distant shores. But she could not transfer her affections to her transplanted children. Her care was limited by the boundaries of Attica, and a few neighbouring islands. Thus to her colonies she was an unkind stepmother—to her acquired subjects a cruel and despotical mistress. She thought that the brute force at her command would enable her to defy the discontent of those dependents, to whom she denied equal rights and privileges—that, by the superiority of her fleets, she might safely domineer both over her colonies and conquests, and make them her slaves and tributaries. But she drew the reins too tightly—they snapped in her hands—the fleets of her dependents went over to the enemy. Her naval supremacy was thus overthrown, and she fell amidst the horrors of a home-war and civil bloodshed, with a suddenness in direct contrast with the slowness of her ascent. But she did not fall without a sign—the sons whom she had cherished in the days of home-liberty, left the impress of their minds on all succeeding years; and she still

lives in her orators, poets, historians, and philosophers, and in the remains of her marble wonders, whose ruins still breathe. After many a bloody struggle, not without glory, Athens gradually subsided into the peaceful teacher of her ruder conquerors, the favourite seat whence the ancient world derived its intellectual knowledge, and finally, the pride and glory of the unchristianized world.

The wisest of her sons amused themselves with constructing systems of policy, in which all the advantages resulting from social and political life were to be secured, and all the evils avoided. But as they knew not of the high mission of man, they could never raise their imaginations beyond the contemplation of a territory limited in quantity, and consequently of a body of citizens limited in number. The necessary operation of what we now call the Malthusian laws, was perfectly well known to them; and that the principle on which they act, would necessarily prove fatal to any prosperous community formed on the very narrow basis on which alone they professed to found their systems, were not some means taken to counteract this principle, and to keep the number of citizens within the prescribed limit. It grieves me to write, that although both Plato and Aristotle hint at certain anterior measures which might palliate the evil, they teach openly, that the only effectual remedy against its ultimate certainty, was the destruction of superfluous infants, before they can appreciate the gift of life. Had these wise men believed that this world was the creation of a beneficent God, that it continued to be governed providentially by its Maker, that mankind were the most glorious work of his hands, the most favoured of God's creatures, they would surely have shrunk from proposing a measure for securing the ultimate well-being of society, which could not be carried into execution without violating the best instincts of our nature, and degrading man in the moral scale below the beast that perisheth. What mothers, for the domestic education of their unstrangled babies, would such a system produce !

Still there was an authority even in their days which might have taught them a better lesson. That authority the majority of their countrymen regarded with something of the veneration with which we regard the Holy Scriptures. Old Homer, had they consulted him, would have told them of lands untiled by the hand, untrodden by the foot of man, which waited for nothing but man's labour to change them from a howling wilderness into smiling gardens, which would have furnished her with ample domains, ready to be occupied by that superfluous



population which was the source of their difficulties, and against the evils supposed necessarily to result from which, they knew of no better remedy than the destruction of their own children, the continuous removal of their genial spring from the course of the year.

Such a land is described by Ulysses in his description of his fabulous travels at the court of Alcinous. We need not be particular in fixing the locality of such an undiscovered land. It was then, and still is, to be found in abundance:—

“In front of the harbour was a low island, running in a parallel line with the shore of the Cyclopes, neither near nor yet far. It was woody, and nourished countless goats, not tamed by man. These are not disturbed by the foot of man, nor is it visited by hunters, men who undergo great hardships, both in the forests, and as they cross with toil the mountain heights. Nor do sheep and kine frequent it, nor is it ploughed, but always remains uncultivated and unsown, and unvisited by man, feeds only bleating goats. For the Cyclopes have no red-prowed ships, nor shipwrights able to construct serviceable vessels, in which the produce of their shores might be conveyed to the cities of the world.—Produce of various kinds, which men, through the instrumentality of sea-traversing ships, mutually exchange with each other. Were men of this character to discover it, they would soon colonize and cultivate the island. For it is not unfruitful, but would bear all fruits in their seasons. For along the shores of the foaming sea, lie strips of land, well-watered, and flat. And in this island the vine would flourish, and there is arable ground, whence in the proper season heavy crops might be reared, because the surface mould is very rich. There is also a safe harbour, where a ship might ride securely, without either casting anchor or securing it from the shore by cables. There sailors having touched, might remain to wait their own leisure; or, until a favourable breeze invited them to set sail. At the head of the harbour flows a stream of liquid water, springing from a rocky cavern, overgrown by poplar trees.”

This translation, rather free, but still faithful, shows that some three thousand years ago, the requisites of a good position for a new colony were as well known as they are now, and that the great work for subduing and replenishing the earth, arose not from a want of knowledge, but of faith and energy. With men lacking these necessary characteristics of the “*movement leader*,” taken in its legitimate and praiseworthy sense, it would appear a more eligible lot to starve on the rocks of Gyarus and

Seriphus, than to be the first hard-working occupants of an unappropriated soil.

The Greek Republican States, after a good morning's work, failed early in the day, and fainted in the race long before the setting of their bright sun. They refused to perform the task assigned to them, and, consequently, the sceptre, the symbol of God's power, was transferred to other hands.

I would hope that the lessons of Aristotle to his royal pupil, the mighty Macedonian, had been more liberal in their ultimate scope, more catholic in their spirit, than the principles laid down in his surviving political treatises. Without supposing this, it is difficult to account for the immeasurable superiority which the son of Philip displayed, in every act of his political life, over all who had preceded him in the work of pacifying and civilizing the world. I am not going to dilate upon his brief yet brilliant career; but when I contrast the wonderful results of the eleven years of his reign, with the operations of the French for a much longer period in one comparatively narrow corner of Africa, I feel compelled to consider him either as a miracle-working instrument in the hand of God, or as in possession of some sacred wisdom hitherto undiscovered by the rulers of France.

For a man destined to be a great English statesman, I know no better non-religious preparation than a careful and thoughtful study of his principles and practices. He had to do with falling empires and institutions, and to replace them by something better. He struck down the rotten fabrics vigorously and rapidly, but he also constructed as vigorously and as rapidly. His successors built partially upon his foundation, and the result was a Revolution, of which the world had then seen no example. The older edifices crumbled into dust, and Western Asia and Egypt were thoroughly hellenized, studded with splendid cities, which self governed, under liberal municipal institutions, flourished for ages, passed with impunity through the sharp process of the Roman conquests, became the willing recipients of the Gospel truths, and served as the great source by which the same truths were propagated on all sides; and when the city of Romulus fell beneath the attacks of the German invaders, they enabled Constantinople, the Eastern Rome, long to survive her elder sister, and to bring down her name and much of her civilization to times comparatively modern. So virtual was the influence of one great mind in constructing a solid edifice from the loose materials of the ruined temples of Assyria, Lydia, and Egypt.

Many modern authors of note have indulged in idle declama-

tion against Rome, her career, her indomitable ambition, her spirit of universal conquest, and the misery of the nations which she oppressed. But if I have read history aright, these charges are untrue against her as a nation, although individual members of her community, if called to answer before a competent court, would undoubtedly be condemned. According to my view of her national character, her conduct in the West bore no small resemblance to the policy which guides Great Britain in her East Indian transactions. The tribes by which she was surrounded had all apparently resolved themselves into a state of nature. Left to themselves, they were continually engaged in either vicinal or civil war; and if they came under any solemn obligations by treaty to each other, these were no longer observed than until the neglect of them might appear advantageous to either party. It was in such a state of things that Rome arose, and, from her very cradle, she seems to have adopted the principle, "that honesty was the best policy," and that her future strength was to consist in protecting the weak against the attacks of the strong, and in adopting the weaker party, with various shares of privileges, into her own system. From a very early period of her dominant existence, she was more catholic in her practice, more just in her intercourse with foreign powers, and more merciful to her subject states, than any republic before her rise had ever been. The great mission committed to her care, seems, if we can judge by the event, to have been the preparation of a free path for the propagation of Christianity among all the intellectual nations of the earth. To a certain extent she fulfilled this mission. But times changed; the vital energies of the great people were paralysed by the transference of all real power from the body politic to the hands of one despotic master. Under his influence she wearied of the task to subdue the world. Wars against savage tribes, dwelling in boundless forests and marshes, had no charms for her under the imperial government. Had Julius Cæsar lived a few years longer, perhaps this mistake might have been avoided. But the aristocracy, by a suicidal act, murdered their "clement lord," and thus delivered themselves an easy prey to more ignoble masters. Augustus, when vested with supreme power, was more anxious to secure the internal riches of the empire for himself and party, than to fulfil the high destiny which Rome had always regarded as her sacred inheritance. According to a tradition, the more cherished as its fulfilment became more feasible, the Romans were to be the lords of the world.

"Romani rerum domini ;"

and their city, seated on her seven hills, was to be the mistress of nations—

*“Imperium terris famam quæ terminet astris.”*

But Augustus removed the prestige of this traditionary feeling. He limited the empire by the Rhine and Danube, and a line of præsidial forts drawn between the two rivers. He vainly thought that the civilized man could live in close neighbourhood with the untamed or only partially reclaimed savage. His successors followed his example, and thought they could defend the empire from the aggression of hostile barbarians by the unavailing barriers of streams, mountains, and gigantic walls. They knew not that the savage is, and always must be, the ever-active enemy of civilized man; that, if left in his natural state, he cannot be restrained by any bond but force; that he cannot be tied down by any contracts until he is either conquered or reclaimed; that if over-looked, and permitted to enjoy his savage freedom, he will in time learn enough of the military art as will enable him often to plunder with success, always to harass, and finally to conquer his more peaceful and unwarlike neighbour. The final result to the Roman world was such as might be expected from such a short-sighted course of action. The inhabitants of northern Europe, left in the possession of its half-tamed children, broke through the feeble barriers which Rome opposed to their ever-renewed assaults. Although repeatedly, for nearly four centuries, their aggressive forces were defeated and massacred on the southern side of the barrier, no energetic attempt was made to pursue them into their native wilds, to subdue them there, and coerce them to enter within the pale of civilized life.

Rome fell, and with her also fell the civilization of the western world; and a period of social disorganization, of the triumph of force and violence over established order and practical justice, was the result. Under her Teutonic conquerors, southern Europe had to taste to the dregs of the cup of bitterness. But her influence did not perish along with Rome. Her institutions—especially those by which municipal rights were liberally bestowed upon the great cities, and a certain freedom of trade permitted to their citizens—were never utterly overthrown, and gradually, as times improved, recovered something of their former vigour and activity. But Rome, ere she finally fell, had become Christian; a new spirit was breathed into her. She wisely organized her new forces; and, during her darkest period, stood forth as the protectress of the weak against the tyranny of the strong, as the only rebuker of iniquity in high places, and as the chosen instrument in the hand of God to prevent the

best energies of man from being crushed in the dust. She consequently has left a greater name on earth than was bequeathed to posterity by any city founded by the hands of man.

Not to dwell upon the question, as to the immediate successors of Rome in the conduct of the great mission assigned to mankind, or in what degree the duties of it were discharged by various powers which rose upon the ruins of the Roman empire, I am compelled, by the narrow limits to which this letter must be confined, briefly to declare, that the lamp by whose light the world is to be subdued and civilized is now held in the hand of Great Britain, and that she can pass it from land to land by the instrumentality of her own children, without parting with it for a moment to a foreign hand. Sufficient will it be for them to re-lume their own torches in its fire, and to imitate her beneficent career.

The freemen of the British islands are not like the modern Teutons and Sclavi—a homogeneous race. They are descended from fathers who emigrated hither at various eras in our history. The Gael, the Cymro, and the Belgian, were found by their Roman invaders in possession of the land. They were a numerous and warlike race, bold in speech and quick in temper. The progress of the Roman army was slow. Ireland and the greatest portion of Scotland they left unconquered and unsubdued. The greater part of South Britain was gradually constituted into Roman provinces; and its inhabitants moulded themselves, not unwillingly, after the forms and fashions of Roman civilization. But Rome grew feeble: the pulsation of her heart could no longer send forth a healthy stream to the distant extremities. The warriors which she had in vain sought to keep behind walls and towers broke across the barriers, and laid waste the Roman provinces in Southern Britain with fire and sword. Ireland, neglected, but not persecuted by the Romans, joined in the hostile aggression, and the Romanized Britons were being subdued by the “indigenæ” of Scotland and Ireland. To prevent this result, the Saxon and other cognate tribes of the Teutonic race were called in, and allowed to settle in the island. Thus a new stream of population was admitted, and soon freely mixed with the previous mass. But the Teutonic stream, rapidly swelling in volume, became dominant in South-Eastern England, and, under the name of Anglo-Saxons, ruled long over the greater portion of Great Britain. While they were in the ascendant, other tribes of Teutonic origin—the men of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway—burst upon our island with all the fury of a northern storm. Many of these savage intruders converted their swords into ploughshares, and became peaceful cultivators of the

soil which they had so often ravaged. Scarcely were all the discordant elements of race beginning to coalesce into one people, when the Norman William invaded the island, and struck down with a suddenness unknown in the annals of history, all that was noble and high born under the preceding dynasties, and replaced them by his mercenary swordsmen. These fierce warriors, although Norman in name, were principally of the ancient Gallic stock. A few of the leading families were of Norwegian blood, descended from Rollo and his companions, who had acquired lands in Western Gaul some one hundred and fifty years before the battle of Hastings. But the great body of the invaders was composed of the Gaels and Cymri of Normandy, of Brittany, of Poitou, and Gascony. The Bretons alone formed more than one-third of William's force. So completely had the few followers of the victorious Rollo been absorbed by the population among whom they settled, that the language of Norway was forgotten, and the great mass of William's army spoke no language intelligible to the incorporated Saxons and Scandinavians of England. That tongue became the badge of the churl. Slow, very slow, was the amalgamation of races; and the barren conquest of Ireland, without the power of subduing it, made the healing process still more difficult. It must be confessed, that the period of Norman domination is marked by events which, however pleasing they may appear in the eyes of a medieval enthusiast, have no charms for the truly benevolent man, who wishes to improve the great body of his countrymen. Wars of conquest, irrational in their object (the wars of the first Edward are exceptions) and fruitless in their result—wars foreign, of which, to the majority of the troops serving, plunder was the main incitement—wars civil, arising from the ambition of the nobles, or for the contrary claims of would-be kings, disgrace this period, relieved by no favourable deeds but the occasional appearance of a great churchman, more anxious for the welfare of the people than for the prerogatives of the Crown and the privileges of the nobles. It was under the House of Tudor that England was thoroughly revolutionized. The sword or the axe during the civil wars had devoured most of the turbulent descendants of the Norman conquerors; and the Two Henrys, one by policy and laws, the other by his violence, had emancipated the crown from its subserviency to the nobles. Then came the mighty torrent of the Reformation, the liberation of the human intellect, the overthrow of an unreasoning authority, the mad pranks and wild licentiousness which only a Helot let loose from his chains can display. England passed through this period of revolution with more safety and greater benefits than could have been expected. With

Elizabeth's accession to the British throne commences the real history of Great Britain as an active agent in the great work of subduing the earth and replenishing its desert parts with reasonable beings, humble worshippers of their God, and abounding in good works among their neighbours. The seeds might have been sown long before—predisposing causes were undoubtedly in previous operation. But it was under Elizabeth and her wise ministers that England ceased to dream of continental conquests, and to regard the ultimate union of all these western islands under one crown, and under the same laws and legislation, as a question of more consequence to her peace and happiness, than any other probable result of statesmanship. In the meantime, the same great Sovereign, and the great men of her court, taught England to look out for unoccupied worlds, and direct all her energies to the real sources of all external power, to the constant increase of her ships, colonies, and commerce. This lesson, once learned, was never forgotten; during the earnest struggles of the seventeenth century, between a conscientious king, who regarded the usurpations of the Tudors as the hereditary jewels of the English crown, and a sober, thoughtful, yet brave-minded people, conscious of their rights and privileges, and anxious to secure them, these vital points were always kept in view. James I. and his son, Cromwell and Charles II., James II. and his son-in-law, may all be described as more or less intent upon forming new colonies, and in enlarging the maritime power and commerce of the empire. The progress they made during the troubles of the seventeenth century was more accelerated in the course of the eighteenth century. And the necessity of providing sufficient wares of our own creation, to give in exchange for the foreign commodities so freely imported into our harbours, stimulated the ingenuity of our mechanicians, and their inventions reacting upon the productive energies of our operatives, have terminated in the present state of our manufacturing abilities. This state, together with our relative position to the other nations not civilized, half-civilized, and uncivilized, over the face of the whole world, combined with the mighty power of locomotion which the steam-engine has conferred upon us, presents an aspect to which we have nothing similar in the past records of the human race. It is consequently on a complication of circumstances never before realized to his view, that the British statesman of the day is to deliberate; he must therefore rely more upon a sagacity prophetic of future events than upon a memory tenacious of the past. He has one consolation at least remaining, that he cannot pursue a more destructive system than that was, which resulted in prema-

tarely tearing from her parent body those mighty limbs of the empire, which now constitute a small portion of the United States. The wound then made is still bleeding, and in the case of the ruptured limbs often assumes a gangrenous hue, calling for the scalpel and actual cautery rather than for the application of healing ointment.

But had Great Britain done nothing more than erecting on the transatlantic shores that living monument of the might and energy of the Anglo-British race, its name and actual service in civilizing the earth would remain as long as the American continent itself. But the monument would have been more magnificent had time permitted the full growth of the British institutions upon the American soil. As it is, the ground-floor alone is finished, with a good foundation and convenient chambers; but much is wanting, and I fear much for the full development of the moral and intellectual faculties in a state which requires all edifices to be confined to the substructions of a ground-floor, without a future base of superstruction.

But northward of this huge branch of the British oak, we possess an extent of ground which may well defy our utmost activity to occupy it, fully and beneficially, for many generations. We have still in the Canadas a great work remaining for us to do—a glorious task; and if wisdom guide our statesmen, a better hope of engrafting on the new American plant a true scion from its British parent, or rather of reproducing the original in a foreign soil. The future Anglo-British Canadian is not the less likely to exhibit the true qualities of the parent-stock because his lot is cast in a colder clime, and a less immediately fruitful soil, than those possessed by his southern kinsmen. In the continent of Australia—to the sole property of which we are entitled by all the laws which are commonly quoted in arguing the respective rights of civilized nations to lands possessed by the savages which wander over them—we have a boundless field of action, calculated, at the same time, to relieve us of our surplus mouths, to convert the unproductive idler into a profitable producer of food, and, in return, an ever-increasing consumer of our manufactured wares. In New Zealand and its dependencies we also hold undisputed possessions, which our active emigrants are daily rendering a fit habitation for civilized man. In southern Africa we also, on the same tenure, hold territories without known limits,—territories which, in many parts, want only the labour of man to convert them into smiling gardens. To us alone, if we except the incursion into those regions of the great and sagacious Macedonian, has it been permitted to roll the tide of empire and civilization eastward. Westward—westward, has



the centre of power ever moved, during the historic period of man's progress. But in our case the rule has been reversed. Our gentle Queen exercises a beneficent dominion over the countless millions who once bowed in patient submission before the thrones of India, successively occupied by rude conquerors, more intent on rapaciously despoiling than in beneficently governing their unhappy subjects.

Eastward from India our sway is daily extending itself. New populations in those distant regions look to us for protection against lawless pirates ; and China herself, that great bee-hive of industry and production, has consented, not without a struggle, to trade with us on a footing of equality, and on advantageous terms. Dimly looming on our view, but still with something of a defined outline, we see the great empire of Japan entering the commercial circle of the world on similar terms. At a not much more distant period, we may expect the establishment of steam-packets between well chosen stations in those Eastern seas, and our American possessions on the shores of the Pacific. When this shall take place, a railway from the western terminus of our Canadian lakes to the mouth of the Columbia, will enable us to gird the globe with an uninterrupted line of steam conveyance. Nor do I despair that the North-West passage may one day afford an easier and a shorter road to the China seas.

For the performance of the duties imposed upon us, as it seems to me by Providence itself, we have means such as were never before bestowed upon any nation. In these islands, we have a population of seven and twenty millions of souls, rapidly increasing in number, and both active and willing in facing and surmounting difficulties. We have boundless maritime power ; machinery the most ingenious and efficient, equally adapted to point a pin or level a mountain. We have heads able to invent, and apply their inventions practically. We have brawny arms and skilled hands to execute. With these advantages, and abundant stores of the raw materials, we are able to supply the whole world with raiment—as necessary for the well-being of man as food itself, in most climates—and with raiment we should class mats, carpets, awnings, tents, and other articles intended to defend man from the inclemency of heat and cold. We can furnish the subduer of the wild with the needful instruments in iron and steel, with tools for felling the forests and upturning the reclaimed glebe, for shaping his logs into houses, for duly carving his food, for trimming his body and repairing his worn-out raiments ; with vessels of iron, of tin, and brass, in which he may cook his food ; with earthen-ware, from the coarsest to the finest, either for preserving it until it be wanted, or for the service of

his table. These are all necessities almost to the savage, certainly so to the civilized man. As his wants increase with his advance from a state of bare subsistence to one of increased comforts, we can supply him with glass-plate for his windows or his cupboard—with glass the most miraculous, the most beautiful, and the most unpollutable of all the productions of human art ; and finally, as I believe, to become universal, not only in its use, but also in its uses. This splendid article we can manufacture at a cheap rate, and in unlimited quantities, from the smallest cup or plate, to the most magnificent vases and mirrors ; and we can impose an additional value on many of them, by beauty of form and brilliancy of colour. It is unnecessary to mention many other productions, such as preparations of leather, and paper, and furniture, tastefully designed and beautifully finished, which, in the progress of society, may be termed, from long custom, quasi-necessaries, and still more unnecessary to enumerate the articles of taste, magnificence, and luxury of various materials, which we manufacture in profusion, and export in no limited quantity.

In order to convey these productions of our capitalists and labourers from our own shores to distant lands, we have ships manned by steady captains and hardy seamen—ships made of wood or iron, impelled by the winds or by steam, or by both—waiting always on the merchant's will, and more than generally equal to the demand for their services ; and should this demand increase, able to be almost instantly multiplied to any required extent.

In all parts of the world we have stations of our own, admirably selected, as centres whence our merchandise may be equally distributed, and as means of defence from any sudden aggression by an hostile force. And we have armed fleets furnished with all the amunitions of war, fully adequate not only to succour those chosen spots, but also to protect our commercial navy in its constant traffic over the ocean's broad expanse, from the Arctic to the Antarctic circles, from Eastern China to Western America.

In short, we occupy almost as commanding a position on the shores of the Oceanic waters, as ancient Rome, in the summit of her imperial power, held on the home coasts of the Mediterranean Sea.

In possession of these unrivalled advantages, what can prevent us from carrying into execution the great work of the civilization of the universe, the task for which Providence has apparently selected us ? What is to prevent us from being the beneficent agents of God, in peopling the untrodden wilds of the

unsubdued earth with creatures made after his own image, in raising higher in the scale of rational life the partially civilised tribes of mankind, in uniting by the golden chain of commerce, and, consequently, of mutual benefits, the scattered members of the human family,—from thus, in the ripeness of time, reversing the curse pronounced at Babel, and from proving in a language intelligible to all the children of the dispersion, that the olive branch of peace is a more glorious symbol than the laurel garland of the triumphal conqueror?

As far as human reason can infer, as far as experience can lead us to conceive, there is but one visible obstacle to prevent us from fulfilling so glorious a duty; and this obstacle has been thrown across our path, not by any necessity imposed upon us by the physical laws of the universe, nor erected by the ingenuity of human enemies, but deliberately built up by our own suicidal hands. We the favoured, the energetic, the patient, the hard-toiling inhabitants of this realm, so powerful for good, so abstemious from evil, able to produce to an unlimited extent all the other necessities of civilised life, and to part with them as a medium of exchange, cannot and do not produce a sufficiency of wholesome food for the healthy maintenance of our existing population.

The Legislature in an evil hour passed laws, which, however wisely intended, have eventually prevented us from supplying this deficiency in proportion to our wants. I need not recapitulate to your Grace the history of our Corn-Laws, most probably, it is better known to you than it is to me. But your Grace must well remember the memorable year when they assumed their present form, and the instinctive hatred with which their enactment was regarded, by those who have since that time been called “the masses.” The Bill, against which, in its every stage, those poor people published their turbulent and riotous protests, passed into a law.

Its proposers and supporters affirmed that it was imposed upon them by necessity, and to a certain extent, perhaps, it was so. We were told that it was necessary in our transition-state from almost an universal war to almost an universal peace. To save the land-owners from certain ruin—to lighten the burden of the national debt—to enable us gradually to descend from the false position into which we had been inevitably brought by our isolated existence of so many years’ continuance, and especially by the fearful debasement of our legal currency. It was more than hinted that were only time allowed, all might be rectified, and we might again safely and gracefully descend to the level of other nations.

With the truth or fallacy of these arguments, it is not my

present intention to deal. But I know this, that since that period a generation of men has passed away, that the Corn-Laws are still in force, although mitigated in their stringency, and that the arguments adduced for their continuance, are of that character, which, if unrefuted, must render the laws perpetual, cripple our ever-elastic energies, arrest us in our onward course, and render our statesmen the by-word and scorn of future generations.

Hitherto I have taken a view of the question with reference to the great law of God, originally given to Adam, and re-delivered to Noah, and confined myself to a slight historical sketch of the extent to which various dominant nations have carried it into execution. This brief sketch was concluded by an expression of opinion on my part, that the great duty of carrying into execution that great and primitive law of our creation had, in the present day, been thrown upon us. It now remains for me to consider the objections which are brought forward to prove that we ought to neglect this duty, and to restrict our efforts to a very limited field of action, by maintaining our present narrow policy, and to make our own ability to produce wholesome food for the support of our population a principle which never ought to be violated. In other words, that we ought to arrest the onward course of our population, to check its increase, and, in order to enjoy a healthy political existence, to prevent mouths from being multiplied until the owners of the soil can multiply the means of filling them, or should, owing to the scanty harvests, the native grown food fall short of the necessary demand, to increase the misery thence arising, by a tax on all food from foreign ports, until the famine-point be reached, when any such taxation would prove dangerous to the ruling powers.

This argument for the continuance of the Corn-Laws I have stated thus broadly ; but when carefully analyzed, it may be resolved into three fallacies.

The first affirms,—That we can, from our own home-territories, always produce a sufficiency of wholesome food for our home population.

The second,—That if we do not at present produce this sufficiency, yet, if time be allowed, we can and ought to do so.

The third,—That it will be ruin to our empire, and starvation to our people, should we trust to any other source of food than our own home-soil for the subsistence of our population.

Before entering into a separate consideration of these three objections, we ought, in the first place, to attach some definite meaning to the expression “wholesome food.” As I fear that

there are many theories not only varying, but contradictory, on this point. "Wholesome food," according to my definition, ought to consist of a diet, of which bread made of the ground-seeds of the more generous cerealia, ought to constitute a large element, and this bread might, to a great extent, be partially displaced by preparations of the seeds of leguminous plants. But along with this farinaceous food, there ought to be consumed a fair proportion of animal substances, whether in the form of milk, butter, cheese, flesh, fowl, or fish. I have no hesitation in adding, that there should also, in the case of hard-working men, be a due allowance of fermented liquor, the soul of the seeds of the cerealia, or of fruit-trees, in the shape of cider, wine, beer, porter, ale.

This will be recognised all over Europe as the Englishman's bill of fare,—or rather, as what an Englishman regards as his national fare. This is but a slight objection; for the Englishman lives longer, and is capable of more continuous labour, than any other European. It may be allowed, however, that in hotter regions productive of the more generous fruits, animal substances may be advantageously replaced by dates, figs, grapes, olives, and their several preparations. These creatures of God were declared by the Creator himself to be the peculiar food of man. Such was the food of the patriarchs, the kid, the calf, the lamb taken from the fold, milk in its various forms, and especially bread, without which Jacob and his children could not live comfortably, with all their numerous flocks and herds. Such was the food which Melchisedec brought forth to refresh the wearied servants of Abraham. He refreshed them with bread and wine, God's best earthly gifts to his creatures. The priests of the old world, under every dispensation, approached the altars of their gods with similar offerings.

Old Homer allowed no other food to his warriors before Troy but the generous diet of bread, what we call butcher's meat, and wine. And the riotous suitors in the *Odyssey* revel on the same substantial courses. The harvest food of even his reapers was the roasted ox and newly baked scones, and his very ploughmen received, at regulated intervals, a refreshing draught of wine. Herodotus states as an historical fact, that the warriors of Egypt received, among other perquisites, a daily allowance of bread, butcher's meat, and wine; even her very bondsmen, when tasked hardest to their work, were allowed to revel in the luxuries of the flesh-pots.

Your Grace will remark, that I have quoted authorities in respect of my definition of what is "wholesome food" for man from oriental sources alone, from the practice of inhabitants of

other countries than our own, and who might, consequently, be expected to live on more meagre diet.

I have collected innumerable instances from the history of the western world, that grain in all ages was considered to be the "wholesome food" of man; but I will not here detail them. It is sufficient to refer to the practice of all men in easy circumstances in our own days, for a corroboration of an universal truth.

It may be objected that there are individual exceptions to this great rule, and that whole classes of ascetics and hermits have contented themselves with the green herbs and the clear streams. Such exceptions there undoubtedly have been, but these men never for a continuance did a hard day's work, never, except in a very limited sense, earned their food by the sweat of their brow.

Some complain—and not in my own opinion without cause—that too much stress has been laid on the examples of men much to be regarded, who in sedentary life, and otherwise very feeble constitutions, have lived on very scanty and poor fare. To them it has been health, but certainly not physical strength. But it is most unfair to reason from these examples, and to affirm that hard-working operatives, men who need tough sinews and brawny muscles, should rest contented with the same scanty and poverty-stricken fare, and undergo the same fatigues, and do the same stroke of work, as men who are fed and clothed as vigorous labourers ought to be. And this leads me to a refutation of the first fallacy adduced by the advocates of the present Corn-Laws, namely—

"That we can, from our home territories, always produce, and generally do so, a sufficiency of wholesome food for our home population."

I have no hesitation in answering this fallacy by a direct contradiction, and by asserting that our population, taking the average of the last fifteen years, could and would have consumed more than double the quantity of wholesome food which fell to their share. I come to this conclusion from cases observed by myself—not from any official returns, not from any statistical accounts, which cannot enlighten on this head, for they only give us a loose account of what in relative years has been the annual consumpt of food. They speak to us of the positive supply, but are silent concerning the wants that were not supplied. And the only safe conclusion we can draw from such returns is, while steadily keeping in view the amount of population, to be drawn from a comparison of the increased consumption in consequence of plenteous harvests, with the decreasing ratio of the same consumption under scanty harvests.

The only mode, as hinted above, of coming to any conclusion, as to what might be consumed in opposition to what was consumed, in the present case of our statistical knowledge, must take an extra-official form. In such a case, my only source of authority is a very extended personal experience. There is hardly a part of the more destitute portions of this island, in which I have not resided for a time; and one of my favourite objects of inquiry during an occasional residence, was the condition of the very poor inhabitants. I also well know the same class of inhabitants in the neglected parts of many of our great cities; and they all agreed with one voice, that their relative plenty and scarcity depended upon the harvest: if that was good, they felt a proportionable benefit; if it was bad, they were starved. The system works in this manner. The Mark-Lane Committee know well that, in their calculations, the number of mouths to be supplied is entirely to be thrown out of the question; that there is no danger under our present Corn-Law, and with our supposed superabundance of population, that there can be a glut in the corn market. They act, therefore, with a steadiness, of which Jews and Quakers alone seem capable, and suit their prices current to the probabilities of the ensuing harvest.

Supposing that the weather in June is wet and cold, and the agriculturists begin to fear for the harvest season, the screw is instantly applied, the price of corn is instantly raised. In other words, those who can afford it, pay more to their baker, and those who cannot do so, go without it. So that, what acts only as a money-fine upon the easy classes, becomes a bill of personal penalties to the poor man. He, in proportion to his poverty, is first stinted in his daily food, then totally deprived of it; and all this, according to the political Economists, is done wisely and providentially. I acknowledge the truth of the general principle, were the scarcity not confined to our islands, but universal over the whole face of the earth. But hitherto we have had no instance where God thus made all quarters of the earth suddenly and universally unproductive.

In our islands, the poor may be divided into three classes.

*First*, The poor supported by the laws of the land—a class which, under a well-constituted Government, ought to consist of the poor of Christ—the lame, the impotent, the very aged, the helpless widow and her infant children, and those unhappy beings who have no known father or mother.

*Second*, The poor from indolence and bad habits, having no love for labour, and satisfied with a bare subsistence, ignorant of comforts, and contented to live on the coarsest and least nourishing food.

**Third,** The active workman, the skilled operative, who is willing to do an honest day's work for a fair day's wages, who values comforts, wholesome food, and warm raiment, who prides himself on the possession of a clean cottage, decent furniture, and vessels of corresponding quality to dress his meat, and to serve it on his table.

With the first class I do not at present intend to meddle. The second is found in great numbers in all parts of the Empire, principally, however, in Ireland, and the remoter districts of Great Britain, and amidst the lower ranks of our population in the great cities of Ireland and Scotland. It is this inert mass that first feels the pressure of our present system. It is by starving them that a sufficient supply of food is thrown into our markets. This class, ignorant everywhere, and often debased, knows not the causes of the periodical distress to which it is subjected, but feelingly experiences the effects.

The wheat, barley, and oats, which its members produce in the remoter districts, the animals which they rear, the cheese, the butter, poultry and eggs, are not consumed by them, but swept away to be devoured by their richer fellow-countrymen, and nothing is left for local consumption but the refuse of their productions. It is scarcely credible, but rests upon the evidence of unimpeachable witnesses, that there are small farmers in Ireland, to whom the taste of bread is a thing unknown; and I have been told by many of the shepherds in the north of Scotland; the men who breed the numerous flocks and herds which supply England so largely with the animals which, in the English pastures, are converted into excellent flesh or mutton, that they do not know what the taste of their flesh is, except when a sheep dies of the braxy, or a cow tumbles over a precipice.

We are told that in Ireland even the pigs, which the small farmers and cottagers rear with more care and attention than they do their own children, furnish their first owners neither with pork nor bacon, but are all sent away to gratify the appetites of a richer class. That in proportion as this class is able to consume a greater quantity of wholesome food, less is left for the original producers; these consequently fall necessarily, as this process becomes more stringent, into the humbler class, and procure from the penurious charity of the Poor-laws, that scanty subsistence which will enable them to live, if not to live usefully, both for themselves and country. It is therefore a gross fallacy to affirm, that the agriculture of these islands furnishes its population with a sufficient quantity of wholesome food. The utmost that can be said under this head is, that it does provide a sufficiency for the consumption of the easier classes.



And among these, in times of manufacturing and commercial prosperity, I place the third class of poor, described by me as men able and willing to work, and to secure to themselves something more than a bare subsistence,—men capable of producing articles nearly as necessary to the well-being of mankind as food itself, and which they could, if not prevented by laws which I must pronounce cruel, exchange for food, purchaseable by them wherever it might be grown.

The evils which a scanty harvest inflicts upon this class, is intimately connected with the Currency question,—a question which I would willingly avoid were it possible; but I must, for the sake of my argument, slightly touch upon it.

The price of money is, according to our present sound system, based upon the quantity of gold both circulating as coin among the community, or treasured up as bullion in the cellars of the Bank of England. As this becomes scarce or abundant, so also prices rise and fall. As long as our harvests bear something like a fair proportion to our wants, or rather as long as, on the whole, our importations are bartered for equal value of exportations, prices, comparatively speaking, continue steady. During such periods, manufacturers can safely calculate the relative risks which they have to run, can increase or diminish their activity, and estimate their profit and loss according to the wavering scales of the balance of trade, can be either enterprising or cautious as the breeze shifts. But a scanty harvest in these islands acts instantly like a storm upon a vessel sailing under prosperous auspices. Food must be had, but there are no reservoirs whence it can instantly be procured. The deficiency in our own harvests must be supplied from foreign lands. The balance of trade is consequently destroyed with a fearful suddenness. A regular barter-trade is the child of time, and cannot, any more than any other child, be suddenly called into existence, much less be fostered into full growth. Gold, therefore, our only exchangeable commodity, under such circumstances, must be sent unsparingly abroad, to procure the food, without which we cannot exist. This drain upon our only standard currency instantly throws the whole money-market into disorder. The capital employed in reproductive industry is consumed in procuring food, which, under such circumstances, has little reproductive power. The calculations of the manufacturer are confounded. He finds himself at sea without rudder or compass. He is at the mercy of elements which he cannot control. Either sooner or later he applies the screw; he ceases to produce with his usual activity. He dismisses some workmen,

he employs others during shorter periods, first for four, then for three, and lastly for only two days in the week.

With loss of full work comes loss of full pay. Then comes half-work and half-pay; lastly, work and pay in still less proportions, until the unhappy labourer has to undergo that severe distress, which periodically demoralizes our manufacturing districts. For as the weekly wages decline, the price of food in such times either remains stationary, or, which is more general, increases, until a more bountiful harvest or harvests again change the scene.

I do not, my Lord, make this statement as if it were a truth to be acknowledged by all, as soon as presented to them; but I firmly trust that the history of England, for the last thirty years, carefully studied, will present a view, for which it will be difficult to account, except upon the supposition that the statement is a truth.

I may add, from a very wide induction, that its supposed truth has penetrated deeply into the very core of our social life, and that the opinions of most thoughtful men, unbiassed by private interests, have set strongly against the Corn-Laws, in consequence of such their supposed operation. Nay, more, that nothing but their repeal can ever reconcile the classes, brothers and Britons as they are, which are now with inveterate acrimony contending against each other on this point. I fear that nothing short of this result can "sweeten the breath of society," can bind up our social wounds, or tempt the intelligent workman to regard any relief tendered to him during his starvation-fits, in an eleemosynary form, by the maintainer of the Corn-Laws, except as the shilling thrown back by the robber, to enable his victim to clear the nearest turnpike. It is much to be regretted that such feelings do exist, but still more lamentable if they be allowed to harden into inveterate animosities.

The second fallacy which I proposed to examine was this—

"That if we do not produce enough of wholesome food for our population, we can and ought to do so."

This I fear is a mere delusion—a dream of men who, unable to support their systems by any arguments deducible from present circumstances, refer us to a future, which we can never realize except in their devout imaginations. The population of these islands has increased, during the last fifty years, with a rapidity unprecedented in the annals of the old world. This fact may be regarded in two very different lights, according to the temperament and prejudices of the individual observer.

One of these parties may look upon it as a fearful visitation, clearly indicating God's anger, and directly threatening us with dangers imminent and terrible. The other may hail it as an undoubted proof of God's immediate favour, and that it is scarcely compatible with our ideas of God's providence, as revealed to us in Scripture, to hold that he multiplies a nation as a preliminary step to its proximate destruction. On the contrary, if I am not mistaken in my Scripture views on the subject, we are there taught that nations are held responsible for their conduct, and that they are to prosper or fall, according to the character of the dominant mass, not of a few individuals; and that the punishment which is to overtake them, should their conduct draw God's vengeance upon them, is to take the form of war, pestilence, or famine,—admirable correctives, it cannot be denied, of a superabundant population, but never recorded in Scripture as a token of God's peculiar favour. In reading the Scriptures, I find overpowering evidence that a multiplication of its numbers is regarded as a reward rather than as a punishment to nations, and that the threats held out against them are diminution of numbers and final desolation.

In reviewing the past events of the world, I find this Scripture doctrine apparently confirmed in the page of profane history. Sparta was ruined by the want of Spartans of the ancient stock. So also Athens and Carthage fell because their citizen population did not increase in proportion to their ever increasing number of imperial subjects. Rome was in some degree either wiser or more fortunate in this respect—but even Rome, with much greater advantages, and with more liberal principles, shewed alarming symptoms of a similar disease, and tried various means of remedying the gradual decrease of real Romans. The privileges attached to the father of three legitimate children seem to indicate something rotten at the core of her social system—which, at an early period of her imperial existence, threatened it with an eventual dissolution.

Tacitus, whose treatise upon Germany is mostly a covert libel upon the Romans of his day, says concerning the Germans —“It is accounted disgraceful among them to limit the number of their children, or to destroy any infant once born to the family. Hence good principles have more influence here than good laws elsewhere.” If we consult history, we clearly see which of the two nations pursued the wiser plan. The multitudinous swarms of Germany overpowered the sons of the Decii, Curii, and Fabricii, degenerate in their social relations and reduced in number, and Southern Europe became for ages the inheritance of dominant Teutons. It therefore appears to

me, that reasoning on even heathen principles, increase of its numbers is one of the best tests of a nation's progress under the favour of God—and that nations doomed by his decree may look upon their race as already run, when their numbers dwine away, and in process of time perish irremediably.

What but God's judgment has smitten the regions, once ruled over by the great monarchs of Assyria, Media, and Persia, with sterility and barrenness—sterility in their soil and barrenness in their families? We read in the pages of Herodotus of the almost incredible productiveness of ancient Babylonia. "This," writes the father of history, "this is the most fertile of all the regions with which we are acquainted in its crops of cerealia. It does not attempt, however, to produce vines, figs, and olive trees; but in grain crops it is so fertile, that, on an average, it returns its seed two hundred-fold, and in favourable seasons even three hundred-fold. The blades of the wheat and barley plants are commonly four fingers broad; and although I know the fact well, I dare not mention the magnificent tree-like forms into which the millet and sesame shoot up, as I am aware that even what I have mentioned concerning its general produce, has been received with great incredulity by all persons who have not visited Babylonia." In another passage he states, that this province alone, after feeding its own great population, could spare enough to supply with food all the public establishments of the empire for four out of the twelve months of the year. Now this same district barely furnishes the necessaries of life for two or three paltry cities, and for a few wandering tribes of Arabs, who have located themselves among its mighty ruins. If we look at Asia Minor, especially at the portion occupied by the Ionian Greeks, which was pronounced by Herodotus to enjoy the most genial climate and the most fertile soil known to him, we see the same astounding result. Its spontaneous fertility, its natural advantages, have been counteracted by some causes powerful enough to prevent its few and scattered inhabitants from deriving any corresponding benefit from their happy location, and, which is more to my purpose, from continuously decreasing in number. In Palestine, and all through Syria, the population is evidently dying away, and the land now very partially cultivated, will apparently be soon left desolate. Even in islands like Cyprus and Crete, the same course of things is discernible. Cyprus, when under the Venetian government, had a population of fifteen hundred thousand souls, when, for a certainty, it could trust to nought but its own soil; now that it has become a part of the continental dominions of the Osmanli, it with difficulty feeds sixty thousand human beings. We might derive

the same lesson from the past and present states of Crete. Philosophers of the modern school of political economy will tell you gravely, that all this depopulation of lands once fertile is caused solely by the tyranny of the ignorant rulers of these countries, and that wiser measures, on their part, would counteract the evil. Much may undoubtedly be done by wise rulers to alleviate the immediate pressure of such an evil ; but there seems to be a law which, at certain periods, seems to defy the merely human precautions adopted to prevent its increase ; for the dominant race itself ought to thrive, on the principle of the Economists, as they suck the very marrow from the bones of their subject races ; but it is struck with the same withering blight. The Osmanlis in Europe, Asia, and Africa, are daily decreasing in numbers ; and Turkey, in the words of Lamartine, is dying for want of Turks. Our islands, on the contrary, are yearly adding some three or four hundred thousand souls to our population, and no improvement in agriculture can possibly enable our farmers to increase the quantity of marketable food in proportion to the call for it on the part of our increasing population. Even the series of bad harvests which preceded the summer of 1841, and the consequent distress, might perhaps have checked for the time, but did not prevent, our continuous increase in numbers. Time will therefore, in spite of all obstacles, in a few years virtually repeal the Corn-Laws, and compel us to derive no small portion of our daily bread from other sources than the British soil. To this state, even under the restrictive and prohibitive system, we have been silently yet surely tending, for our population is rapidly increasing in the geometrical proportion, and is clamorous against the system, which, based upon arithmetical advance, is always far behind in the performance of its promises. It appears, therefore, to me, a mere mockery to affirm that any future improvement will enable us to furnish the wholesome food which our steadily increasing population demands as its right.

The third fallacy which I proposed to examine was this —

“ That it will be ruinous to the empire, and eventual starvation to our people, should we trust to any other source than our own soil for the maintenance of our population.”

This is the fallacy of which, in the present day, we hear most,— a fallacy which exercises great influence on minds otherwise disposed to take right views of the question. The idea of being confined within these islands, with a population requiring twice or three times the quantity of food producible within their limits, and without any certain means of procuring the deficient quantity from abroad, is in idea a fearful vision, presenting to the eye

nothing but insurrections, massacres, and revolutions, and would, were it a reality, make every prudent man pause before he entered upon a course so apparently pregnant with evil. The pride of our countrymen, as an independent nation, naturally induces us to take the same view of the question, as the idea of becoming dependent for our daily bread on other nations, alarms the true patriot, and leads him to conclude, that the foreigners who may starve us must become our real masters.

In support of this side of the question, we are referred to the Tyre of the Augustan age, a small and desolate city, on a small island off the Phœnician coast, a community without a single ship of war, independent neither in name nor reality, and are told how it humbled itself before the Herod of the day, because it was nourished by the king's country. They hence infer that the day will come when Great Britain, for similar reasons, will have to bow submissively before the Herod crowns of Russia or Prussia.

These visionaries forget that the Tyre of the prophet Isaiah, the city of merchant Princes, who had her factories and colonies on all the shores of the Mediterranean, had nothing to fear on this head, and would have laughed to scorn the threats of a Galilean Tetrarch. She had withstood successfully all the attacks which different representatives of the eastern king of kings had organized against her. Shalmanezzer sat with all his hordes, gathered from the adjacent continent, for five years before the walls of ancient Tyre, and was compelled, after all his efforts, to raise the siege. Nebuchadnezzar, a mightier conqueror than Shalmanezzer, consumed thirteen of the most active years of his life in the same difficult enterprize. History does not specify the ultimate result of his long-continued labours. But it is a known fact, that Tyre enjoyed a long and prosperous career after this event. Examples of the safety of communities thus placed, and baffling all attacks from without, might be easily multiplied. I need scarcely remind your Grace, that the island of Malta, a mere speck on the face of the Mediterranean sea, presented a line of defences, which even Soliman the Great, with all Western Asia, the whole of Northern Africa, and no small portion of Eastern Europe, at his command, failed to overcome.

There are many truisms which, theoretically speaking, cannot be contravened, and which, when materially reduced to practice, are found not to be truth.

It is a truism that a community like that which the mutineers of the *Bounty* founded on Pitcairn Island, cannot, if absolutely confined within its narrow limits, permanently increase its population beyond the material means of subsistence, furnished by

the narrow extent of soil, and from which alone, without foreign intercourse, supplies could be drawn.

In such a position, the principles of Malthus become living truths, which no rational being can refuse to acknowledge. A population thus confined cannot multiply beyond a point, limited by the ultimate quantity of producible food. But the British Empire has no such fixed limits; and I see no possible futurity before us, when the British home dominions are to be reduced to the condition of an over-populous Pitcairn Island, requiring the restrictive laws of some future "John Adams."

Our present naval power exceeds that of all other nations.

*"Quantam, delphinis balæna Britannica major."*

Our transmarine possessions, to which our navy furnishes us with boundless access, exempt us from coming under similar categories. God himself has enabled us to throw aside all such truisms, and to assert a truth, that as long as the world is in its present unsubdued state,—as long as we hold the empire of the ocean, and study successfully to preserve our present relative superiority in that wide-spread element, we ought, so far from being alarmed by our increasing numbers, to regard it as a mark of especial favour, and vigorously to proceed in executing the commission originally given to man, and to subdue and replenish the hitherto unpeopled or scantily inhabited portions of the earth.

But without reasoning further upon the subject, although sound reasoning is always conclusive with reasonable men, let us come to facts; the only argument which practical men are willing to acknowledge. It is a fact, a great fact, that our population is yearly increasing, and that without some direct interference on Malthusian principles, it will not apparently be checked. Now, by what means are we to stem this ever-increasing tide? How are we to prevent our millions from following the great law of God, and to arrest them in their course, and enforce a general "halt," until we discover some hitherto unknown mode of producing bread from the British soil, commensurate with the annually-increasing demand? Can we, like the Spartans, massacre our adult and high-spirited Helots? Can we, like Pharaoh and his counsellors, order the midwives to strangle all the new-born male children? or, like the constitution-makers of ancient Greece, prescribe the murder, by exposure to cold and hunger, of all superfluous babies? I am sure your Grace will agree with me, that without taking into consideration the atrocity of all such Malthusian remedies, they are, in our present state, impossible. One other mode remains,—emigration on a

gigantic scale, capable of transferring from the parent home to other regions, swarms proportionate to our annual increase. The expense alone of such an undertaking will assuredly prevent any Government, however zealous in the cause, from adopting this remedy. What therefore remains, among possible and allowable means left to us, but that, as we cannot by any legitimate means stem the ever-swelling torrent of our people, we should allow the food to come to them freely and voluntarily, for which they are willing to pay by the sweat of their brow?

This generous policy might, I allow, be attended with some danger to any nation placed otherwise than we are: but our home is on the sea, the remotest parts of the earth are our inheritance. As long as we preserve our superiority on the seas, we are safe in making the experiment. Famine can never afflict us, except it be universal over the whole face of the earth; and if God thus visit the nations in his wrath, the blow will not fall heavier upon us than on the rest of the world. But we have the promise that seed-time and harvest time will continue as long as the earth itself; and He who has given us this promise will be faithful. We may trust that the variations of cold and heat, which are also promised, will be so providentially distributed, that while partial districts may suffer, yet the universal globe will never be simultaneously visited by a suspension of the promised blessings. And partial scarcities may perhaps be regarded as warnings that God does not intend that his children should live apart from each other in sullen independence, but that they should feel they are part of a great whole, and requiring from each other mutual aid and mutual sympathies.

In the meantime, in considering the question as far as it concerns our own political independence, the wise statesman will, in legislating for the freedom of commerce, derive great consolation in pursuing his often dubious path, that every step he takes in that direction tends to the greater security of our Oceanic empire. Every new ship built and chartered for commercial purposes, adds to our maritime power, and consequently to our ability to make our transit-trade on the seas as safe as it already is on our home railroads. But an objector may suppose that this right hand of our imperial existence may be lopped off—that God in his anger may transfer to other hands

“The trident of the sea, the sceptre of the world,”

and ask, what would the state of Great Britain be in such a case? My answer is, that such an event would at once settle the question; and the inhabitants of these islands would certainly, in the course of a few years, enjoy the elysium which the Corn-Law



advocates wish to ensure to them—they would have to live upon the produce of their own soil, and Great Britain would become the great Japan of the Western world, with a considerably greater chance of being conquered and subjugated by foreign nations. Before I close my observations on this head, I ought to say, that, in my opinion, so far from making us dependent on other nations, a free trade in corn would enable us to defy the hostility of foreign nations, as far as our daily bread is concerned.

The cerealia have one characteristic which places them in a class totally different from all the other articles of wholesome food given by God to man. They can be stored for years in capacious granaries, so that when we are blessed with abundant harvests, the surplus produce may be reserved in stores, whence they may be drawn forth to supply the deficiencies caused by years of scarcity. Thus our merchants and capitalists have in this peculiar property of the "cerealia" a power of forming great reservoirs, from which an equable supply, independent of the varying produce of single years, may constantly be brought into the public markets; and the well-known practical sagacity of this class of our community may safely be trusted in the delicate task of taking due advantage of this invaluable property of the main staff of civilized life. Seasons are supposed to run in cycles of seven years of abundant and deficient harvests; and from a close examination of the price of corn during a very lengthened period, of even centuries, in our own islands, I am inclined to conclude that there is something of truth in the supposition. The seven fat kine and the seven lean kine of Pharaoh's dream will instantly recur to the memory of your Grace; and it is a curious fact, pregnant with conclusions to the minds who favour this view of the subject, that there is now growing in England wheat, of which the parent seed was taken from the folds of mummies, and which, for aught we know to the contrary, may have been a portion of the very grain which Joseph laid up in the granaries of Pharaoh. This quality of the cerealia, accompanied with the fact, that in ordinary times the markets of the world are open to the operations of our merchants and capitalists, ought to enable us to be patient under the infliction of occasional bad harvests, or of the temporary evils arising from the hostile feelings of foreign nations, and vigorously to proceed on our onward course. I make this suggestion briefly, although it appears to me of immense importance, and would willingly, did the limits of this letter permit, explain it in all its parts.

There is one objection against the repeal of the Corn-Laws, which I have not placed among the fallacies adduced in their

support, because there may be some foundation for it. This is the supposition that the Repeal will be attended with a diminution of the rent of land at present under arable cultivation; and that thus the land-holders will have to experience at least a temporary diminution of their ordinary revenues. But it ought not to be forgotten, that the Corn-Laws of 1815 were enacted upon the supposition that they were required by the necessities of the time, in order to enable the country safely to meet the exigencies of a crisis without a parallel in our history. Our currency was in lamentable disorder, and our nominal values disregarded by the rest of the world. The transition from a state of almost universal war to a state of peace almost as universal, required delicate management, and the extraordinary legislation of the day, which placed us in a very invidious light to the rest of the world, was, it may be held, a prudent precaution to secure us from great and imminent evils. No sound-minded politician of that day ever dreamed that they were to be one of our sacrosanct institutions, to be non-removable and perpetual. The constant struggle against their continuance, the war of words which was ever maintained upon the subject, ought to have acted as a full and sufficient warning to the agricultural interest, that they were but the result of a temporary policy, and not to be regarded as the sacred and unalterable code of the Medes and Persians. If the landholders obstinately refused to accept these continuous warnings, we may regret their folly, but cannot deeply sympathize with the sorrows which may be the result of such chronic blindness. Any and every relaxation of these restrictive enactments has been fiercely opposed by them, and for twenty years we have had to listen to their loud reclamations, and their hardy assertions, that they were the scape-goats of the community, and were being continually ruined. I have read that Sir Robert Walpole once described the landed interest as a sheep which, when seized by the shepherd, submitted to its fate without a struggle, and silently yielded up its rich fleece. But the same great statesman's rustic symbol of the mercantile and commercial interest, was what an orientalist would call "the father of our hams and bacon," who, when rough hands were laid upon him, disturbed the neighbourhood with his unmusical clamour, and after all, however closely the instrument was applied, yielded only a few useless bristles to the shearer. In our days we have witnessed a change as wonderful as any celebrated by Ovid; the silent sheep has become the loud grunter, and ceases not to disturb our social system by her discordant bleatings.

Naturally to account for this metamorphous change, we must

take it for granted, that during this period the land-holders have been an oppressed class ; that their annual shilling has been reduced to a sixpence ; that the profits arising from the cultivation of the soil have been so diminished, that the land itself is an unsaleable article,—a very drug in the market,—a source of loss and not of gain to its wretched owners.

But our statistics prevent us from adopting this supposition as the true solution of the wonder. The income-tax returns, of the years 1843 and 1815, enable us to affirm that the value of real property had in the interval between these two years increased more than fifty per cent ; that taking the average of all England, the taxing officers of 1843 found a rental of one hundred and fifty pounds arising from lands and houses, where their equally sharp predecessors in the year 1815 found only one hundred pounds of rateable rental. I am aware that the actual increase was much greater ; but round numbers, provided they are within the mark, are more intelligible to common readers, and present a less assailable front to the dishonest caviller. Had Sir Robert Peel's income-tax been productive of no other result than this overwhelming proof of the real state of things, it would not have been imposed in vain.

The land-owners will attempt to obviate the natural inferences to be drawn from these returns by two allegations. First, that the increase arises, to a great extent, from the rental of houses built since the year 1815. But on whose grounds were these edifices constructed, and what class has principally derived benefit from the operations of the builder ? Second, that the increase of rent arising from land, has been caused principally by the expensive improvements adopted by them, and that the increased rents are only a fair return for their outlay. To a certain extent this latter allegation is true ; but not to be set in the balance against the enhancement of the value of the money rents caused by a restoration to a sound system of currency, and by the enormous fall in the price of the various articles of necessary expenditure, especially of clothing, which makes the sixpence of 1843 fully equal in its exchangeable value to the shilling of 1815. Another serious drawback upon the validity of the land-holder's objection, is to be made from the following fact. In 1815, the tax on real property affected every man whose aggregate income amounted to fifty pounds per annum ; while, in 1843, all such property was left untouched, except the owner's aggregate income amounted to one hundred and fifty pounds per annum. I have no means of calculating the amount of the difference of the returns of the two years which ought to be allowed under this head, but it must have been no small sum.

Within the last fifteen years, a new source of addition to the incomes of the landed proprietors has sprung up from the railway system. Most landowners have suddenly found their property increase with a rapidity which would have defied the imagination even of their grandfathers, and that without any effort or outlay on their own part. The stream of landed prosperity springing from this source is still flowing with ever-increasing volume and velocity, and promises soon to fertilize the most barren regions of our island. In this great movement, the landowners, as a class, have been, and perhaps still are, behind the present age. First, obstinate opponents, they resisted with all their influence the progress of the greatest triumph of man over matter which his intellect had ever enabled him to realize, and which promised, from the very commencement, to be the mainspring of all future movements for subduing and replenishing the earth. Secondly, when their eyes were partially opened to the advantages likely to result to themselves from these wonder-working creations, they have acted under a double character; anxious, on the one hand, that the line of railroad should traverse their properties, they, on the other hand, extort as much money as they possibly can, by threatening parliamentary opposition to the very lines by which they know they and their families are sure to be greatly benefited.

The third stage of proceeding on their part, on this great question, is now only commencing, and need not therefore be dwelt upon. But the immense sums they have already received from the enterprising companies to whose agency we owe our present railroad activity, and the gratuities which they are daily receiving under the name of loss of amenities, &c. &c., amount doubly and triply to the money laid out by no small portion of their number on the improvements of their land. I call them deliberately "gratuities;" for, as a rule, they are sums bestowed upon landholders to enable strangers to commence operations, of doubtful emolument to the projectors, but of certain advantage to the non-speculating landholder. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, it appears to me, that, absolutely speaking, the landholders would have no real cause to complain were the Corn-Laws to be repealed to-morrow; and probably a wise despot, who looked only to the great interests of the community entrusted to his charge, would forthwith abolish them; but a Government constituted like ours is perhaps so confined to the necessity of only taking a relative view of the question, that it must pause before it adopt such a decided course. It must look to vested interests, and proceed cautiously in the work of re-construction. We have no right to punish the child for

the sins of his father, and a sudden repeal might give a shock to property in general, and cause instant distress to a great number of individuals who are rather the nominal than the real proprietors of the land which they hold. To men thus placed, their only income consists of the rent of land, as upheld by our restrictive laws, in opposition to the rent which the same land would yield were the Corn-Laws suddenly and rudely abolished. To such individuals, it can afford no consolation, if we tell them that the destruction of their property would be caused by the panic which would be assuredly the result of such a measure, and that the final result would be a much increased value of the land, which has irrevocably passed out of their hands.

It is to provide against the evils resulting to a large and influential class of our fellow-citizens, and at the same time to release "the infant Hercules," the mythos of British energy, from the snaky folds which threaten to strangle him in his cradle, that a statesman's wisdom is required. Your Grace will pardon me for adducing this illustration, as I firmly believe it is illustrative of our present position. British energy *is* in its cradle, and requires nothing but judicious nurture to enable it to grow up into the full proportions of the vigorous giant, with a peculiar vocation to clear the earth of monsters, and make it a more desirable residence for the children of men. In the great and wise minister who now sits at the helm of our state, the greatest, soberest, and most practical reformer whom Britain has ever produced, we have a man apparently made for the crisis, an instrument similar to others of the same description which Providence calls into action, to rescue the nations which he may favour from their difficulties. My hopes therefore are, that this most cautious of statesmen, yet bold, aye very bold, in the midst of his caution, will propose no measures which will not at the same time secure some sufficient indemnity to the indigent landholder, the victim of circumstances rather than of personal imprudence, and yet prepare the way with no faltering resolution for the entire removal of the Corn-Laws of 1815, as soon as it possibly can be done "without detriment to the commonwealth," from our statute-book, and for giving unrestricted liberty of action to the elastic energies of our labourers, merchants, and capitalists.

But there are some reasons to make us suspect that to a certain extent a fear of pecuniary loss is not the principal motive which induces so large and respectable a portion of our landholders obstinately to resist the repeal of the Corn-Laws. It is a vision of something future, the actual arrival of which they

dread as likely to inflict a heavy blow upon their political influence—as calculated to change their relative position in the social scale, not owing to any actual depression which they may suffer, but owing to the rise of the newly enriched classes, for whose members no great love is felt by our older aristocracy. It is this feeling, more than a fear of ultimate diminution of the value of their estates, that secretly influences many, who see clearly enough that every great increase of wealth and property of the mercantile and manufacturing classes is regularly followed by an increased value of land, especially in the immediate vicinity of the great mercantile and manufacturing towns. In Lancashire, for instance, the average rent of real property valued by the income-tax commissioners of 1815 at one hundred pounds, had increased in the year 1843 to the enormous volume of two hundred and thirty pounds. But with all this vast increase in their money rents, the influence of the great landholders in returning members to the House of Commons has been seriously decreased; their increased revenues have been more than overbalanced by the increased number of parliamentary voters, who are not subject to their influence. For example, the time has been, when one landholder in the vicinity of Glasgow used to return the one member for that active and flourishing city. But now, under the combined action of the Reform-Bill, and the increased wealth of the community, the proprietor of the same estate has scarcely any perceptible influence in the election of either of the two members whom Glasgow now returns to Parliament. Yet a prodigious addition has been made to his rent-roll, and much of the land belonging to him would fetch as high a price as if there were a gold mine below its surface. A spot of ground belonging to this property was sold not long ago to a Railway Company; and although its annual rent was only three or four pounds, it fetched fourteen thousand pounds.

Thus also, in times not very ancient, the Duke of Northumberland used to nominate one of the members for Westminster—that influence has been extinguished; yet it would be difficult to calculate the sum for which Northumberland House and its grounds might be now sold. Even in places more remote, and whose landlords fear a loss of rent, from the inability of the tenant to grow wheat profitably, under the reduction of price, which is regarded as certain, there will be little cause of real alarm. England, under a wise system of government, is capable of being one of the greatest exporters of the cerealia on the face of the globe. The fermented liquors of the English brewer is in far greater de-

mand than can be at present supplied. Suppose the malt-tax abolished, and wheat in many soils replaced by barley, the British brewer will be enabled to act with greater freedom and with ampler materials, and will, while he exports the essence of the corn to every country under the sun, leave the body to assist again in reproducing itself. It is not, therefore, the probable loss of "pelf" which alarms many of our great landholders, when contemplating the final result of the repeal of the Corn-Laws. If gifted with clear heads, they see in the inevitable increase of material wealth, not vested in land, a force which they cannot control, and a power whose unerring instinct lays in the dust all those cherished influences and principles which were the bulwark and pride of the feudal chieftain. It is hard to part with the heir-looms inherited from a long line of ancestors, and something more than reluctance is naturally to be expected, in the attempt to retain them.

Another class of landholders may not be so clear sighted as to the future. But those who are in the vicinity of our more busy districts, are disgusted with the ever-extending paltry towns and unsightly villages. The upstart population extends its encroachments up to the walls, and often into the sanctuaries, of the sacred birds and fostered quadrupeds, and rudely interferes with the amenities of their princely seats. They feel that however they may hate the profane vulgar, they have no charm potent enough to scare the unwelcome intruder from their sacred presence. I must confess that I feel little sympathy with the morbid feelings of a nobleman or a gentleman, who, after passing half his time in London, and mixing there with its busy population, content to walk, or to ride or drive, amidst a continued throng, and then retires to the country for the remainder of his year, to have his nerves shattered and his equanimity disturbed, should two or three strangers be found wandering among the splendid scenes of his ample domains. It is the invasion of these sacred retreats, so dear to the pride and even to some better feelings of the aristocracy, that makes a manufactory an odious sight, and a railway a source of fear to many men otherwise benevolent and beneficent. Their feelings may be best illustrated by an anecdote. An engineer employed by Government to examine the respective claims of three companies who proposed three several lines for connecting London by Railway with an important provincial town, was led by the discharge of his duty to throw his chains across the lawn of some country gentleman, who lived in peace and quietness, amidst the gentle slopes of some of our southern hills. The gentleman, alarmed by the sudden intrusion upon his privacy,

sallied out to inquire the cause. The engineer produced his authority and explained the business. "Then," uttered the gentleman, "should the line you are now running through my grounds be eventually selected as the best, my house and grounds will be totally destroyed as an eligible residence for a country gentleman." "Sir," rejoined the engineer, "you will receive full compensation for all damages done to your property." "There can be no compensation for an injury like this," retorted the gentleman; "to talk of valuing it in money is an insult." "It may be so," replied the engineer, "but I know of no such feelings, and would advise you to clear your mind of cant. I am not a very young man, but still I expect to see the day, when there will be no such spot in England as *you* term an eligible residence for an English gentleman. If you want such spots, emigrate to Timbuctoo." The engineer's words were ungentle, but still they illustrate a great truth which requires serious consideration. The progress of Great Britain to imperial power, presents a strong contrast in the effects produced on the home provinces, when compared to the similar advance of Rome to a similar imperial greatness. The victories of Rome were accompanied by the constantly-increasing desolation of Italy. In proportion to the extent of the empire, the arable land, the olive yards and vineyards, gradually began to disappear; not because their cultivation was unproductive, but because the ground was wanted for the villas, the parks, the hunting forests of the more than royal aristocrats—their insane substructions, their boundless fish-ponds, their woodlands, their spacious gardens, with their profusion of all rare plants that could either delight the scent or charm the eye, drove the tiller of the ground from their immediate vicinity, whether pleasant spots on the lower or upper sea. And where nature was less adapted for such pleasant seats, the shepherd reigned supreme, and covered the hills of Apulia and Lucania with countless flocks, which were maintained with little expense, and managed principally by slaves.

England, the empress of the commercial world, and with wings capable of wafting her to the remotest parts of the earth—is tethered by cords from which she cannot break loose to her Island Home—the mass of engines which the present generation has either inherited or created, the iron-stone and coal mines, in various districts, the rail-roads over which she can so easily convey her produce to the sea-shore, furnish the capitalist and labourer with facilities and capabilities which they would in vain seek to realize in other regions. And the very density of the population, which is no small constituent in the elements of her productive power, is compelled, as it were, in proportions still more dense, to



spread around certain centres. Hence the continuous process which threatens to convert England into great operative factories and bleaching-greens—to make it every thing but a rose-bed, or a park-residence for exclusive proprietors.

But, if this be the case, why should our splendid aristocracy, who have nothing but local prejudices to tether them to certain spots, not remove themselves, if they cannot abate the increasing nuisance? The progress of manufacturing industry will daily enable them more and more to put money in their purses, and to go forth and establish spacious parks, inviolable preserves, in the wilds of Canada, the Steppes of Australia, or the boundless plains of Southern Africa. I see no reason why a powerful nobleman, who now rejoices in the preservation of hares and pheasants, should not be more ambitious in this line. A preserve of wolves, grisly bears, moose deer, not to speak of smaller game, in Northern Canada, would really be aristocratic, or even royal, and might be reached by a modern Nimrod, with almost as much speed as the grouse and red deer of the Highlands were visited by his legislating father. The sources of amusement and healthy exercise might be multiplied by establishments in Africa for hunting the camel-leopard, the spring-buck, the hippo-potamus, the panther, and the lion; and the pursuit of game on this magnificent scale would invigorate the sportsman, and be free from the taint of the slaughter-house, which so strongly attaches itself to the modern and disgusting battue. The multiplied lines of railway will infallibly destroy the manly and healthy fox-chase. And as our nobility must either “eat their bread by the sweat of their brow,” or lazily devour it without appetite or relish, some such scheme must be adopted, in order to stimulate the appetite, and to strengthen the nerves and muscles of our young scions of high birth and great wealth, for the purposes of practical life, and to enable them to take their station as the leading pioneers in the great work of civilization, which has been devolved on their country. Better to do this than to be smoked out of their homes.

But there still remains one objection to be considered, which, although not often stated, is deeply felt, and carries great weight in the estimation of most thoughtful minds. This is, what answer can be given when we are asked, *Cui Bono?* what national purpose will it serve to convert England into a large workshop, redolent of engine oil and obscured by steam vapours and the clouds of smoke-emitting furnaces? The answer is very simple, and embodied in the common phrase, *We cannot help it*, speaking the words of soberness and truth, without discovering some specific more potent than any hitherto known.

We cannot help it. We are hurried on our course by causes over which we have but slight control. We may cautiously retard but we cannot arrest the speed with which we are travelling to some "unknown bourne." Great Britain it wedded to the steam-engine, and must regard the young giant power, as her lawful consort, for better and for worse, whose strength and vigour she is bound to foster,—otherwise he will divorce her, and transfer his energies and services to other nations. But faith in the kind and gracious providence of God may enable us to look more cheerfully to a future, of which we know not the realities, and to see that out of the possible and probable contingencies there are many which we can contemplate with pleasure rather than gloom.

But still we have our consolation that, in our forward course, we are apparently chosen instruments in the hand of God for civilizing and subduing the hitherto wild domains intended by God to become a fair habitation for man. Above all, that we are not the regulators of divine Providence, nor while employed in a plain path of duty, to falter in our course, from any misgiving as to what the ultimate result may be. This depends upon God alone, and he will undoubtedly work out his final design, irrespective of our blind fears. The path of immediate duty is the only one along which we can safely travel; we have no right to trouble ourselves with any future evil, which may appear imminent to our view. Again, I repeat, we are not Providence, nor should we vindicate to ourselves its awful attributes; rather let us, with all due humility, acknowledge the authority of our Saviour's declaration when he said, "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof; let the morrow take care of itself."

I thus close my very imperfect summary, both of historical reminiscences and of rational arguments on this very important question. But I cannot close without adding a few more observations, which appear to me intimately connected with the subject under discussion. I do not use a rash expression, my Lord, when I allege that we live, and have for the last sixteen years lived, amidst the turmoils of a Revolution—not the less a revolutionary period because it has been not accompanied with those horrid scenes of massacre and temporary anarchy which from their very boyhood our present elders looked upon as the necessary concomitants of revolution. Its very innocence, and the comparative quietness with which it was effected, disguised its real character, and caused many to conceal from themselves the radical change which it had wrought in all the practical processes of our ancient constitution. The acts of the Legislature—commonly called "The Emancipation of the Catholics" and the

Repeal of the Laws requiring test-oaths from all persons admitted to a share of the administration of our affairs, both municipal and political, followed as it was by a Reform Bill, as strongly marked by its disenfranchising as by its enfranchising clauses—without entirely changing, so dislocated both the basis and frame-work of our social edifice, that nothing but the cool heads and moral and religious feelings of the people of England, acting under the immediate favour of God, prevented its utter overthrow. It was a fearful experiment; but as it did not end in destruction, it may be regarded in the same light as one of those storms which, while they threaten with momentary destruction the work of man's hands, pass away, and leave the air more pure and refreshing.

But the revolution was not the less real because it was not followed by anarchy and confusion; and the statesman who would attempt to steer the commonwealth by the principles and through the channels of the unchanged constitution, would undoubtedly strike upon shoals and rocks not marked on the older charts, and experience storms and whirlwinds where his predecessors had been favoured with regular trade-winds and fixed monsoons.

To attempt, therefore, to bind down any of our living statesmen by any declaration made by them under our former political system, smacks strongly of insanity. All taunts, also, and slanderous invectives against the statesmen of either party, because their present course of action may not be in strict consistency with previous expressions of opinion, are mere idle talk, not worth a wise man's consideration. If ever the old maxim was true, it is true, with a peculiar force, in times present, contrasted with times past—

*Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis.*

- Whether the same mutations have not affected the relations existing between the Church and State to an extent far beyond what is commonly believed, and whether the present troubles in the bosom of the Church itself may not be rationally referred to misapprehensions respecting the nature, the extent, and the necessary consequences of such mutations, I leave to the judgment of our ecclesiastical governors. But would take the liberty of humbly suggesting, that as the great body of our commercial and manufacturing optimates seems to be not the least religious portion of the community, the Church ought to devote her most earnest efforts to convince them of the extent of their religious obligations, and shew to them the wisest and most efficient mode of discharging them.

She ought to remind them, that the God who has increased their stores, expects that they will disperse them liberally and mercifully; that they are especially bound to provide for those of their own household; for the great body of labourers, of whom they are the natural "patroni;" for the instruction of the young in all their relative duties; for the comfortable maintenance of all who may have been injured and maimed, or worn out in increasing their wealth.

I trust, that with a regular provision, trade, will come the power of regulating the labour-market with some steadiness and precision, so as to spread the labours of the operative more equally over the whole course of the year. That we shall be spared the painful sight of revelry and extravagance, alternating with famine and disease, in our manufacturing districts. That with regular employment will come regular habits also; and with regular habits, the power to enjoy, and the means to procure healthy instruction for the mind, as well as wholesome food and sufficient clothing for the body; and that no considerable body of operatives will long continue located on the same spot, without the adjuncts of a school, a library, and a church.

But before we can ever hope to realize this picture, the Corn-Laws must be abolished. The sooner the better. Their present existence in the Statute-Book is a disgrace to our Legislature; and if there are any evils likely to arise from their immediate abolition, such evils are the necessary offspring of the laws. These steps in wrong directions often place men in difficult positions, whence either advance or retreat may be accompanied with some risk. We cannot advance, nor can we stand still; retreat therefore is our only resource. Any attempt on the part of our aristocracy to give battle in their present position, will expose them to something worse than defeat, for assuredly a temporary victory, on this point, would in the end prove more fatal than many defeats. They are in the wrong, and we know, as a general truth, that a continuous struggle against wrongs terminates not with their correction, but involves the wrongdoers in imminent danger.

I can assure your Grace, that there are many bad citizens, who contemplate with pleasure the continued resistance of the aristocracy, to measures which millions regard as necessary to their very existence. May God in his mercy avert any continued struggle between the many and the few on this point, and may we never see our glorious aristocracy worsted in a sordid attempt to increase their wealth at the expense of the poor! Your Grace will remember the rebuke which Dr Johnson admini-

any need to have these words repeated. "I don't wish to be  
misunderstood," Adams says. "I wish only to say that I have  
no personal or party agenda in writing this column."

$$L(\pi_1(\mathbb{R}^n), \pi_1(\mathbb{R}^n))$$
$$\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{1}{n} \log V_n(\theta) = -\int_0^1 f(t) dt$$

**Journal Club**

2181-69-6.

**CORN LAWS.**

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**POPKINS' PROTEST:**

ADDRESSED TO

**THE HOUSE OF LORDS.**

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Fortunate senex ergo tua rura *manebunt*;  
Et tibi magna satis: quamvis lapis omnia nudus,  
Limosoque palus obducat pascua junco:  
Non insueta graves tentabunt pabula fœtas,  
Nec mala vicini pecoris contagia lœdent.

VIRGIL, Ecl. 1, v. 47—51.

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## CORN LAWS.

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IN this respectful Protest to the sense, justice, and honour of the House of Lords, the writer has proposed three questions of importance, which he respectfully submits to the impartial consideration of the candid reader :—

1st. Was Sir R. Peel justified in offering his resignation to Her Majesty whilst he possessed the confidence of his Sovereign, and the support of a large majority in both Houses of Parliament ?

2nd. Is the argument and conclusion sound, “because imports and exports have increased in quantity and in value by a partial relaxation of prohibitory duties,” the same prosperity will continue after a removal of protection ?

3rd. Ideas and Motives on a change of Ministry and Formation of a Cabinet.

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The writer presumes that the right course for Sir R. Peel to pursue, was to have issued an Order in Council, on his own responsibility, “to open the ports,” if he deemed it necessary; and to have tested this experiment



during the last winter and spring, until the return of the harvest. Before the close of the session, to have advised Her Majesty to dissolve Parliament, and to have appealed, by means of a general election, to the verdict of the popular constituencies on the serious subject of Free Trade. On the occasion of a dissolution, Sir R. Peel was at liberty to change his opinions respecting Protection, and to offer himself as a candidate for a seat in Parliament on whatever politics he preferred. Sir R. Peel's ministerial conduct, in tendering his *resignation* to Her Majesty, at the same time enjoying the confidence of his Sovereign, and a majority in both Houses of Parliament, and his *resumption* of office, without advising a dissolution of Parliament, and an appeal to a general election, was decidedly *unconstitutional*. Sir R. Peel was placed in neither dilemma ; he was not dismissed from his office by his royal mistress, nor were he and his colleagues outvoted in Parliament!! What was his excuse ? A blight in the potato crop ; Lord J. Russell's letter ; want of moral courage ; and love of office. These trivial causes did not justify the Premier to forsake the helm of the vessel of state at a critical moment, which demanded courage. Sir R. Peel's Government was either deceived or misinformed as to the real extent of the failure of the potato crop, and of the apprehended scarcity, and of the dearness of the price of provisions — neither were, happily, realised. Lord J. Russell's letter was written in expectation of a general election, not of a resignation of ministers. His lordship confessed he was surprised at receiving the Queen's summons, to attend her Majesty at Windsor, and he undertook to form an administration, conscious of the "hopelessness of the task," either to construct a

ministry or to carry on the Government. Is it possible that the embryo cabinet was not completed, solely because Earl Grey disapproved of Viscount Palmerston? Would so trifling a circumstance stand in Lord J. Russell's way, if the question of Free Trade had so much engrossed the mind of the nation as to enable his lordship to conduct the Government?

The writer proceeds to the second question. Sir R. Peel justified his recent conversion to Free Trade, because prohibitory duties on becoming reduced, foreign and domestic exports and imports increased, and the prices of British produce rose notwithstanding! This is Sir R. Peel's argument: he denies that throwing open the ports, establishing Free Trade, exposing the English corn market to foreign competition, will reduce ruinously low the value of British produce.

To lower *restrictions*, which impede the healthy action of trade and commerce, is very different from removing *Protection* to domestic agriculture. In the first case you assist the development of commerce and manufactures; you multiply the springs of industry; you thereby afford additional employment to the working classes; and can raise wages—which rise improves market prices;—so far, I agree with Sir R. Peel; but I dissent when he proposes to remove the only remaining safeguard to the permanent prosperity of the British constitution—the Corn Laws. When Sir R. Peel proposes to place the British and foreign corn growers on an equality of footing, and to *fix* free competition, whilst the English farmer labours under disadvantages, as to soil, climate, and taxation—here the injustice and bad policy of Free Trade are made manifest; look at the burthens on land! which do not consist solely in rent

and light taxation, as on the continent, but of the heaviest imposts—to support and maintain the Throne, the Church, and the State—to raise the annual revenues—to pay the interest of the national debt, and to be the guarantee for its security ; besides to give employment, and the means of subsistence to a large portion of the British population ; to be the best and largest consumers of domestic manufactures, thereby to support the manufacturing interests, and to cherish and sustain the foreign trade and enterprise of our merchants. The Corn Laws enable the landed interest to do all this ; but to gratify the avarice of short-sighted politicians, you annihilate that landed interest which enables the British Government, in time of war, to maintain the ascendancy of our arms, and the fostering dominion of our mighty empire ! But to proceed with this argument, if prices rise on lowering duties, why must they fall to *nothing* on removing all duty ? I contend that such importations of foreign corn from abroad, will be poured into England,—that native agriculture will not provide a livelihood for the farmers—putting the profits out of the question ! What are to become of employment and wages ? for there is not a shadow of a doubt that higher wages and better prices, depend on increased employment ;—this is the beneficial effect of lowering restrictions, thereby improving trade and commerce ; but Free Trade will produce a contrary effect !—there is all the difference between moderate and restricted supplies of foreign produce, and a free importation : under the latter, prices will fall, because employment will not be general, and the amount of wages will diminish, and market prices fall in proportion. The same prosperity is not to be expected *after* a Repeal of the Corn Laws ;

they knit the frame-work of British society—give confidence to all classes—unite all interests, and serve as the surest bond of protection to the safety of the state ; and are the basis of the national wealth and power ; nor can they be removed without serious loss and injury to the whole British community, and a total dependence for bread on foreign countries ; who will make this country the plaything of their envy and caprice—by withholding supplies, or by charging an exorbitant price for their produce ; or by showering their stores into the English markets, and destroying the farmers' profits ; and thus reducing the value of agricultural produce below remunerative prices.

The writer believes that the *improvement* of prices, which Sir R. Peel boasted was the result of his fiscal alterations, is the effect of protection,—Sir R. Peel cannot argue from experience—he has no facts to prove that after three years of Free Trade the imports and exports of commerce and manufactures will flourish and progress as much as they have done *under* protective duties ; that employment will be so general ; that wages will be as high ; that the working classes will gain the means to purchase supplies of provisions at *increased* market prices. The writer predicts that the markets will be choked with the glut of foreign produce, and prices will be ruinously low ; an European war will diminish the supplies of foreign corn, and raise the price of bread to a starvation height. Either alternative will not recompence the British nation for the anticipated benefits of Free Trade ! Will our native manufactures and commercial operations maintain their present amount and value of imports and exports ? Will not the decline of national trade and commerce follow the decay of agri-

culture? Heretofore they have prospered together—will they not stand or fall together? The political aim of the League is the ruin of the landed interest, by rendering the cultivation of the soil *unprofitable*.

The writer now arrives at his third question. “Ideas and Motives on a change of Ministry, and Formation of a New Cabinet.” The question of Free Trade, as regards the House of Lords, received a death-blow in the premature decease of Earl Spencer! Lord J. Russell’s influence, either in the country or in Parliament, is insufficient to enable his Lordship to conduct the affairs of Government. The Whigs are politically dead—to use the poetical simile of a Whig Minister, the late Lord Holland—

“Thus Harlequin extolled his horse,  
Fit for the race, the chase, the course;  
One fault he had—a fault indeed!  
And what was that? the horse *was dead!*”

But allowing Sir R. Peel, and Sir James Graham to throw aside political differences, and to combine their official services with Lord J. Russell; will the country *sanction* such a compact? will it afford such an alliance a working majority in Parliament?

At the moment I write, the exact period of a general election is uncertain: come when it may, will it improve the political situation of the Whig leaders? The Protectionists, both in the electoral boroughs and counties, are strong and numerous enough to carry a majority over the Free Traders; they will return to Parliament members sworn to support a truly constitutional and conservative administration—a cabinet of matured statesmen and enlightened politicians, having the honour and welfare of their sovereign and their native dominions nearest and

dearest to their conduct and principles—bearing the love of their country in their hearts; and, rather than sacrifice the public good to self-interest, ready to resign all the emoluments of office, and to retire from power.

Here the writer begs leave to digress from his subject, and to expose and condemn an evil example set by statesmen, dating before the passing of Roman Catholic Emancipation; viz., a sacrifice of principle rather than a relinquishment of office; this was the real cause of political concession on that occasion: it produced its evil fruits—popular excitement—which carried the Reform Bill. The Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel ought to have resigned, and conceded the passing of emancipation to Earl Grey: it would have smoothed the way for a much more moderate measure of reform. Earl Grey, in patronising the Reform Bill, was disposed to mix up “neglected pretensions” in his zeal to improve the representation of the people. The Whigs rode into office on the backs of the people, whom they cajoled, until the people awoke from their political delirium, and discovered the misery and distress which threatened to involve this country in anarchy. On the first opportunity the people refused to support the Whigs at the general election of 1842, on the question of Free Trade, they were forced to resign office, and Sir R. Peel was invited by the Queen to replace Lord Melbourne. The Whigs did not retire from choice, but from necessity, and Sir R. Peel lately did the same; but before he resumed office, if he had changed his Protectionist for Free Trade opinions, he should have consulted the electors, if they continued their confidence. Here is another example of a sacrifice of principle to a retention of office! The Tories are more practised legislators; and are better

adapted to conduct the Government of England, from their political honesty of purpose. The ability of the Whigs rests more in their speeches than in their legislative wisdom. A patriotic government is the "one thing needful;" and it will be "such-like" that a general election will restore to office.

The writer here remarks, that Mr. Secretary Gladstone is an example of political wisdom, during events of difficulty. The Right hon. Secretary for the colonies has been neither "active" nor "passive" during the agitation of Free Trade: his address to the electors of Newark might be interpreted in a *non-natural sense*; I mean, it is impossible to say, from the contents of that address, that he stood pledged to support Free Trade; and the writer thinks that Mr. Gladstone has neither said or done anything to prevent him from retaining the seals of office, and presenting himself before the most Protectionist constituency as *their representative* to Parliament. The writer considers Mr. Gladstone and Sir R. Vyvyan an equal match for Sir R. Peel and Sir James Graham! that Lord George Bentinck has "outrun" Lord John Russell; that Mr. D'Israeli has displayed great genius and considerable powers of eloquence; and, as it applies to Sir R. Peel, the quotation is correct, "that Benjamin's portion *was twice as much* as any of *theirs*"; that Mr. Stafford O'Brien's talents are equal to Viscount Palmerston's; that Mr. G. S. Smythe, of the Foreign Office, stands unpledged to Free Trade, having given only a silent vote; and is a rival worthy of Viscount Morpeth; that Mr. Miles is not inferior to Mr. Labouchere; that Sir R. Inglis (if with half the vigilance and fidelity he administers the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer), he regards the national character and conscience; that

the national revenues will be in prosperity and safety ; that those young noblemen—the Duke of Rutland's sons—will reflect honour on a paternal Government ; that it only requires the assistance of the illustrious Dukes of Newcastle, Buckingham, Portland, and Richmond—of Lords Stanley and Ashburton, &c., to form a cabinet of constitutional statesmen. The Earl of Ellenborough is not pledged to Sir R. Peel's Bill. From the display of statesmanlike ability his lordship has manifested in the discharge of the important office of First Lord of the Admiralty, England has reason to be proud of regaining her maritime ascendancy ; and the Sovereign, the writer predicts, will, ere a distant day, confer on Lord Ellenborough the office of Prime Minister.

The writer has spoken of Mr. Gladstone and of Mr. G. S. Smythe as delicately situated in their official capacity with respect to the subject of Free Trade ; what is the writer justified to say of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington ? In alluding to his Grace, the writer wishes to speak in terms of reverence and gratitude. The Duke of Wellington has constantly proved the most anxious interest and desire to promote the welfare of Great Britain and Ireland, and, on a recent occasion, testified his devotedness to the Throne : rather than leave his Sovereign without the aid of a ministry, his Grace consented to resume the office of Commander-in-Chief. His Grace was not alarmed into a resignation ; nor, from his Grace's speeches, is the writer able to deduce any partiality for Free Trade, nor any concession to the merits of Sir R. Peel's Corn Bill—beyond the introduction of that measure to the House of Lords. His Grace has maintained a dignified course of political conduct, illustrative of his Grace's valour and virtues, as a



matured warrior and statesman. His Grace, is perhaps implicated, but has never recommended the repeal of the Corn Laws. In the event of a Protectionist cabinet replacing the present Ministry, Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington will, no doubt, remain in his Grace's present position as Commander-in-Chief; that his Grace will lend the aid of his valuable experience and illustrious services to protect British agriculture, from its intimate connection with the welfare of the state—may God grant his Grace years of health and prosperity to witness the British soil yielding the fruits of increase, and securing the happiness of the British nation. The writer will not believe, until he has experience to the contrary, that the encouragement of Free-Trade-principles is congenial to his Grace's Conservative principles—that, rather, they are most repugnant to his Grace's sense of political honour and justice. The resuming the Corn Law debate on Monday will justify the writer's assertion of his Grace's consistency! It is extraordinary that the writer, in 1842, on the occasion of a general election, before the expulsion of the Whigs, expressed himself favourable to Lord Stanley's pretensions for the office of Prime Minister, and said: "Sir R. Peel ought to prefer the course of an independent Member of Parliament, rather than to bind himself by official ties to any political obligations; Sir R. Peel has proved himself, not a candid, but a *deceitful friend*."

Give me the stern, erect, and manly foe,  
 Who I can meet, perhaps may turn the blow;  
 But from all ills, good Heaven thy wrath can deal,  
 Save me! oh! save me! from Sir Robert Peel!!

The writer has copied Lord Brougham's political

character from its resemblance to Fadladeen, "Great Nasir, or Chamberlain of the Haram;" who considered himself not the least important personage of the pageant—the Corn Law Debate. Fadladeen was a judge of everything, from the pencilling of a Circassian's eyelids to the deepest questions of science and literature; from the mixture of a conserve of rose leaves to the composition of an epic poem; and such influence had his opinions upon the various tastes of the day, that all the cooks and poets of Delhi stood in awe of him. His political conduct and opinions were formed and founded upon that line of Sadi: "Should the prince, at noonday, say 'It is night,' declare that you behold the moon and stars! And his zeal for religion, of which Aurunzebe was a munificent protector, was about as disinterested as that of the goldsmith who fell in love with the diamond eyes of the idol of Juggernaut."—*Lalla Rookh*, p. 4—5.

The writer has committed a trespass on Mr. Thomas Moore's romance in selecting this portrait.

### CONCLUSION.

The Corn Bill having reached the House of Lords, and having been suffered a first time,—the question which naturally presents itself to the British press—is this important one: Has this Bill been constitutionally carried through the House of Commons with the consent of a majority of the class of electors, composed of all the constituencies of Great Britain and Ireland? if any doubt exists to the contrary?—which is strengthened by a *majority* of the elections, (since a Repeal of the Corn Laws has been debated in Parliament being decided in favour of protection!) noble Lords are respect-

fully reminded that the question of Free Trade has passed through the House of Commons—without the great body of the electors having been invited to record their votes, in one way or another! The constitutional course was this: if Sir R. Peel, as Prime Minister, thought proper to change his opinions respecting protection, and to resign his official trust into the hands of his Sovereign, on resuming the Premiership—the honourable mode of acting was to advise a dissolution; and an appeal to the country, to record the political sentiments of the nation! Heretofore, if a difference of opinion existed between the Upper and Lower Houses of Parliament, as before the passing of the Reform Bill,—that disunion was the consequence of the Lower House consulting, and acting in compliance of the popular will! but in the present instance—the question of the Repeal of the Corn Laws; Sir R. Peel's Corn Bill was proposed, and carried through the House of Commons against the consent of the people! and until the popular sentiments on the subject of Free Trade are ascertained by means of a general election, those members who voted for Sir R. Peel's Bill, are the representatives of the *places* they sit for—not of the electoral constituencies—who deputed them to vote according to their professed principles—at the time of election. The national voice has exercised no opinion on the Corn Bill! The House of Lords will act in perfect consistency with its own dignity, and uphold its constitutional character, by deciding to delay the further progress of the Corn Bill until some legitimate means of consulting the electoral constituencies has been tried, and an appeal made to a *general election*, on a subject which concerns the most important interests of the British nation; otherwise the

unconstitutional course which was adopted in the House of Commons, assuming the sense of the majority of the electors to be in favour of Free Trade, without appealing to the electoral voice to decide the question, will be sanctioned by the House of Lords. The repeal of the Corn Laws amounts to a total abrogation of the existence, duties, and privileges of the House of Lords ; its deadly effect will destroy the value of landed estates, deprive property of its revenues, and the cultivation of the soil of any beneficial returns and profits ; its disastrous influence will reduce the nobility to insignificance, and the clergy and laity to destitution. It concerns the House of Lords to "take the sense" of the "country" first. If the electoral mass had returned to Parliament a majority of representatives favourable to the Corn Laws, such an intimation of popular enthusiasm in favour of Free Trade would have deserved respect ; and the House of Lords, acting on constitutional and patriotic grounds, might have been pleased to acquiesce in the policy of the scheme ! But on the present occasion the British peers are invited to deliberate on a question which concerns "their own" and the "people's" adversity (proposed to the House of Commons without the consent of the people) and to adopt a measure whose nature is revolutionary, whose tendency is social discord and convulsion, whose aim is the overthrow of the constitution.

THE END.





PRICE, PROFIT, AND RENT.

[REDACTED]

1950

**THE BATTLE OF THE PLOUGHSHARES.**

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**PRICE, PROFIT, AND RENT:**

**THEIR MUTUAL RELATION IN THE**

**PROSPECTS OF BRITISH AGRICULTURE.**

**BY**

**A LANDOWNER AND A FARMER.**

“ ‘The purpose you undertake is *dangerous* : too great for the counterpoise of so great an opposition.’ ‘Say you so ! But I tell you, my Lord Fool, that out of this nettle *Danger* we pluck this flower *Safety* ! ’ ”

Hen. IV., Pt. I, Act II.



**LONDON :**

**JOHN OLLIVIER, 59 PALL MALL.**

**1846.**





## PRICE, PROFIT, AND RENT.

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**THERE** is an old saying, "Man's necessity is God's opportunity," the meaning of which, interpreted in accordance with Natural Laws, appears to be, that when a man has done kicking and struggling and doing his utmost to drown himself in the waters of affliction, the very exhaustion of his own suicidal efforts is often found to save him from the catastrophe which his previous conduct was surely hastening: as we used sometimes to hear it said, when people were in the habit of riding on Stage-coaches, that if death or danger stare you in the face outside a boat that has been capsized, or a coach that is going to be, the safest thing to do is to *do nothing* but 'keep quiet and stick to the Vehicle.'

Indeed this steady and self-commending advice of the 'Brighton Coachman,' appears far from inapposite to the present critical-seeming juncture for that large and respectable part of the community who put themselves down as 'connected with Agriculture.' The utter and sudden abandonment

of a system of financial policy which has been in undisturbed, though varied, operation and respect, for the last thirty years, and though originating in the uninspired wisdom of George Canning and Charles Grant, has been guarded and enshrined rather with the religious jealousy due to some sacred Relic, than as a fabric bearing the infirm stamp of human ingenuity—the explosion, I say, of this bubble, after the pertinacious blowing of so many mouths, for so many years, may well cause a little consternation in the minds of men; whether, (according to their tone of intellect,) from astonishment that it should ever have evaporated, or that it should ever have endured so long.

I remember being taken, in the Island of Madeira, to see a Cliff which rises in perpendicular escarpment to the stupendous height of two thousand feet out of the sea, and presents as clean a section from top to bottom as if it had been sliced by a guillotine, shewing such regular horizontal bands of geological strata, that one could almost fancy it a suggestion of ‘Nature’s own’ for the pattern of a waistcoat: about midway up there was a little shred of a thing like a bit of white chip clinging to the naked rock, as if it did not exactly belong to it, or know what business it had there, but was *afraid to let go*, from such a desperate height, with the Atlantic boiling in the hideous chasm below. On enquiry I was told that it was the solitary remnant and sad record of a human attempt to quarry a beautiful vein of red granite

that ran along the middle of the cliff, by means of *a long series of scaling-ladders pinned to the face of the rock by iron staples from the sea-line upwards*: but that after quarrying successfully a sufficient quantity to build half a church, one disastrous blast prematurely ignited, sent a hundred and fifty pious Catholics and all their ladders, save this one, on such a downward errand, that they had time to count their beads to every Saint, and prepare themselves for Heaven, before they touched the Earth, or rather in their case, the Waters under it. I know not by what queer and involuntary analogy of thought it is that since the threatened demolition of the Sliding-scale, that blessed invention of man to save Providence the trouble of regulating the supply and price of corn to Englishmen, my mind's eye, wearied of wandering over the promised waste of plough-deserted acres and a bisected Rental, has glanced back with strange pertinacity to that sublime but ill-fated Rock, and has confused, dream-like, the shred of 'Protection' that the Session of 1846 will leave behind it, with that remnant of a goodly line of scaling-ladders hanging, like an epitaph, upon the marble face of Cabo Girão: or why the question, after the lapse of many years, should occur again to my mind, that I put to my companion, a clever Portuguese, (now a leading member of the Cortes) "Why they didn't commence operations *from the top*, which was readily attainable on the land side, and where the ladders could be well secured, and let down the stone by pullies? He

looked brightly at me for a moment, and then with a clouded face, and replying in French, for reasons that were standing around us, said, "Dieu ! Je ne sais pas, à moins que de faire rien que de travers, comme nous," 'God knows ! but the Portuguese *begin everything at the wrong end !*'

This was indeed, as Mark Tapley says, "dreadful true : " but I hope to shew in the course of a few pages, that there are still besides the Portuguese some other Nations upon earth, too dangerous to name, who do sometimes make mistakes not unanalogous with the sliding-scale—I beg pardon, the climbing-scale I mean—of these poor masons.

For thirty years *We* too have been climbing and 'scaling' after a *hopeless quarry*. Ignorant of the fact that *Price is a Result and not a Cause*, we have been making laws to keep up—or if you please, to keep steady—the price of the greatest and most important article of commerce in the world, from the ludicrous idea that by raising the price we could raise the profit ! just as a child sticks a full-blown flower into its garden by the stalk, expecting it to grow, unaware that its beauty and fragrance are *the effect* of a mysterious but natural and wholesome process of vegetable action, and that if he wants the pretty flower he must plant the ugly root.

*Profit*, which is the object of all trade, *has no permanent dependance on the price of the article* : it has not even a direct relation with it : for the profit will sometimes be as great, or even greater, when the

price is lowered, in consequence either of some new invention, or better economy of production, or the successful application of capital on a larger scale, either of which three causes will enable the producer to sell the article at a lower price, and yet obtain more profit. This is a matter of daily instance, before our very eyes, in every trade : and was never better shewn than it now is in Agriculture. If I drain a field which used to yield me twenty bushels to the acre, and by an outlay of five pounds to the acre (the ordinary cost of drainage) make it yield me thirty, (by no means an uncommon increase) with the same quantity of seed manure and labour ; it is a mere matter of calculation to see that I can afford to sell that corn much cheaper than before, (after deducting the interest of my expended capital), and yet realize a far greater profit ; and what is more, could afford to pay a better rent. This may be such a startling paradox to those who have never much considered the subject before, that I must beg leave to be a little tiresome and technical, by explaining in detail the evidence of the fact that *neither the Farmer's Profit nor the Landlord's Rent, depends upon THE PRICE OF CORN.*

I will first take the Evidence of Drainage, perhaps in our wet climate the most extensive and important of all, as the foundation of *increased produce on a limited space.* I have drained many fields, at an expense of between four and five pounds an acre, which previously denied nearly one third of their surface to the purposes of vegetation, through

the following cause. On land that has a clay sub-soil, it is an old practice extending over the greater part of England to elevate the soil by repeated ploughings, into ridges from five to ten yards wide. Six yards is a common width. The object is, to keep the ridges comparatively dry by making the Furrows that divide them, channels for the escape of the surface water, which trickling as from a low-pitched roof of a house, keeps that portion of the ridge which is near the Furrow in a state of perpetual saturation, increasing with the proximity to the channel of escape. The consequence is, that in many cases, for a yard's width next to the furrow, the seed either never germinates, or forms no head, or produces such a quality of grain as spoils the sample. In short, a yard on each side of every ridge is like waste ground at harvest-time, after receiving the same quantity of seed and labour as the rest, at sowing time: consequently two yards out of every six (i.e. one third of the whole field) are more or less unproductive, but as costly as the rest, and therefore a virtual drawback upon the profit of the two thirds that remain productive. I might show, for reasons too lengthy to enter upon except in an agricultural treatise, that even that grain which grows upon the drier part of the ridge is not of such quality or in such quantity as if the land had an even surface, as Nature intended. An application of capital to the extent of £5. an acre, in under-drainage, cures this evil, in point of fact, by *laying the furrow under ground*: from this

time the land can be laid level, the tillage of it becomes much lighter and more effective, can be continued in the winter as well as summer, two horses can do what four did before ; less manure, less seed, and less labour will produce greater crops of better quality, the turnip-crop can take the place of the bare summer-fallow,\* and consequently more food for winter-stock is produced, and therefore more manure for future crops ; and what with the redeemed space, improved mechanical texture and chemical disposition of the soil, it is no uncommon result for the succeeding wheat crop to be *nearly doubled in quantity*. Supposing the general correctness of this description of drainage and its effects, which I do not think any farmer of a wet clay soil will dispute, can it be questioned that the produce of a field so improved, after paying the interest of the outlay, would leave the cultivator a greater profit, though sold at a great reduction of price ? To every agricultural improvement the same reasoning applies. Every improved implement, every new and cheaper or more effective manure, every new description of seed of more prolific qualities, every improved rotation-of-crops, every improvement to the texture or fertility of the soil ; every œconomy in the home-operations of the Farmery, by steam-power, compendious machinery, increased support for winter-stock, healthier modes of rearing and quicker modes of fattening—in a

\* The expense of which alone, including the year's Rent, is estimated by farmers at £5. an acre.



word, *every advancement of the power of mind over matter, by the aids of science and of skill in its application*—tends to one common and providential end, increase of produce, and at the same time œconomy of production ; the elements at once of abundance and cheapness to the consumer, and of profit to the producer : and the greater the profit to the producer, *the more the land becomes worth to hire*, the larger therefore becomes the Rent per acre to the Landlord, as every acre becomes more productive to the Tenant ; and this in the very face of those causes which are thus, under the wisdom and beneficence of God, ever tending to make the produce cheaper. But mark ! the rapid increase of population, in a flourishing country,—and there are nearly a thousand additional mouths to feed every time the sun rises upon our own,—is constantly pressing upon this increasing supply, and keeping up the price that capital, science, and skill are ever tending to lower. *Price* therefore is merely a result ! It is the effect of a constantly progressive demand pressing upon a constantly increasing supply.

What then becomes of the childish policy that mistaking high prices for the cause of high profits, instead of seeing in them the result of an increasing demand, would madly diminish that demand by attempting to enhance artificially the price of the article ? The less capital and science are applied to Agriculture, the higher prices will remain and the more restricted the demand. Let capital and science have their full operation, and you will have higher

profits and larger rents, though *with a lower price of corn*. In fact the price of corn and the value of land, have a constant inverse tendency with respect to each other: the former getting cheaper as more can be grown on an acre, and the acre becoming more valuable as it becomes able to produce a greater crop. Increase your consumption by Trade and Commerce, and all those great national works that occasion employment and support population, and then you will keep up the price of corn as *the effect of an increasing demand*: but do not mistake the flower for the root, and imagine that by making in the first instance an artificial price of corn, you will improve the business of the farmer, or the resulting rent to the landowner.

One should suppose that the simple and eternal truth of such a principle as this was trite and visible, usque ad nauseam. In point of practice it is lamentably the reverse: but it is only one out of many instances moral and social as well as political, in which like the hasty child, mistaking effects for causes, we plant the gaudy flower instead of the flower-producing root, thinking in our greedy ignorance to substitute a more compendious human process for Nature's sure and fertile operations. But there is an universal analogy belonging to Truth. It is as sure in Politics as in Morals, that selfishness recoils upon itself. "More haste worse speed" might be written as the Commentary upon the whole history of those laws which, whether in 'Manufactures or Agriculture' (as if Agriculture were not a manufacture!) have been framed in sui-

cidal ignorance to enthrone High Price as the cause, instead of waiting for it as the effect, of Prosperity.

But this wearisome discussion is now likely to be set at rest for ever. The question for Agriculturists is no longer whether a 'protected' price be a blessing or a curse—whether human or divine laws are the surest agents of prosperity,—whether restricted or extended commerce be the best field for productive labour—whether *the area of the British Isles or of the whole world* be the best insurance-office for permanent steadiness of value, statistical equality of annual supply, and steady progression of demand,—whether it be the interest and duty of the wealthiest, the most industrial, most naval and commercial empire on the globe to set the example of closed or open ports,—these questions are consigned to the tomb of all the Capulets. The true question that remains to every rational and practical mind, that has the wisdom to look for the best of all prophecy in the history of the Past—is this, What are now the prospects of British Agriculture?

Is not Great Britain the first commercial kingdom upon earth, and Agriculture the first—the most essential—the greatest of all commerce. Its subject is the foremost of all human wants. "Give us this day our daily bread!" Its object is the supply of that which we are instructed even by Divine Command to pray for as our first and fundamental physical necessity, as coming in the divine order of Nature before everything else! The 'Intellectual' cannot devise, the 'Moral' cannot practise, till the

'Physical' be supplied. Let the Merchant, or the Capitalist, the lord of Mills or Mines, or the Railroad King, count with what pride he may the thousands that he employs and feeds, or the Millions that he owns, the profession of the humblest farmer comes in the truthful and everlasting order of Nature before his own. He may smile in his ephemeral elevation, at this Eternal Precedency; but he pays to it the best of all Tribute, the sincerest of all deference, in the daily fact that he cannot exist without it. Is it then a question of small moment to ask, What are now the prospects of such an interest as that of the British Agriculturist?

For thirty years we have been under A GREAT MISTAKE. Let it be granted! To err is human: and it is through the preference and reliance upon human wisdom that we have erred. To go further back is to go back to a period of War, when the "times are out of joint." It is only during peace that political and social causes produce their natural effects undisturbed. Let us retrace that portion of our history that is really available for effective retrospect. During that period we have seen Agriculture the victim of every wind that blew, an uncertain Business, a gambling Trade, and therefore *an insecure investment for Capital on a large scale*. If harvests were good, the farmer was ruined by a home-glut: if bad, the commerce of the nation was paralyzed by the withdrawal of its circulating medium in a golden effort to reap where we had not

sown—to bring to life, impromptu, a foreign trade that we had legislated to smother. When we had a surplus, we could not sell out of doors, because we had barricaded our doors and windows, and raised an artificial atmosphere, whose lowest point seemed Fever-heat compared with the healthy temperature around us, which our timid blood shrunk from the encounter of, though protected as we were *by our natural clothing*. We forgot, or never knew, that the healthier warmth, the more genial glow was to be won by bold exertion in that free air that we dreaded, and under that universal sunshine that we had been shutting out. Weak and few as we thought ourselves, we failed to notice that every loaf that our formidable besiegers threw us from without, *caused more famine to them than plenty to us*. We resisted the irresistible conclusion that we might have derived from this single fact. When every Port in Europe was powerfully acted upon by our lightest demand, when the price-current of the granaries of Dantzic, Hamburgh, Königsburg, Stettin, in the North, and Odessa in the South, sunk and rose with the most pulse-like responsiveness to every fickle throb from the Heart and Centre of the demand and supply of the world, we still shut our eyes to the self-evident conclusion that those whom we had such enormous power to influence must have little power to act upon us, and that for every shilling they could pull down our ‘Prices,’ the effort must raise their own in a five-fold ratio. We did not believe this. No, no ! our mistrustful eye,

cunning but not wise, wandered in morbid imagination over the unsolicited fecundity of the banks of the Vistula, and pictured to our pockets a Conspiracy of Nations to burst our granaries with corn grown without labour on fields cultivated without cost ! Such was our belief ; and some of us (God save the mark !) believe it still : and knit the thoughtful brow, and shake the sapient head, at the solemn prospect of a Russian invasion of serf-threshed corn, more poisonous than slave-grown sugar ! “ Daring Pen ! ” I hear them mutter, “ that after the agricultural experience of years, that should have taught you the discretional part of valour, venture to stick your Rick-ribbon on a May-pole, and shout your solitary and feeble defiance to the frightful rivalry of the Transylvanian Plough ! do you not know that the poorest country can always grow corn the cheapest ? ”

“ No, i’faith ! I lack some of thy instinct ! ” It has always appeared to me, on the contrary, that in every competition of trade the weakest go to the wall ! that Capital and Industry and Skill, tax and torture them how you may, can undersell poverty, and idleness, and ignorance. I was brought up in the orthodox creed that ‘ one Englishman can beat three Frenchmen,’ to say nothing of Russians and Bohemians : and as Swords are out of fashion now, of course I ‘ turn it on’ to Ploughshares ; for it would be a pity not to realize upon something so pleasant an abstraction. So if you want to know the whole English of my opinion, I’ll tell you what it is. That

in a very few years from "this ignorant present time," England will be the Corn-mart, as she is already the Money-mart, of the world. For what is money but the representative of corn, the first and chiefest thing that man must exchange it for ; and in which, try what else he may, he is bound by the Law of Nature, to measure its ultimate and effective value. And what have we been doing for thirty years ? trying to invert the natural order of things, and make money the governor of corn instead of corn the governor of money. And what has been the success of our attempt ? to dislocate every joint and knuckle of our corn and money-market too, and subject ourselves to reiterating and ruinous alternations in each, producing disastrous variations of cent. per cent. in their struggle, against the blind perversity of man, to recover their relative and respective value ; involving themselves and each other in an enforced perplexity and mystery of cross-relation which not even the twin-arrogance of 'Gemini,' the Castor and Pollux of the Brummagem Philosophy, with their sharp eyes for a Mare's-nest, could disentangle, to their own, much less the world's, intelligence.

What then will be the first effect of our abandonment of this contracted policy, by the announcement to the world that we have shaken off the nightmare of ignorant apprehension, this visionary bird of Panic, that has brooded so long over the waving Corn-fields of England ;—that, taxed as we are, we are ready to meet them in a 'fair field and no favor,'

and to beat them in Agriculture as, in spite of these same taxes, we have beaten them in everything else? ‘When the lion wakes, the forest trembles.’ The quotations of prices-current will instantly rise at every Corn-port in Europe, never to sink again as the closed warehouses of England have made them sink before.—But this will make *their* prices higher? To be sure it will! it will make the price of *everything* higher abroad, and so compel ‘the foreigner’ (hateful word! as if the interest of all nations was not *identical*, if they only knew it!) to meet us in the great struggle of Capital applied to every art and every business that produce the necessaries, the comforts, or the luxuries of human life. True, *so long as we remain an importing nation*, our corn-prices will ever remain higher than those of exporting countries. Our prices will be the prices of the world, plus the expense of shipment, freight, transhipment, harbour-dues, and warehouse-expenses, besides the importer’s profit. But how long will that continue? Why until our Capital, Science, and Skill, overtaking even our own immensely advancing population and increasing demand, shall beat ‘the foreigner’ on his own ground, as we did at Cressy, Blenheim, and Waterloo, as we have done in Cotton, Silk, and Woollen, and everything else, except Politeness, which we hope to do. ‘But to beat them in corn-growing, we must be able to undersell them, and that can only be done by *low prices*?’ (“*Still harping on my daughter!*”) Why to be sure we



must! But have I not shewn that every application of capital to land tends to this, by increasing the produce, and with it the farmer's profit and the landlord's rent? When were the gigantic fortunes made in cotton and our other national trades? When invention, and ingenuity, and capital had cheapened the article and increased the customers a thousand-fold. For every rich man that has bread enough, there are thousands and tens of thousands of poor ones that have *not enough*. What is true of bread, was only *less urgently true of cotton-stockings*: and is true of everything else that hands can produce and money can buy. 'But the productive powers of land are limited?' Are they so? Who says so? I have myself raised five-and-thirty bushels to an acre on land that before produced but fifteen of inferior quality, by an outlay of £5. to an acre in a *permanent* improvement: and how many millions of acres are there in England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland, which only want the same expenditure to produce the same results? But let it not be replied that wet lands alone (though that admission were quite enough) are capable of this increase. Let the Cottagers and Allotment-Tenants of England say whether they have not grown on their quarter-acre, by a greater *proportion* of manure, and deeper and better cultivation, at the rate of three times per acre the ordinary produce of the neighbourhood. They are in respect of their few square yards of earth, greater Capitalists in labour and manure, than most of us

are who cultivate acres by the hundred or thousand. It is this, and not 'the spade,' that makes the difference. And the rents they pay are notoriously high. The limit to the productive capabilities of the soil was never found yet, and never will be.

"What, if any," says one of our agricultural periodicals this year, "will be the effects of the expected change, not upon class or person, but upon agricultural *practice* ? It might seem almost presumptuous to ask or guess, almost idle to dilate upon, had we nothing but surmise or conjecture to proceed upon or offer. But we have more. We have the history of past practice : of the causes, of every description, that have operated to retard or to advance its improvement. And in the review which presents itself, our eye is caught by one or two leading features that have ever and anon solicited our attention and claimed our repeated remark throughout our progress in the journey we have traversed. One is the utterly disproportionate application of capital to agriculture, as compared with all the other great objects of human enterprise, and investments of human labour and invention ; the other is a matter of closer detail, and lying more out of a cursory view, but powerfully significant ; it may be comprised in the proposition that the farmer's attention has been hitherto called rather to *the price that he can obtain for a given quantity, than the amount that he can grow upon a given space*. We affirm with regret this proposition, and we appeal to our readers if the remark be not true in reference to the past ; and if true, whether it do not betoken *a screw loose somewhere* in the movement of the agricultural machine, interrupting its due and proper action, and distorting it from its due and proper object and purpose as the means of producing *an indefinitely increasing supply to a constantly increasing demand*.

"Observe the effects of the application of capital and invention to other arts. They shew themselves in improved machinery, greater produce, *lower price, and increased profits* ! Is

this true or is it not ? as a practical and striking fact, is it true or is it not, that the fortunes made by cotton-spinning and calico-printing have increased and extended enormously since the improved machinery and æconomised labour have multiplied the produce and reduced the price to an extent astonishing to contemplate ? Is it true or is it not, that the double blessing of lower price to the consumer and greater profit to the producer, have gone hand in hand ? And if it be true, as it is well known to be, that *profit does not depend upon price*, in regard to that which we "put on;" why should it be otherwise in regard to that which we "eat and drink?" Why should that which is an axiom to the one be a paradox to the other ? Both are trades in which capital invests itself in human labour, employed through the medium of machinery upon the task of production. Why should a truth which is positive to the Loom be negative to the Plough ? The productive capabilities of each are alike unknown, and as far as human knowledge has reached, unlimited ; the latter perhaps more surely than the former. What is the chilling cause that arrests investment in the elder branch of human art,—agriculture,—and sells its birthright to the younger,—manufactures ? We pause for a reply, but it is the pause not of fear but of hope ; of hope not illuded by future expectations, but founded upon past experience : and truly the experience of the past ten years has been instructive beyond all former retrospect. With a population increasing at the astounding rate of nearly a thousand a day, a thousand mouths to feed each day beyond the number of the day before ; with the acreage of our little island cut and sliced, and taken up in every direction by the overbearing Railroad, that swallows two thousand acres to a hundred miles, how have we met the increased and increasing demand ? By largely increased importation ? Evidently not. Have our fields then grown larger ? No : but they have *produced more*. The example of the few, and the encouragement of that example and its results, have not been lost. The movement is but in its infancy, but it bids fair to

attain a stature that shall vindicate its place among the rapid and gigantic growths that modern times have seen in other arts, and exemplify the scientific and œconomic truths that their progress has established.”\*

One little circumstance, in the agricultural history of the past year alone, may perhaps be adduced in illustration of the likelihood of this expectation. In this one year the farmers of Great Britain imported *one hundred and thirty-seven thousand three hundred* tons of Guano, at an expense of a million and a quarter sterling! This was of course independent of many other manures annually imported, besides the usual supplies of our own farm-yards. The peculiar value of this manure (guano) lies in its extreme portability, and its consequent application to distant fields, or to hill-sides inaccessible to the ponderous dung-cart. It seemed incredible till proved by actual experience, that a sufficient quantity of this inestimable fertilizer could be conveyed in a single wheelbarrow to manure far more effectively a space of land which would have required eight or ten cart-loads of Farm-Yard Manure drawn up hill by three horses. By its use a single man does in an hour what would otherwise have required three horses and a man a whole day: and besides this saving of labour, the quantity required to manure an acre costs about one-fifth of the supposed expense (for nobody knows it) of that supplied from the yard: and it will be borne in mind that the crops it

\* Agricultural Gazette, Jan. 3rd, 1846.

raises, upon the outlying or hilly fields of a Farm, almost out of reach of manure before, are a permanent boon to the future cultivation, by the straw left behind from this extra produce. The importation of this and other manures, is precisely analogous to that of raw cotton or any other produce required and worked up by our manufacturers, by which they have supplied and undersold with the manufactured article the markets of the very countries from whence it was imported. How is this accomplished? By our superiority in capital, industry, and skill. Does any true friend to Agriculture desire that it alone should remain an exception to our victorious course in every other art? or prefer to believe that there is any inherent and anomalous peculiarity in the manufacture of Corn that is to make it for ever a contradiction to the principles that apply to them? Our present agricultural position, our present production, paltry as it is to what it might be, is a practical refutation of the equally unfounded and unpatriotic assumption. Can the Iron-works of Liege or Huys furnish a plough to compete with Howard of Bedford, or Ransome of Ipswich? Do the plains of Hungary or Pultowa crumble to dust under such an Implement as 'Crosskill's Clod-crusher,' which epitomizes the work of days into half as many hours? or yield their stubborn virtues to such persuasive arguments as those of the 'Uley Cultivator' or 'Reid's Sub-pulverizer?' Can the bruited names of Thäer and Liebig (all honour to them notwithstanding!) stand alone against the

gifted tongues and pens of Johnstone, Playfair, Buckland, Daubeny, Henslow, Pusey, Morton, Rham, Hillyard, and a dozen more ardent Pioneers of Agricultural Science who can scarcely keep a-head of the van of practical experimentalists that are crowding our periodicals with their valued offerings to the Infant Art? The very questions suggest their own answer: for they shew that our manufacturing skill has already begun to address itself to Agriculture with such power, that we are already perhaps (if we only knew it!) the most advanced among the Nations, both in Mechanical and Chemical Agriculture. Then why not let us know it? Why box ourselves up from the rest of mankind, as if, after beating them in every other art, we shrunk from facing them in this? The truth is, that the agriculturists as a body do not know their own power. We have distrusted it for thirty years, and are diffident of ourselves from want of practice in the wide and healthy field of human competition. We are separated from each other by our acres, and do not act together and learn our united force, with the esprit de corps which nerves and animates the more social and concentrated energies of our manufacturing brethren, and makes their efforts irresistible. We have substituted a reciprocally injurious and disastrous home-competition in our childish attempt to shut out the common and legitimate object of our emulation. Let any body who doubts this, read the admirable joint-enquiry of Mr. Morton and Mr.

Trimmer, recently published. The names of such writers are a guarantee as well for the capability and fidelity of their research, as for the practical value of their conclusions: and they show by a close and quantitative system of analysis, that would drive conviction into a gate-post, that instead of making 'the foreigner' pay duty to us, we are paying duty to each other. Peter who farms a Barley Soil in Norfolk, pays duty for his Bread, and every Bean he gives his horses, to Paul who can grow nothing else on his stiff clay in Warwickshire; and who if he were not the best-tempered fellow in the world, would drink confusion to Peter and his Barley-growing brethren of Norfolk, and the Hop-growers of Kent into the bargain, every time he puts a glass of *treble-taxed* Beer to his lips.

The Oat-grower of the Lincolnshire Fens must not grumble forsooth at the tribute he pays to the Dairymen of Cheshire, Gloucester, Wilts, and Somerset, because he makes their Landlords pay it back again in the duty he levies on every bushel of oats they give to their Hunters or Cart-horses. We have established amongst ourselves a system of mutual pillage and deception, in which the Landlord and Farmer do not gain by any, while the poor Labourer suffers by all. His only capital are his thews and sinews; and the more Food and Raiment he can get for their loan, the better for him. The preposterous assumption that their value rises and falls with the price of wheat, would be too

much honoured by a new refutation. It might as well be said that the price of Locomotives rises and falls with the price of Coke—*because they consume it!* Hands, like every other production of nature, are valuable as they are in request, and must be paid for accordingly.

But we must not wander amongst the tombs of arguments that are out of date. Like the Cuckoo in July, their note where it is not extinguished is so flattened as to be intolerable to every ear attuned to the truthful harmonies of Nature. Our business is with the Future, not the Past. Indeed the bare enunciation of the Text that the English Agriculturist must begin to think whether he cannot manufacture Corn cheap enough to undersell the foreigner in his own market, is a monster proposition of such voracious look, that it must either, like Aaron's rod, swallow up all the others, or be swallowed itself. It gives and takes no quarter. It either exterminates every vestige of the old doctrines about keeping up prices, or they must all come back together, and like the poisoned monarch push the usurper from the throne. But they must first 'make the river run backward to its source' instead of onward to the ocean, by falsifying every principle deduced from the experience of other manufactures: for the Anomaly of Agriculture cannot stand alone.

"We would exhort those," say Mr. Morton and Mr. Trimmer, at the conclusion of their elaborate and able investigation into the effects of the Corn Laws—"in whom the approaching



sheer impossibility of forming one of their own. The panic-cry of 'The Danes!' in the ears of our Saxon Ancestors was not more hateful or terrific, though much more reasonable, than that of 'Abolition of the Corn Laws!' to their gregarious descendants: and both will live in the after-pages of the Philosophy of History as memorable testimonies of the permanency of error, the influence of an obstinate and groundless fear, and of *the power of one bold mind* to dispel it like a dream. Of all the interests of the State, the Property of the Landlord was the most injured by the delusion that gave the power to this fatal and perpetual cry: whilst with the pertinacity, but not the knowledge of the Spartan boy, he hugged to his breast the fox that was preying upon his vitals. Those who have resided or travelled in ill-governed Countries (blessed be God, the Englishman must travel for that experience!) know that of all depreciating influences on the Value of land, insecurity of Tenure through liability to State interference, is the most withering. In Portugal and Spain this constant apprehension cuts at the root of all improvement, investment, and enjoyment. Like the English Tenant-at-Will, the Proprietor feels, under such a government, more like the wandering Bedouin or the nomad Scythian, than like a man who can reside, enjoy and bequeath, and the aspect of their Estates, though of matchless fertility, is a reflecting mirror of the demon-face of Insecurity. Next in mischief to the fear of what a Government will do, is the fear of

*what it will undo.* Parliament *could*——**ABOLISH THE CORN LAWS!** Why then the supposed value of every estate in the kingdom was balanced upon the annual “Yes” or “No” of the Legislature; for its honest value, whether to hold or sell, was *its value to let*; (or Hudibras was very much mistaken.) Can any man doubt for a moment that when Parliament has ‘done its worst’—if that worst be found to be the very kindest thing it could do, (to put the proposition with modest hypothesis)—that every acre of every estate in the kingdom will be relieved from the groundless apprehensions of its cultivator and proprietor, and like an inverted equation, change the ‘minus’ term to ‘plus’? Will not property that is *Parliament-proof* be worth more than that which was not, or what is effectively the same conceived itself not to be, so? The apprehension itself, putting out of sight its truth or error, was a depressing influence on the value of property (from the very constitution of men’s minds) more serious than could be caused by a very considerable change in the market value of the produce; and the recovery from this typhoid prostration, would be no light account to credit against any reasonable fulfilment of the alarmist-prophecies. Sensitive as the pulse of the market may be, *men’s minds* are more so, and the apprehension of evil is ever more cruel in its effects than the evil itself, when it comes, if it ever do. The shadows that coming events cast before them are of monstrous dimensions: but the

destruction of the 'protective' system excites such terror, to calculate for themselves the extent to which these duties increase the cost of cultivation and the value of returns under that system of farming with which they are best acquainted. We have supplied some data ; the rest they possess themselves. They cannot enter fairly on the calculation without being convinced that to the Tenant, the System is on the whole more injurious than beneficial ; that to the labourer it is decidedly detrimental ; that no one can gain by it but the Landlord ; that *he cannot be permanently benefitted by that which injures the tenant and the labourer* ; that he often loses on one description of land what he seems to gain on another ; that his utmost supposed gains are *not to be compared with those which he would derive from the Security conferred on Agricultural pursuits by NATURAL PRICES* ; the increased confidence and energy that would attend them ; the INCREASED CAPITAL that would flow into them ; and the *increased Produce raised at diminished cost*, which these would call forth."

But these supposed gains on the part of the Landlord are worse than imaginary. Let any man who has watched the rise and fall of the Share-market, or the Corn-market, or of the value of 'Stock,' whether Commercial or Agricultural, say what one thing that he knows, has the most fatally depreciating effect upon property of every kind and description ? His answer will be, that of all other causes the panic-feeling of APPREHENSION is the most ruinously and *unreasonably* depressing. Let any Banker at the head of his Clerks, let any Commander at the head of his Army, let any human being raised above his fellow-men by the possession of Capital, Command, or Responsibility (and the first entails the other two) say what thing he dreads most,

as exercising over men's minds a power the most difficult to control or reason down? His answer will be the same. And who stands in a position more obnoxious to these influences than the Landlord? From the moment that he made his property the subject of Legislative 'protection' it has been the very sport of Parliament. Session after Session, as surely as the year came round, came Mr. Villiers with his lengthening minorities and speeches for "Repeal of the Corn Laws." The very sound of the words hung, like the Sword of Damocles, over every acre in Britain: and the fears of men, greater in proportion to their ignorance of the nature and extent of the possible calamity that approached them, beheld afar the coming evil with the magnifying distortion said to exist in the Horse's eye. No form of words was too comprehensively threatening, to paraphrase the expression—no collateral mischief too remote to be included in the overwhelming and national ruin that was to follow the expulsion from our Statute-book of this childish invention that was to regulate the most important commerce of the world, the Corn-trade of Britain, by the 'political acupuncture' of a joiner's rule. Its utter and signal failure in practice, freshly and increasingly developed in each succeeding year, whether of dearth or plenty, eluded notice solely from its intricacy and complication: like the renowned General Tom Thumb, it became great by its very littleness; and men willingly wore other men's opinions on the subject, like a Livery, from the hopeless trouble or

*lowered price of corn as an unanswerable argument for a lower Rent*, wisely suppressing the erroneous postulate which the Squire took for a granted axiom, to wit, that ‘Corn and Rent *must* fall together.’ And ‘if such things were done in the green, what should be done in the dry?’ if the rich Tenant was wise enough to wink at a national blunder which hurt him the less the more the Squire believed it, what should the poor one do who was constrained to sell in a glutted market his Michaelmas Wheat to pay his Michaelmas Rent, to whom reaping, threshing, selling and paying, were one continuous operation? Little knew he while he was cracking the cheeks of his winnowing-machine, to blow the dust out of his corn, and looking with fond credulity at *the August prices*, that there was *another machine at work* that would blow the dust back into his own eyes when *that second week in September* should come upon him, and with it the clearing out of every Bonded Warehouse in England, discharging upon the early market of the *poorer* farmer, the whole foreign accumulations of the year in “one little week.”

—————“Heu! quoties Fidem  
Mutatosque deos flebit, et aspera  
Nigris æquora ventis  
Emirabitur insolens,  
Qui nunc te fruitur credulus AURÊ,  
Qui *semper auream*, semper amabilem  
Sperat, NESCIUS AURÆ  
FALLACIS!”

Alas ! how oft the faithless tale,  
 The altered looks, shall he bewail !  
 The ruffled wave 'neath lowering gale \*  
 Who, love-lost, wondering sees !

Though now he clasps thy *golden* form !  
 And *ever golden*, ever warm,  
 Still fondly hopes thee, recks not harm !  
 Nor knows the fickle breeze !

But if the Landowner was the last to be convinced, he will be the first to be benefited, for Capital has quick ears for a sure Investment : tired of wandering to and fro, 'gathering' but little 'moss' upon the Railways, we shall soon see it give up travelling to the young and *inexperienced*, to settle down upon the goodly acres at home, and become a 'respectable country gentleman.' They need him, and will be grateful to him, Heaven knows ! Ask any Landlord, wise or simple, what is the whip that speeds the plough, what is the manure that doubles the crop of his best Tenants ? his answer will be, CAPITAL ! but who will freight his goods in a vessel that sails under false colours ? Who will invest his fortune where he dare not take a Lease ? The competition for Farms is great, but count out the applicants, and you will find it is the competition of Poverty not of Capital. Send your agent to assess the Rent at a 'Fair Valuation : ' his report will be a blind guess-work of "proviso and exception" upon Corn-law contingencies, upon the tender mercies of Parliamentary 'Protection,' which like

\* Query 'Sliding Scale ?'—*Printer's Devil*.

the vampyre fans its dreaming victim with the insidious breath of hope, while it draws away the source of life.

Is there no Protection in NATURE? Can the frail device of man protect more surely than HE can, who with unerring Wisdom and Beneficence has constituted the free intercourse of Nations, by the reciprocal interests and benefits of commerce, to be the Forge in which the Sword shall be beaten into the Plough-share? And shall we who have used so well the elder weapon, shrink coward-like from the nobler encounter, with every advantage on our side, and every good presage to cheer us on? We have crouched to the earth long enough, under this imaginary cannonade of Bread-balls from the batteries of 'the foreigner,' but the same spirit still lives which responded to the electric words that gave the welcome relief, and the same voice still speaks to give the altered charge—

*“Up FARMERS! and at 'em!”*



UPON THE

PROBABLE INFLUENCE

OF A

REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS,

UPON THE

TRADE IN CORN.



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LONDON:  
JAMES RIDGWAY, PICCADILLY,  
1846.





## ON THE CORN LAWS.

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It is contended, that a *free* trade in corn would be also a *regular* trade, in which capital would be securely and permanently invested, in which ships would be regularly and exclusively employed, for which foreign markets would be regularly prepared, for which foreign agriculturists would regularly provide by growing corn, not for their own countrymen, but to meet the demands of the external trade, which would thus be created ; and further, that the effect of this regular provision of produce, would give steadiness to prices, and supersede altogether the apprehensions of a scarcity from a deficient harvest at home, whether it was foreseen or not ; it would also prevent, as is asserted, those dangerous derangements of the currency which arise from the necessity of sudden and large im-

portations of corn from countries with which we have no regular or extensive commercial transactions.

These arguments, which have always been put prominently forward by the opponents of the Corn Laws, (as a reference to any of the former or recent Corn Law Debates, would immediately shew) appear to us to be untenable: we will give our reasons for thinking so.

They assume that a *free* trade, whether in corn or any other commodity, is also a *regular* trade, considering those terms in the operations of commerce, as absolutely convertible with each other. But it should be observed, that a *free* trade can only become *regular* in those cases in which the supply and the demand are equally so. Thus cotton is the production of countries whose seasons are much less irregular than our own: the variation in the annual produce is much less considerable than in the cereals of less genial regions: more than two-thirds of the American and most other crops are transferred to this country, where they compete with no rival produce, the same quantity or nearly so being required for several successive years for the purposes of our manufactures. Now the trade in this great staple of our manufacturing industry is *free*, because it is fettered by no duties either of import or export: it is also *regular*, because the supply and the demand are regular or nearly so: it requires every year nearly the same

amount of shipping : it is carried on generally by the same houses : it puts into action nearly the same machinery of production, transport and manufacture : and though the material, which is the basis of this important traffic, is subject to great variations of price, like all other productions which are, in any way, dependent upon the caprices of the seasons, even when they are much more fixed and regular than our own, yet it presents features of steadiness and regularity in its whole progress, which are rarely met with in the greater operations of commerce.

Again, the trades in sugar, coffee, and tea, though affected by fiscal regulations of a very complex kind, are sufficiently regular, presenting no very marked variations from year to year ; the trade also in French and other wines, and numberless other articles, though subject to duties which very greatly limit their consumption, is perfectly regular and steady : and the same observation may be extended to the trade in nearly every article of consumption, whether a necessary of life or not, which does not come into competition with the domestic produce, whether of our agriculture or our manufactures : but it may be safely asserted, that every trade, however free, ceases to be regular, whenever the demand for the material in which it deals, ceases to be regular in its quantity, and therefore in its price.

None of these essential conditions of a regular trade belong to a trade in corn, even if it was perfectly free and uncontrolled: our domestic produce is sufficient for our domestic consumption, in two years at least out of three: in the vicennial period from 1821 to 1840 inclusive, we find 13 years in which little or no corn was imported: in 1844, our produce was supposed to be equal to at least 14 months consumption: and rapid as is the increase of our population, and, we trust we may add likewise, of the comforts of the lower classes, yet the improvements of our agriculture have fully kept pace, (as we shall hereafter endeavour to shew) with the increase of the demands made upon our resources: and there is no reason to suppose, unless the advance of agricultural improvement, more particularly in draining, should be prematurely checked, that our produce, should not continue, for many years to come, to increase at least as rapidly as our population. There appears, therefore, to be wanting nearly every element of a regular trade for the importation of corn into England, inasmuch as the demand which might be considerable in one year, would cease altogether in the next.

Let us assume, however, by way of hypothesis, that capital should be permanently invested in the corn trade: that ships should be built and chartered for it: that they should proceed to those ports, in whatever quarter of the globe situated, from whence

corn could be most advantageously purchased : that they should continue to import, without reference to the state of our markets, as much corn as they could convey : let us assume, also, that their powers of annual importation were equal to one million quarters of wheat ; and let us inquire into the consequences which might be expected to follow from its operation.

For this purpose, let us farther assume, as an hypothesis merely, the average annual consumption of wheat in England to be 17 millions of quarters, and its average annual produce to be 16 millions ; and likewise that the capacity of consumption between a year of cheap corn and general prosperity, and one of dear corn and general suffering from want of employment and other causes, to vary from 19 to 15 millions ; and the produce between a year of the greatest abundance, and a year of the greatest scarcity to vary from 19 to 13 millions (suppositions which are probably not very far from the truth) ; and assuming, also, that our domestic produce, in a cycle of seven years, decreased annually by a million of quarters from its highest to its lowest amount : then it would follow that the uniform importation of a million of quarters would depress extremely the prices in the earlier years of the cycle, and would fail to prevent a famine in the two last. Such a trade in corn would assume, therefore, at one period, the character of a rash and

foolish speculation ; at another it would altogether fail to satisfy the wants of the population. It is hardly necessary to say, that the trade, in the earlier years of such a cycle, would be altogether abandoned ; whilst in the later, it would be greatly and rapidly extended.

Nor would these interruptions of the continuity of the corn trade be prevented by any other supposition which we can make, with respect to the succession of seasons of abundance and scarcity, even if they were alternate, the regularity of the trade could only be maintained by a system of storing the imported corn, to an extent, and with a loss, which would be ruinous to the importer : but it is hardly necessary to observe, that all calculations of the probable course of such a trade would be defeated by the real succession of the seasons.

Much stress has been laid upon the argument, that if foreign countries were secure of a market for their produce, which prohibitory duties would not arbitrarily close, they would always be prepared with stocks of corn sufficient for our wants, however great they might be : for they would be stimulated by the profits of the trade to extend their cultivation, so as to be prepared for the external as well as the domestic demand. It may be quite true, that as long as the prices of corn abroad should continue to rise, its cultivation would continue to extend : but the limit of such a change, as far as it depended

upon the English market, would be speedily attained: the whole amount of wheat which would annually be required to replace the average deficiencies of our harvests, would not exceed 1-50th part of the produce of Europe, a quantity quite sufficient to affect materially the markets which are at present easily accessible to us, but not to exercise a very great and permanent influence upon the productive powers of every region in the world to which our trade in corn might extend: for even if we should grant that the primary effect of the opening of our ports should be a general increase of production abroad, yet it would be speedily checked by the irregularity of the demand, and the great fluctuation in price to which it would be exposed, particularly in countries, like Poland and Prussia, where wheat does not constitute the staple food of the people, and where the portion of it which is grown for foreign markets, is not easily absorbed, when prices are low, by increased consumption at home.

Again, it may be further observed, that the foreign growers of corn, with a view to the supply of our markets, would not only be exposed to competition with our domestic produce in years of abundance, but likewise with the cheapest markets which are accessible to our commerce in years of scarcity: thus wheat in Poland may be cheaper than in England, yet dearer, (differences of freight being deducted,) than in America: and it is only after the



extent of our demand has raised the price of American to the level of Polish wheat, that the latter would be sought for by our merchants. An indefinite competition of this nature would effectually check the exclusive production of corn for the English market, without reference to the prices in the lowest market, wherever situated, from which supplies might be expected to be procured.

It is not, however, very easy to define the probable effects which would be produced on foreign markets and our own, by the opening of our trade: we may be perfectly certain that prices at home would be depressed, and those abroad would be raised, until they merely differed from each other by the cost of importation: and we should naturally conclude that the depression would be more considerable than the rise, inasmuch as the amount of foreign produce is incomparably greater than our own, and therefore less likely to be influenced by an importation which might be inconsiderable, with reference to the mass from which it was taken, but large with respect to that to which it was added. It may be quite true, however, that the quantity of corn in foreign markets, which would be, in the first instance, in a condition to be imported, might bear a small proportion to the whole mass of foreign produce, on account of the deficiency of the means of communication and of transport: but the rapid progress of railroads in every country in Europe, would speedily enlarge the range to which the in-

fluence of this trade would extend : a railroad from Hamburg to Trieste, with its various lateral communications, would open the produce of the whole of Germany to the first of these great marts of commerce : the ports of the Baltic and of France would be speedily brought by the operation of the same causes, into more immediate communication with the corn growing localities of the vast districts with which they are connected : and it can hardly be conceived that any country will long remain destitute of those great arteries of commerce, which seem destined, more than any other causes, to make distant places near, and to give unity to the agricultural and commercial interests of all the members of a great empire, however widely separated from each other.

The operation of these causes would tend from year to year to make foreign markets less sensitive to the demands of our own, and to bring the range of our prices to a general accord, after allowing for the cost of importation, with those on the continent of Europe and America : in some years the importation would cease altogether, and it is very possible to suppose that the direction of the current of the corn trade would be changed from import to export, though this could rarely take place, since the richest countries are generally those in which the necessaries of life are also the dearest. It is hardly conceivable, however, that foreign nations, under such a state of things, would continue to grow corn

to meet the demands of our market, without any reference to the average wants of their own : in other words, the influence of the English corn trade, as far as it possessed any character of regularity, would be, in a few years, almost entirely merged in that of their own markets.

Again, it is contended that, under a system of free trade, our capitalists, even if they were not regular corn merchants, would be constantly on the watch to avail themselves of every opportunity of making a profitable speculation, and would ransack every market in the world for supplies, whenever a prospect of high prices justified them in doing so ; they would thus preclude the possibility of a scarcity of this great necessary of life, and restrain its price always within reasonable bounds.

In order to form a just estimate of the value of this argument, we must first endeavour to ascertain at what period of the year we can usually form a correct opinion of the deficiencies of a harvest, so as to make the supply of them the subject of a safe speculation.

A rapid change of prices will generally mark the epoch when a decided opinion is first formed of the prospects of a harvest ; and if we examine the periods at which those *maximum* changes have taken place, we shall find that it is rarely before the beginning of September that even an approximate estimate can be formed, or before the end of October that the errors of that estimate can be corrected.

The following are the periods of the greatest change of price in wheat in our markets, in one week, from 1829 to 1842 inclusive.

1829	Week ending Sept. 18	from 67s 1d to 61s 3d	per quarter
1830	„ „ 10	„ 66 7	„ 62 4 „
1831	„ Aug. 26	„ 64 3	„ 61 9 „
1832	„ „ 31	„ 62 0	„ 59 7 „
1833	„ Sept. 20	„ 55 0	„ 53 10 „
1834	„ Aug. 29	„ 48 5	„ 46 5 „
1835	„ „ 21	„ 42 6	„ 41 1 „
1836	„ „ 26	„ 48 10	„ 46 11 „
1837	„ Sept. 1	„ 58 2	„ 56 5 „
1838	„ „ 14	„ 70 2	„ 64 2 „
1839	„ Aug. 4	„ 70 4	„ 67 2 „
1840	„ Sept. 11	„ 68 11	„ 65 4 „
1841	„ „ 17	„ 71 2	„ 64 8 „
1842	„ Aug. 20	„ 58 11	„ 56 5 „

The greatest change, therefore, in one week, in the course of the year, generally takes place about the end of August, or the beginning of September, and never at any other season. Its average amount is about 3s 3d per quarter, whilst that which takes place in the first week in September is about 2s; and for other weeks of the year, excluding August and September, not more than 6d. The changes of price, therefore, which are usually gradual and progressive at other seasons, become violent and irregular at this, when the prospects and the results of the harvest are uncertain, and when speculators are at a loss with respect to the course which they can safely and prudently take.

The first impressions, however, of the probable productiveness of the harvest which are formed at this season, are still the subject of some degree of doubt and uncertainty, and it is rarely before the end of October that a very conclusive opinion is formed of its real character. A further examination of the weekly returns of the prices of wheat from 1829 to 1842 inclusive, would shew that there is usually a *minimum* of price (though not always the minimum of the year) at this season of the year, which is in some degree indicative of the existence of a state of doubt and suspense with respect to the future course of the market, which soon afterwards generally assumes a more decided character.

Years.	Weeks ending.	Prices.		Observations.
		s.	d.	
1829	Oct. 23	56	4	The minimum of the (harvest) year A maximum
	— 30	55	4	
	Nov. 6	55	7	
	Dec. 18	57	3	
1830	Oct. 22	61	6	The minimum of the year: the market continued to rise from this period
	— 29	61	3	
	Nov. 5	62	3	
1831	Oct. 14	59	11	The minimum of the year A maximum
	— 21	59	2	
	— 23	60	10	
	Nov. 11	62	7	
1832	Oct. 12	52	4	The minimum of the year A maximum: the subsequent prices very steady
	— 19	51	3	
	— 26	52	7	
	Dec. 14	54	9	
1833	Oct. 18	51	7	The minimum of the year A maximum: falling prices for the year
	— 27	51	4	
	Nov. 1	51	7	

Years.	Weeks ending.	Prices.		Observations.
		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
1834	Oct. 17	41	1	
	— 24	40	8	A minimum
	— 31	41	6	
	Nov. 14	42	6	The maximum of the year
1835	Oct. 23	37	0	
	— 27	36	5	A minimum
	Nov. 6	36	7	
	— 27	36	11	A maximum
1836	Oct. 7	47	2	
	— 14	47	0	The minimum of the year
	— 21	47	7	
	Nov. 25	61	9	A maximum
1837	Oct. 20	51	8	
	— 27	51	0	The minimum of the year
	Nov. 3	51	7	
	— 17	54	4	A maximum
1838	Oct. 12	66	0	
	— 19	65	7	The minimum of the year
	— 26	66	4	
	Jan. 11	81	4	The maximum of the year
1839	Oct. 11	67	2	
	— 18	65	6	The minimum of the year
	— 25	66	5	
	Nov. 15	68	6	A maximum
1840	Oct. 23	62	5	
	— 30	61	0	A minimum
	Nov. 6	62	1	
	— 18	62	2	A maximum

By *maximum* and *minimum* prices we do not mean necessarily the highest or the lowest prices of the *harvest* year, but those which are either greater or less than those which both precede and follow them: and it appears that a *minimum* (which is generally the absolute *minimum* of the year) constantly takes place in the last week of October; and a *maximum*, which is generally the maximum of the winter months, and not of the year, follows at irregular intervals, but most commonly in the

second week of November. This remarkable oscillation of prices, occurring nearly at the same season, would seem to point out, not merely the existence of a feeling of uncertainty with respect to the future course of the trade, but likewise the operation of some general cause, which it would be beside our present object to inquire into.\*

The months of October and November are those, also, in which importations are usually suspended, however great they may be at other periods of the year. It appears, therefore, that no probable opinion of the productiveness of a harvest can be formed before the beginning of the month of September, and that the errors of that opinion are not fully corrected before the beginning of the month of November : this is an important element in estimating the course of the operations of a system of free trade in supplying the deficiencies of a bad harvest.

Another, and not less important element of the same estimate; which we shall now proceed to consider, is the nearly certain effect of a system of free trade upon the bonding or storing of corn.

There is every reason to suppose, that corn would cease to be extensively bonded or stored, in case its importation and distribution was perfectly unrestricted and free. Under the existing laws, corn, as is well known, has been extensively bonded in this country, whenever the duties were prohibitory

\* It may be occasioned by the rush of the poorer farmers to dispose of their wheat, before it is in a state fit for the purposes of the miller.

or nearly so, by which means a very large supply has been always at command to meet the deficiencies of our harvest. In the year 1838, after a succession of six years of abundance, there were 900,000 quarters in bond, which were augmented in the month of September of that year to 1,500,000, the enfranchisement of which tended not a little to moderate the high prices which followed. The ports remained open during the greater part of the year 1839, and little or no corn was bonded; but in September, 1840, we find 800,000 quarters of bonded corn, and nearly the same quantity in the following year, which were liberated under the same circumstances, and with nearly the same effects. The repetition of the same operation in 1842, when 1,335,000 quarters were forced out of bond, under Sir Robert Peel's altered corn law, ruined the speculators, and depressed the market for the whole of the following year; but there is every reason to conclude, that if this system of bonding had not prevailed in the former years of the period referred to; to the extent which we have described, prices would have ranged nearly as high as during some of the worst years of the war.

It should be likewise observed, that corn is extensively bonded in Holland and elsewhere, by English and foreign merchants, on account of the greater cheapness of warehouse-room and labour: the stores which are thus provided, may be considered as supplementary to those which are bonded at home, and are always at hand to be thrown upon our market,



whenever our ports are open, or the duty sufficiently low.

The bonding of wheat and other grain to any great extent may be considered as a peculiar consequence of our Corn Laws : it is the natural, and in some respects the necessary result of the imposition of high and sliding duties upon foreign corn. A merchant imports wheat in expectation of such a range of prices, as may either make it altogether free, or authorise him in paying the duty : he is disappointed, and the corn, which he cannot otherwise advantageously dispose of (for nearly all other countries, America included, have protecting duties), is placed in bond ; or an opportunity occurs of buying wheat grown in a locality, such as Poland and Russia, where it is not an article of ordinary consumption, on terms very much below those at which it is selling in England : he imports and bonds it, hoping that the time may come when it may be liberated and sold : thus enabling him to realize the difference, when expenses are deducted, between the lowest price of wheat abroad, and the highest price at home.

But there would be no sufficient motive, under a free trade in corn, without a fixed or variable duty, for storing or placing it in bond : for the prices of wheat, after the addition of the expenses of import, would be nearly the same at home and abroad, and there would be no reason for storing foreign corn in preference to that of domestic growth : the process of storing, except for short periods, is always

wasteful and expensive : and the merchant who was in possession of wheat, from whatever quarter or on whatever terms obtained, would act more prudently in disposing of it at the market price of the day (which is always the best measure of public opinion with respect to the prospects of the trade), than in placing it in store, at a certain and inevitable loss, and a very uncertain return.

Again, how rarely do we find examples of the long continued storing of any great article of produce, unless in the hands of the producer, who cannot easily stop the production without the ruin of his establishment : the iron master is compelled to maintain his furnaces in action, or to blow them out ; and being often a great capitalist, and not unwilling to extinguish the rivalry of less wealthy competitors, he perseveres with the certainty of ultimate remuneration : an opulent farmer may store his corn in stack, with much less waste and expense than in a granary, but he rarely can do so long without very serious losses : a wealthy merchant may speculate when trade is depressed and prices unnaturally low, on articles which may be stored without serious injury or expense, trusting to the return, sooner or later, of prices which may make the investment profitable : but it will rarely happen that merchants and others, who are not entrapped, as it were, into such speculations, by peculiar circumstances, such as the rapid and unexpected variations of our sliding scale, or the desperate struggle which is sometimes made to escape from the consequences of a miscalculation

of the probable course of a market, will venture upon retaining in store articles of a perishable nature, with a certain sacrifice of intrinsic though possibly not of marketable value, and with no certain means of calculating upon the period of a return.

In confirmation of the opinion which we have expressed, that corn would not be extensively stored, if at all, when the trade was free, we may observe, that no such speculations have been entered into, in our own country, with our own corn, when circumstances were apparently the most favourable to them. At the close of the year 1835, good wheat in England could be bought for 36s. a quarter ; yet no English corn was stored, the price of the day being considered as the most correct measure of the prices which were likely to follow within those limits of time which could authorize such a transaction : and though there may exist a moral conviction in the minds of those persons who have most accurately marked the course of the prices of corn, or of other articles, that there will be a reflux of the tide, yet there will always be so much uncertainty as to the fact of our having reached the lowest point of the ebb, as well as with respect to the progress and character of the succeeding undulation, as to make the result of the best organized speculations not merely uncertain but dangerous.

It may possibly be urged in opposition to these views, that corn is stored at Dantzic and other ports of the Baltic : but it should be observed that the circumstances of those ports are so peculiar, as to

exempt them from the general rule : they are the outlets of countries which grow wheat almost exclusively for foreign consumption : they can only receive it, from the deficiencies of internal communications, at peculiar seasons of the year : the sea through which their shipping must pass is closed during a great part of the winter season : and they are at other times dependent for their trade upon the opening of our ports, or of those of other countries of Europe and America : it becomes absolutely necessary, therefore, to the very existence of their trade, that corn should be stored, and that frequently in the open air, under circumstances the most wasteful and destructive, and which would be ruinous, if its original cost approached more nearly than it does to the price of exportation. But we may fairly conclude that if our trade was free, little or no corn would continue to be stored at Dantzic or elsewhere, for a longer period than the necessities of the navigation required : the merchants would no longer wait, as they are now compelled to do, for the irregular returns of high prices and of open ports in England, but they would at once commit their stores to their fate, in that market which was most accessible at the time, and which offered the most certain and prompt remuneration.

Assuming therefore, as we think we are authorized in doing, that corn, under a free trade, would cease to be stored, except for very short periods, and rather with a view to suit the conveniences of the millers, than for the purposes of mercantile specula-

tion, let us endeavour to trace the effects of such a change of system upon prices in years of scarcity.

For this purpose, let us suppose that the average quantity of wheat in bond at the approach of harvest, would amount, under the existing laws, to 1,000,000 quarters: in August 1837, it was 743,000 quarters: in September 1838, it was 920,000 quarters: the ports were open, and bonding in a great measure suspended in 1839: but in the month of August 1840, 1841, and 1842, it was 787,000, 1,006,000, and 1,339,000 quarters respectively: these quantities will be sufficient to shew, that the estimate which we have made is not very far from the truth.

If we assume, in conformity with a supposition which we have made before, that under ordinary circumstances of trade and employment, there will be a difference in the annual consumption of the kingdom of 5,000,000 quarters of wheat, in passing from the extreme average prices of 35*s.* to 75*s.* per quarter; and further, that the excess above the lowest limit of price, varies in an inverse proportion to the excess of the provision for the year above the lowest limit of consumption, we should find that the liberation of a million of quarters of bonded corn, would depress the price of wheat by nearly 8*s.* a quarter, a result which is probably not very different from the truth: and it must undoubtedly be considered as a special advantage of the existing laws, (though on other points we are by no means prepared to defend them), that they thus secure, through the

operation of bonding, a considerable check against high prices, in periods of scarcity, at the same time that they do not tend in years of abundance to depress them further, when they have already touched as low a point as may be considered compatible with the just interests and expectations of the agriculturist.

But it may be contended, that whatever advantages the present Corn Laws may offer, as securing a large provision of bonded corn against seasons of scarcity, they would be more than compensated by the vast resources of our commerce, in case the trade was free : for no sooner would the character of the harvest and the prospects of the trade be ascertained, than every part of the known globe would be promptly laid under contribution for the supply of our wants. But we have before remarked, that it is always late in the year before a correct opinion can be formed of the character of the harvest, and the probable course of the trade : that the same causes which occasion a deficient produce in England, very commonly extend to the whole of the north of Europe, from whence our chief supplies are derived : that commercial enterprise can only be stimulated to an extent equal to the emergency of a very serious deficiency in our harvest, by the prospect or the certainty of very high differential prices : that the suddenness and urgency of the demand, would rapidly raise the freights of our shipping, as well as the prices of corn, at those ports from which supplies were sought to be obtained, whilst those which were ordinarily most accessible to us, might

be closed by special ordinances against us : all these causes combined, might operate to confine the supply within the inferior limits of the power of consumption of the country, and thus expose us to great suffering and distress : and it is hardly necessary to add, that these dangers would be increased in a very alarming degree, if domestic agriculture should be seriously discouraged, and if we should thus be reduced, even in years of abundance, to seek habitually for any considerable part of our wheat from foreign countries.

But it is said, that a free trade would give a certainty and security to speculations in corn, which they do not at present possess ; and would consequently authorize operations upon so extensive a scale as would be sufficient to compensate for the inequalities of the seasons : but it should be observed, that extremely high prices alone would make a trade profitable, which was in its very nature irregular, and for which no regular market could be prepared : that it would be particularly liable to serious losses from miscalculations of the extent of the demand to be supplied, as well as of the efforts which would be made to supply them, and would thus be exposed to many of the same risks as those which arise from the sudden changes of the duty under the existing laws ; and there is no sufficient reason to believe, that the wants of our market, when extensive and unforeseen, would be supplied much more rapidly, certainly, and reasonably than they are at present : more particularly

when it is considered that the absence of bonding would increase the demand to at least a million of quarters in years of unforeseen scarcity, and to a much greater extent, if free trade should be found to reduce the amount of our domestic produce.

The year 1839 furnishes the best approximation which we can refer to of the probable operation of a free trade in corn : the ports were open from the month of September 1838, to the end of the month of October 1839, the prices varying during the whole period, from 66s. to 81s. per quarter, and offering therefore the utmost encouragement for an active and enterprising trade : the whole quantity of wheat which was imported and brought to market, (exclusive of corn which had been previously bonded) during the year referred to was 2,800,000 quarters, which may be considered as a measure of the powers of our commerce, when left to their free and unrestricted action.

We are by no means disposed to assert, that such a quantity would represent the utmost limit of our powers of importation, whatever circumstances might call them into action : but we may be very fairly authorized in concluding that it would not be much exceeded, unless under the stimulus, not merely of very high prices in England, but likewise of most abundant provision of corn abroad : a very great difference between them would alone be sufficient to divert to a new and unusual channel, so large a portion of our commercial marine.



It is very commonly assumed, that the produce of wheat in Great Britain, is falling every year, more and more behind the necessary supply, and that we shall require continually increasing importations to meet the increasing deficiency : or in other words, that the improvements of our agriculture, neither have been nor are likely to be sufficient to keep pace with the increase of our population : we believe, however, that this conclusion has no better foundation in fact than many others connected with this subject, which we have already considered.

We possess no statistical returns, or other means which enable us to determine with any degree of accuracy, the average annual produce of wheat in this country : but it will not very materially affect our argument, if we should be somewhat mistaken in estimating our annual consumption to be at this time when prices are low, as many quarters as the number of our population. We may likewise very safely assume, that the average individual consumption has been increasing very sensibly during the last quarter of a century : the comforts of nearly all classes have been increased : the lower orders have become more temperate in their habits, and thus have acquired increased means of securing a supply of good and wholesome bread ; oatmeal and barley meal which were used very largely by the people in the north of England and Scotland, have been very generally replaced by wheat ; the

poor law unions have distributed most wisely a great part of their relief to paupers, and pauperized families, in wheaten bread and flour, thus increasing not merely its annual consumption, but creating amongst them an habitual want of it as a necessary of life, instead of inferior and less nutritive articles of food. We feel justified by these considerations in assuming, that the annual individual consumption of wheat has increased during the last quarter of a century at a rate of not less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum.

Again, it is well known that the individual consumption decreases as the price increases; and we may venture to assume, as we have done before, that a change of 1s per bushel, within reasonable limits of value, makes a difference of 5 per cent. in the consumption: thus, if the population and consumption of Great Britain, when wheat was 40s per quarter, was 20,000,000, a rise of 8s in its price, would diminish the consumption by 1,000,000 quarters: such an estimate can only be considered as an approximation to a very important fact, which forms the basis of all correct reasoning upon the effect of importations upon the range of our prices.

The average price of wheat during the decennial period, from 1821 to 1830, inclusive, was nearly 60s: its average price during a second decennial period, from 1831 to 1840, inclusive, was about 56s: for the quinquennial period,

from 1841 to 1845, inclusive, it may be assumed to be 52s; the importations (including those from Ireland) may be taken, during the first period, at 1,000,000, during the second at 1,500,000, and during the third at 1,750,000 quarters per annum: the seed, and wheat consumed in manufactories, distilleries, and feeding of cattle, may be reckoned at (though upon very imperfect data)  $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the consumption: the population increasing at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum, would be 15,500,000 in 1825, 17,700,000 in 1835, and 20,000,000 in 1845: and if we assume the annual individual consumption, when wheat is at 40s per quarter, to be 1 quarter at this time, it would have been  $\frac{1}{6}$ ths of a quarter under the same circumstances in 1825, and  $\frac{1}{3}$ ths of a quarter in 1835: we shall now proceed to apply these assumptions, which are very probably not far from the truth, to calculate the entire produce of the wheat crop of Great Britain in 1825, 1835, and 1845.

1825.—The Population	15,500,000
The decennial average price of wheat from	
1821 to 1830	60s
The consumption for food	12,600,000
„ for other purposes	2,520,000
	<hr/>
	15,120,000
Irish and foreign importations	1,000,000
	<hr/>
The total produce	14,120,000
	<hr/>

1835.—The population	17,700,000
The decennial average price of wheat from 1831 to 1840	56s
The consumption for food	15,000,000
„ for other purposes	3,000,000
	<hr/> 18,000,000
Irish and foreign importations	1,500,000
	<hr/> The total produce . . 16,500,000
	<hr/>
1845.—The population	20,000,000
The quinquennial average price of wheat from 1841 to 1845	52s
The consumption for food	18,500,000
„ for other purposes	3,700,000
	<hr/> 22,200,000
Irish and foreign importations	1,750,000
	<hr/> The total produce . . 20,450,000
	<hr/>

If the produce of wheat had merely increased in the same proportion with the population, its amount in 1845 would have been 18,200,000 quarters only: it would appear, therefore, that the resources of our domestic agriculture alone would be competent to feed 2,000,000 persons beyond our present population, upon the same terms as in 1825.

Nor are the resources of our agriculture likely to be soon exhausted, or to prove unequal to the additional demands which may be made upon them: at no period have the improvements in the cultivation

of arable lands made such rapid advances as during the last eight years : all the powers of chemical science have been brought to bear upon the composition and proper application of manures : the islands of the Pacific and Southern Oceans have been ransacked in the search for new stimulants of production : drainage upon new and improved principles is likely to increase considerably the produce of our heavy lands, whilst superior modes of cropping and artificial manures have been equally beneficial to our lighter soils. There is every reason to conclude, therefore, if the progress of agricultural improvement be not checked by discouragement, that our produce will continue to increase, as hitherto, more rapidly than our population, and thus materially to reduce the cost, even without the aid of foreign importations, of the most important of the necessaries of life.

It has been objected to the present Corn Laws, that they have failed to accomplish the objects proposed by their framers, in securing such prices as they considered essential to the interests of agriculture : the prices contemplated have not only not been maintained, but have continued to fall ever since the termination of the war. The proper interpretation of such a fact would appear to be, that the Corn Laws, though they happily had not answered the expectations of their authors, had fully secured the interests of the consumers, inasmuch as the productive powers of the land have increased, and the prices of all the great necessaries of life have

fallen, either in consequence or in defiance of their operation. But whilst these facts are admitted, it may be contended that the same effects would have been produced in a still greater degree by a free trade in corn : in the absence, however, of all satisfactory proof, whether from reasoning or from its effects in other countries, that such consequences would certainly follow from it, we may be content to claim the experience of the operation of the existing laws, as more favourable to the views of their defenders, than of those who are anxious for their repeal.

We have before attempted to shew, in opposition to opinions pronounced with great confidence, both in and out of Parliament, that the existing laws do not tend to produce rapid and unnatural variations in the prices of the first of the necessaries of life, but rather to give them a steadiness and regularity which a system of free trade would fail to secure : we shall now proceed to refer, in farther confirmation of this view, to the relative variations of the prices of wheat in England, and in such markets in America and Europe as may be considered the least likely to be influenced by the disturbing effects of our Corn Laws.

The highest and lowest weekly prices of wheat per imperial quarter in Philadelphia, from the years 1834 to 1840 inclusive.\*

\* Parliamentary Papers for 1841, vol. vii. Return moved for by Mr. Gladstone.

Year.	Highest.	Lowest.	Diff. per cent.
1834	40s 0d	35s 0d	14
1835	50 10	34 5	47
1836	75 8	42 10	78
1837	75 6	53 7	41
1838	62 4	44 9	39
1839	59 7	34 8	73
1840	37 7	28 0	34

The highest and lowest weekly prices of wheat per imperial quarter in England, during the same period.

Year.	Highest.	Lowest.	Diff. per cent.
1834	49s 2d	40s 8d	21
1835	44 0	36 0	22
1836	61 9	36 0	71
1837	60 1	51 0	18
1838	78 4	52 4	49
1839	81 6	65 8	24
1840	72 10	58 10	24

It should be observed, that Philadelphia is the capital of one of the wealthiest and most populous states of the American Union, which does not commonly produce sufficient corn for the supply of its inhabitants : that little or no corn or flour was imported from America into England during the first five years of this period, and that the importation in 1839 and 1840, tended to raise the low prices of those years, and to diminish therefore the extreme limits of their fluctuation : that it is a great mart of commerce, communicating freely with every region

of the world : that its corn trade is free, being merely subject to an import duty of 8s 8d a quarter. These circumstances are sufficient to shew that few localities and few periods could be selected, which would be less influenced by the operation of our Corn Laws, and where prices in a commercial and importing country, would appear to exhibit more completely the fluctuations which were due to natural and uncontrollable causes alone ; yet we find the average annual difference between the highest and lowest prices in Philadelphia is 47 per cent, whilst during the corresponding period in England it was only 33 : and whilst the extreme difference between the highest and lowest prices of wheat in this septennial period was 270 per cent. in Philadelphia, it was only 227 per cent. in England : and it should be further observed, that no septennial period could have been chosen, which would have exhibited, under the operation of our Corn Laws, such extensive fluctuations of price.

The returns of the prices of corn at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, New York, New Orleans, and other American towns, lead nearly to the same conclusions as those of Philadelphia.

But it may be objected, that we have dealt with the extreme weekly prices of wheat at Philadelphia, which may have been exaggerated by local and peculiar causes : we shall proceed, therefore, to apply the same comparison to the *average* annual prices



of the same place with those of England, from 1830 to 1838 inclusive.\*

Year.	Philadelphia.	England.
1830	33s 0d	64s 0d
1831	41 0	66 0
1832	42 0	59 0
1833	41 0	53 0
1834	37 0	46 0
1835	43 0	39 0
1836	61 0	48 0
1837	73 0	56 0
1838	59 0*	65 0

The difference between the highest and lowest annual price of wheat at Philadelphia, amounts to 121 per cent.: whilst the corresponding difference in England, during the same period, is only 69 per cent.

Similar facts are observable in the prices of the agricultural produce of nearly every country in Europe, but their authority is lessened by the alleged action of our Corn Laws in disturbing the course of the trade, producing very high prices when our ports are open, and depressing them unduly when they are closed: but if we should grant the full effect of these causes with respect to wheat and such other grain as is commonly imported into Eng-

\* The return (Parliamentary papers, 1842, vol. 40, p. 601) is given in the prices of barrels of flour, which we have reduced into quarters of wheat, by allowing 4 bushels per barrel, and deducting 4s per barrel (as is usual), for the expenses of the miller.

land, they will not apply to rye, which is rarely if ever imported, and which constitutes the staple article of food of the peasantry of Russia, Poland, and the north of Germany. Let us take the highest and lowest prices of rye at Warsaw, from the years 1834 to 1839 inclusive.

Years.	Highest.	Lowest.	Diff. per cent.
1834	22s 6d	15s 0d	30
1835	22 0	9 10	120
1836	12 8	8 6	49
1837	24 9	10 0	149
1838	24 4	16 6	53
1839	15 0	10 0	50

If we pass from Warsaw to its sea port Dantzic, though the communication between them is difficult and irregular, we shall find these differences, though modified by the operations of commerce, and by the habits of a mixed and mercantile population, still more considerable than in the prices of wheat in Great Britain.

Years.	Highest.	Lowest.	Diff. per cent.
1834	20s 6d	14s 6d	38
1835	23 8	15 2	58
1836	15 9	12 8	24
1837	13 2	20 0	59
1838	26 11	22 0	21
1839	26 9	15 7	65

In Prussia, during the same period, the fluctuations of the price of rye exceeded 100 per cent, and we believe that, at this season, which is one of great scarcity throughout the North of Europe, the

price of rye is nearly 40s. a quarter : the people, who export their wheat, are dying of famine.

In a report addressed to the Russian Government from the province of Tamboff, it is stated that the price of rye in years of abundance varies from 3s 11d to 5s 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d per quarter ; in ordinary years from 6s 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d to 9s 2d : whilst in a year of extreme scarcity, (1833) it rose to 36s 8d : so extraordinary are the natural variations of the seasons.

The facts, however, which we have mentioned, are sufficient to shew that in wealthy countries as well as poor, even where they have all the resources of commerce and of free trade at their command, the variations of the price of the necessaries of life are more considerable than under the operation of our present laws.

Admitting therefore that under a system of free trade, no considerable provision would be made against a deficient harvest in the form of corn in bond or in store, and that no means exist before the months of August or September, of forming a judgment of the productiveness of the harvest, and of the deficiency which must be supplied by importation, we may very safely conclude that the trade which would thence arise, would always be impulsive and irregular : it would not be conducted through the accustomed channels of commerce : it would not be adjusted to any systematic reciprocation of exports and imports ; it would be a hazard-

ous trade to all engaged in it, as defying all correct anticipations as well of the extent of the demand, as of the efforts which would be made to meet it : its suddenness and irregularity would tend to make it, at least as much as under the operation of the existing law, a bullion trade, and such as would tend to derange very materially the monetary system of this country.

It is this derangement of the currency which has always been urged as one of the principal objections to the existing law ; but it is obvious, for the reasons which we have already assigned, that it is a necessary consequence of every trade which arises suddenly, after irregular and sometimes considerable periods of suspension, and which is necessarily more or less diverted from the great marts of commerce : and whatever may be the amount of evil which it now produces, it would necessarily be greatly increased by a free trade in corn : for the operations of such a trade, if no extensive provision against the inequalities of the productiveness of different seasons, was made by bonding or storing, would be of the same character as under the existing law, and upon a much more extensive scale : and there is no reason whatever for supposing that the exportation of bullion which it would require, would not increase nearly in the same proportion as with the increase of the trade.

In all arguments on the policy of a fundamental change of our Corn Laws, a reference is generally

made to our commercial relations with America. It is contended that it is essential to the highest interests of this kingdom to cultivate the utmost freedom of intercourse with that great country : that the liberality of the provisions of their tariff is likely to respond to those of our own : that America would freely exchange her corn and provisions with the productions of our manufactures, and that it would possess the advantage of being carried through the usual channels of trade with a less expenditure of bullion than with countries with which we have little or no trade, or which repel it by hostile tariffs. Whilst we admit the general truth of this argument, it should at the same time be observed, that in many cases, when a trade in corn should arise from a failure of our harvests, America would not be in a condition to supply it. The price of wheat was as high in America in the years 1836, 1837, and 1838, as in the dearest seasons in England : the seaboard states do not supply corn sufficient for their own inhabitants, and though their population is increasing, at least in the towns, there is no improvement in their agriculture : large tracts of exhausted soils in Pennsylvania and Virginia have been abandoned, as not defraying the expenses of cultivation ; and though in the more recently settled states, the virgin soil teems with produce, and supplies, not merely the older states, but Brazil, the West Indies, and Europe, yet it should be kept in mind, that their

population is rapidly increasing, whilst the fertility of their soils is not renewed by the careful and laborious culture of Europe: that the movement of population as well as of production is from the East to the West, removing them year by year farther from the eastern states, through which we must always obtain our supplies. There is therefore a prospect of an increase, rather than a decline, of the prices of corn and provisions in America: and whilst the general range of prices in that continent, when those in England are moderate, are at present too high to make a trade in corn profitable, the contingency of the concurrence of their years of abundance with ours of scarcity, would be much too rare and too irregular in its period, to make the opening of our trade in corn and provisions, a subject of such great and permanent national importance, as to be likely to exercise a lasting or material influence upon the character of their tariff; it would be to the neighbouring ports of France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, and the Baltic, and not to those on the farther shores of the Atlantic, that we should, in most cases, resort for our supplies.\*

We have endeavoured, in the preceding observations, to prove that many of the most popular of the arguments which are advanced against the operation of our present Corn Laws are unfounded

\* The importations of wheat and flour from America, has not amounted, during the last 20 years, to 1-10th part of those from the continent of Europe.

or exaggerated : that a free trade in corn would not produce a safe or regular trade : that it would present no additional security for the supply of our wants in seasons of scarcity : that it would rather increase than diminish the extreme range of fluctuations of prices : that it would prevent the extensive bonding or storing of corn : that it would tend to increase the derangements of our monetary system, which are occasioned under the present law by sudden and large importations of corn. But we trust, that in attempting to vindicate the existing law from producing effects for which it is not chargeable, we are not blind to its real defects,—one or two of the more obvious of which we shall now proceed very briefly to notice.

It tends to mask the real relation which exists between the natural range of prices on the continent and in England, and it thus becomes liable to much misrepresentation and odium, as augmenting unduly the price of the most important of the necessities of life.

We possess no means of estimating with any degree of correctness the probable effects of a free trade in corn upon the range of its prices in England, more particularly at the lower points of the scale. Very plausible arguments may be produced to shew that the average price of wheat, in years of abundance, would descend as low as 30s a quarter, whilst others, not much less so, would make the probable depression altogether inconsiderable.

Some assert, that a free trade in corn, aided by our vast capital and commerce, would give stability to prices, and restrain them, in all seasons, within moderate limits of fluctuation : whilst others are equally ready to maintain, and we reckon ourselves amongst their number, that it would tend to enlarge those limits considerably : and whilst the friends and opponents of a free trade equally admit that it will tend to equalize prices at home and abroad, the greatest discrepancy of opinion prevails with respect to the mode in which they will approach each other : will the range of foreign prices rise to our standard, or will ours be depressed to theirs ? or at what intermediate point will they meet ? The impossibility of answering these different questions with any degree of certainty, in the present state of our knowledge of the resources or prospects of foreign agriculture, or even of our own, leaves an open field for the most harassing agitation : and whilst one party stigmatizes the existing laws as opposed to the freedom of commerce, and as singularly oppressive to the poor, by increasing exorbitantly the cost of the necessaries of life, the other appeals to them as our only safeguard against the inevitable ruin of the most important interest in the empire. The mere removal of this uncertainty, so injurious to the internal peace and tranquillity of this kingdom, would be a sufficient motive to encourage a wise and prudent statesman, to adopt any course, which the state of public opinion left open to him,



which might, if possible, solve this great and important problem, without, at the same time, compromising or appearing to compromise, those great interests, and, we may add likewise, those well founded claims and expectations which have sprung up under the long continued sanction of the legislature.

Again, it is objected to these laws, that they impose restrictions upon the freedom of commerce, less for the purposes of the revenue, than for the protection of agriculture.

The defence of the exemption of corn from the laws which regulate the imports of other articles, upon which fixed, though sometimes discriminating duties are imposed, must always rest on grounds which, however good and well founded they may be, are not easily understood, and far from being generally admitted : it is extremely difficult, therefore, to exempt them from the odium which is attached to all acts of legislation, which appear, at their first aspect, to regard rather the interests of classes, and particularly of the higher classes, than those of the great mass of the population : if the duties on corn were either fixed, or more obviously imposed for the purposes of revenue, and if they afforded a protection not greater than that given to other productions of native industry, they would be regarded as arising naturally out of the necessities of the revenue, and thus experience a more willing and general acquiescence : thus, if the duties generally, which serve

the double purpose of protection and of revenue, were 10 per cent., (which seems to be the basis which it is proposed to adopt in all other cases), the duties on wheat would be about 5s 6d, on barley 3s 3d, and on oats 2s 3d per quarter: if we should reduce these duties to 5s, 3s, and 2s respectively, they would materially aid the revenue, without seriously increasing the cost of the consumer: the effect of such a duty on the average price of wheat is a question of great interest, particularly at the present moment, and we shall now proceed to consider it.

If the importation of 500,000 quarters of wheat would depress prices in England to the extent of 4s. a quarter, and raise them abroad 1s. a quarter, then 4s. would be the extreme limit of the increase of price which such a duty would occasion; if a greater influence upon prices abroad was attributed to English importations (as is very commonly supposed), then the limit of the increase of price, produced by such a duty, would be still further reduced; but its average effect upon prices would be in reality much less than this. There are at present nearly three years out of five when our domestic produce is fully equal to our consumption: and we may fairly assume,—allowing for the increased consumption which diminished prices would occasion, and supposing the wages and employment of labour to remain unaltered (though it is certain that in many cases they would necessarily be diminished), that

there would be two years out of five, even if there was no duty whatever, in which no importation would be necessary, or in which even the direction of the current of trade might be reversed: this would reduce the average effect of the duty in a quinquennial period, from 4*s.* to less than 2*s.* 5*d.* But there are other causes in operation which would reduce this average effect still farther: if a sudden scarcity (and the emergency of a deficient harvest, as we have elsewhere shewn, is always sudden), should make prices rise rapidly above the range of foreign markets, and thus produce the powerful impulse which is absolutely necessary to put the machinery for a large importation in motion, then the prices in those markets would be dragged up towards the level of ours, and the influx of wheat would continue, though not with the same rapidity, whether the difference of foreign and domestic prices (the charges of import being deducted), was 6*s.* 10*s.* or 15*s.*, leaving the motive forces of importation when the duty was deducted (if we may use such a phrase) 1*s.* or 5*s.* or 10*s.* respectively. As long therefore as the difference of prices considerably exceeded the duty, it would add very slightly to the cost of the imported wheat, inasmuch as it would only influence the rapidity of the importation: it would only be when the prices approached the point of equilibrium, (or that at which they differed by the duty only) that the duty would totally check the importation, and its influence would be felt

in the permanent position to which our prices would begin to approach: and even if this point of equilibrium had been once attained, if the rise of foreign markets was entirely due to the extent of our demand, and not likewise to that which might arise from the wants of other countries, they would continue to fall with the fall of our prices, until they had attained a general and permanent equilibrium: and it would only be at this point in the descending scale of prices, that the whole effect of the duty would be experienced.

It is not easy to estimate the entire effect of this merger of a moderate duty in a sudden rise of prices considerably exceeding it in amount, (and a considerable rise of prices would rarely take place without it); but it is not unreasonable to suppose that it would at least reduce the average difference of 2s 5d, which we have already considered, to less than 2s, which we may safely adopt as the extreme limit of the increase which the average price of wheat, in a period of years, would experience from the imposition of such a duty.

If a fixed import duty of 5s was combined with a fixed drawback of the same amount upon exportation, without distinction of origin, whether domestic or foreign (in conformity with the recommendations of Mr. Ricardo and Mr. M'Culloch,) it would greatly relieve our agriculture in years of abundance, by encouraging exportation, and would not, upon a balance of a series of years, greatly di-

minish the productiveness of the duty, which would always depend upon the excess of the imports above the exports : such a measure would tend much more than a total abolition of duty to make the corn trade of other nations pass through the ports of this country, and also to secure an amount of supplies (as bonding would probably be extensively practised upon such a system, though not for long periods) in seasons of scarcity ; it would secure the agriculturist against ruinously low prices, which a plethora of unexportable produce sometimes occasions : it would make the corn trade, though not a regular trade, an important branch of commerce in all seasons, and which, in an average of years, would contribute its just share to relieve the financial burdens of the country, without any serious or unreasonable addition to the prices of the necessaries of life.

There are many other objections which may be reasonably urged against our sliding scale of duties, but as they very slightly affect the general tenor of our argument, we shall not proceed to notice them.

THE END.







1

REPEAL  
OF  
THE CORN LAWS.





A

FEW WORDS

ON THE

REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS.



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## A FEW WORDS, &c.

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THE question of the Abolition of the Corn Laws has recently come before the public with a peculiar degree of prominence. The cause of abolition has been for some years past industriously advocated by parties connected with the manufacturing interest, and they have at length succeeded in obtaining the support of numerous other persons whom they have persuaded into the belief, that such a step is necessary for the welfare of the country. But it is impossible to come to a fair conclusion on any subject without hearing both sides of the question, and the more forcibly and urgently the merits of one view of the case are pressed upon us, the more necessary it becomes to give our attention to what may be said on the other side. It is desirable too, that every person should prepare himself, so as to be able at once to form an opinion on any alteration which may be proposed in the existing law, as

there appears to be no doubt but that the government intend to legislate on the subject ; and it is to be expected that after they have once made known their measures, they will be anxious to press them on without allowing the public any long time to consider their merits. To such persons, therefore, as may be willing to judge impartially on this question, I have ventured to offer a few observations in favour of the principle of protection to agriculture. It may perhaps appear to some persons that it is a mere waste of time to discuss the question ; they may say that the principles of free trade are so simple and just, and so consistent with natural reason, that the only difficulty is, to explain how there can be two opinions as to the impolicy of protection. To this I answer, that the question is not what principles are the best, but how far it is possible to apply the best principles to the existing state of things. If we had to legislate for the whole commercial world, perhaps it would not be a very difficult task to decide upon what principles our legislation should be founded ; or if Great Britain was only an insignificant independent state, possessing no more political or commercial importance than any other country of the same size, perhaps there might be no objection to applying the principles of free trade, in their full extent, to its commercial legislation. But this is far from

being the condition of Great Britain ; it is the mother country of a vast colonial empire, it possesses the greatest commerce in the world, and it also owes the largest debt in the world. The Corn Law Question is complicated with such varied and important interests, that the greatest diffidence should be used in coming to a final opinion on the subject, and the greatest caution exercised in legislating on it.

The first argument I have to offer in favour of the protection of agriculture may be shortly stated thus:—Great Britain is a great commercial country, a large capital is therefore essential to its prosperity, and such a capital can be secured to it only by means of a system which maintains the land at a high value. All property which is dependent on commercial prosperity for its value is necessarily exposed to great vicissitudes; a derangement may occur in any branch of commerce from the most unforeseen causes, which will throw into confusion the affairs of the most flourishing and wealthy individual connected with it, and expose him to the risk of insolvency and ruin. The merchant who, in a time of prosperity, may fairly consider his resources as amply sufficient for the purpose of meeting his liabilities, finds, in a time of commercial depression, that those resources are apt to become depreciated in value ; and he thus loses the benefit

of them, at the time when he is most in need of it. It is always a desirable thing, therefore, for persons engaged in commerce, that they should have at their command some fund, the value of which is withdrawn, as far as possible, from the risk of depreciation ; and which may enable them to meet their engagements, and maintain their credit, during a time of commercial depression, and re-establish their business when that depression is over. And the same thing which is advantageous to individuals is also advantageous to the nation at large. If the whole, or the principal part of the property in this country were engaged in trade, it would be liable to become seriously depreciated during those periods of commercial embarrassment which will inevitably occur from time to time, and there would be no sufficient resources left to enable the mercantile community to meet their engagements, or to re-establish their former prosperity. It is highly desirable, therefore, for the commercial prosperity of the country, that there should exist in it a fund of sufficient extent to be of national importance, the value of which should be liable to no serious vicissitudes or fluctuations. By protecting the productions of the land from foreign competition we secure to the country a fund of this description, and this is the only practical means by which that object could be effected. The intrinsic value of

the land is more permanently uniform than that of any other description of property; for although the produce of the land varies from year to year, yet, taking the average for several years, it continues permanently with very little variation, except such as is occasioned by an alteration in the mode of cultivating it. This produce, consisting of the necessities of life, will always meet with a certain demand, so long as it is adequately protected from foreign competition. We thus secure the maintenance of a property, the value of which is more free from vicissitudes than any other which exists in the country; and this is the result of protection, whether its immediate effect be to raise the value of the land or not. Even if the value of the land should not be immediately reduced by the withdrawal of protection, still, being exposed to the competition of the whole world, we could never be sure that it would not become very much depreciated at some future time. It is to be expected that those foreign landowners, who have the advantage of a more fertile soil, and the command of servile labour, would be able, before long, to undersell our own agriculturists; much mischief too might result from the mere competition and rivalry of the foreign corn-grower without any permanent benefit to the public; the foreigner might be induced to undersell the home-grower for a time, for the



mere purpose of supplanting him in his own market, without being able, permanently, to supply us at a cheaper rate. By protection, therefore, we give permanence to the value of the land, even if we do not increase it ; but there can be no doubt that the value of the land is increased by protection, and this effect also is beneficial in a commercial point of view. An estate in this country may be of no more intrinsic value than an estate of equal extent and fertility in another country ; but, if it bears a higher market price, it is certainly a more efficient means of raising capital. If, for instance, an estate in this country would sell for twice as much as an estate in France, of equal extent and fertility, then even a French capitalist would be willing to advance a larger sum on the English estate than on the French one, because he would know that the former was the better security. The whole additional value which is given to the land may therefore be considered as so much additional capital permanently secured to the country ; and this in so commercial a country as our own, must certainly be considered as a great advantage ; but this is not the only way in which protection to land adds to the capital of the country. The high value of the land has the effect of increasing the value of the national debt. The government, by borrowing money from time to time, during a

long series of years, and generally on hard terms, and always afterwards keeping faithfully to their engagements, have brought into existence a large fund of artificial wealth, which could hardly have been created in any other way ; and this fund also may be considered as permanently secured to the country, as if one person withdraws his money from it, another must invest an equal amount in it. The generally steady price at which this fund is maintained, together with the facility of purchasing stock, and selling it again at any time, makes it a most convenient means to the capitalist of depositing his money till it is required for some other purpose. But the steady maintenance of this fund, at a high value, is occasioned by the circumstance, that government possesses in the land an ample resource for enabling it to meet its liabilities under all contingencies ; the government, perhaps, at present, may be able to raise its whole revenue by means of taxes on commerce, but if it had no other resource, its credit would be much lower than it is, as its means would fluctuate with the vicissitudes of commerce, and be always liable to be destroyed by war. But by maintaining the land at a high value, it not only becomes a valuable source of revenue for the present, but is kept in a position to supply any other resource that may happen to become deficient. It thus appears, that we have

in the land and the national debt, two ample funds, permanently existing in the country, which supply us with the most abundant means of raising money ; and the consequence is, that money can always be obtained in this country on easy terms ; and (which is much more important) it can be raised at any time, to an amount which it would be impossible to obtain in most other countries. This ready command of capital is one of the greatest commercial advantages that we possess ; it would be a great mistake to suppose that our commercial eminence is entirely owing to the superior skill and enterprise of our merchants ; in many foreign countries plans have from time to time been carefully and anxiously formed for the purpose of developing the resources of the country, but such plans have continually failed from the sheer impossibility of raising the necessary capital ; and in other cases when schemes for foreign undertakings have been contrived which appeared likely to yield a large profit on the outlay, this country has been the first applied to for the necessary capital, and millions of money have in consequence been sent abroad and wasted there without apparently weakening the resources of the country. This abundance of capital is beneficial not only in promoting and extending commerce, but also in supplying the means of carry-

ing through the most extensive schemes for improving and further developing the resources of the country ; the existing prosperity of the country holds out a prospect to the undertakers of such schemes that they will yield a profitable return ; and such undertakings, when established, do, themselves, promote that prosperity ; and we thus obtain another description of artificial wealth, which now exists to a great amount, in the shape of shares in public companies. It appears, therefore, that the high value given to the land by protection, is the means of maintaining the high value of that immense amount of artificial wealth which exists in the shape of the public funds, and that the two together have been the principal means of bringing into existence another description of artificial wealth, which is now very abundant and is continually increasing. I have thus endeavoured to show, that the permanency given to the value of the land by protection, makes it a most valuable resource against periods of commercial embarrassment, and that the increased value given to it makes it serve as a sufficient basis for a superstructure of artificial wealth, which could not otherwise have been raised, and which certainly will not continue to exist uninjured after it has been deprived of its basis.

From what I have already said, it is evident that the high value of the land is very beneficial .


for the purpose of maintaining the credit of the government ; and this is a very great advantage, as upon the credit of the government very much depends its political influence, and consequently its power to protect its subjects, and promote their interests in the course of its dealings with foreign countries.

The high value of the land is also very advantageous for the prosperity of the retail dealers and other tradesmen, and the middle and lower classes of society generally. Unless the retail dealer has sufficient capital to enable him to pay the prime cost of his stock, and maintain himself until the receipts from his business begin to come in, he must take credit from the party who supplies him with goods. I believe it is most usual for retail dealers to take credit for several months, in order that they may be able, in the mean time, to raise the prime cost of the goods by the disposal of part of them. In this state of things, it is of great importance to him that he should be able to turn some part of his goods into money ; if he can do so, he will then be able to continue his business, and probably realize a good profit after paying his debts ; but if he cannot do so, he is in danger of being ruined, although his goods may be fairly worth more than the amount of his debts. But a large portion of his customers will be retail dealers, situated like himself with re-

spect to money matters, and members of that other class of tradesmen whose principal expense in carrying on their business consists in the payment of wages to their workmen, and who require all their cash for that purpose; the custom of these parties, therefore, will not be of much service in enabling him to keep up his credit and continue his business; neither will the custom of any of those parties who are dependent, directly or indirectly, on trade for their support be of any permanent advantage for this purpose, as, whenever a stagnation in trade occurs, such custom will soon cease to be beneficial. The tradesman must, therefore, look to the custom of those persons whose incomes are independent of trade as the only sure resource for enabling him to carry on his trade during such a period of stagnation, and as the principal means of procuring for him that steady supply of cash which is necessary for the prosperity of his business. The largest portion of this class of customers consists of those persons whose incomes are derived from the land; and I believe it will be found that, practically, such incomes are the most regularly spent for the benefit of trade, so far, at least, as depends upon the landlord himself and those persons who are employed upon the land.

Again, the great home market for the various articles of merchandize and manufacture afforded

by the landed interest has a most beneficial effect in retaining for the country the benefit of its commerce and manufactures. Merchants and manufacturers are the citizens of no country ; they are always ready to carry their skill and capital to any part of the world which affords facilities for exercising them advantageously. Many instances might be produced from history of states which have risen rapidly to great wealth and power through commercial prosperity, and which have as rapidly decayed when some new situation was discovered which served as a more convenient emporium for the goods of the merchants, or afforded them greater facilities for communicating with the country with which they trafficked. But the great and certain demand for their goods which the merchants and manufacturers of this country find at home serves as a strong check to their yielding to any inclination to leave it and try the advantages of a foreign station. I will mention one circumstance in illustration of the correctness of these remarks. Probably, after our own country, the next best market for manufactures is afforded by the kingdom of France ; but it is the policy of the French government carefully to protect from foreign competition such manufacturers as there appears to be any chance of establishing with advantage, (a policy, by the way, which is not occasioned



by our Corn-laws, and would not be altered on a repeal of them,) and the consequence is, that some of our own manufacturers have thought proper to establish themselves there, and are now employing their skill and capital in the service of that country.

In order to estimate the importance of any particular interest, we should consider not only how far it is beneficial to the public at large, but also how far it is beneficial to the persons connected with it; and I maintain that the prosperity of agriculture is more beneficial to persons engaged in it than the prosperity of manufactures is to persons engaged in them. The benefit of agricultural prosperity is not only felt by the landlord, but is shared in by the tenant-farmer and also by the agricultural labourer. The labourer is then well fed and well paid, and although his work may be hard, it is neither unhealthy nor disagreeable. But the welfare of the peasant forms a most material part of the national welfare; it ought to be one of the first objects of every statesman to maintain the peasantry in a prosperous condition; they constitute the real strength of the country, and every measure which has a tendency to promote their welfare possesses a very strong recommendation in that circumstance. On the other hand, the prosperity of manufactures brings great wealth,



indeed, to the master manufacturer, but is by no means proportionately beneficial to the operative; the season of prosperity is to him a period of severe toil and privation; he may, indeed, obtain high wages, but no wages could compensate him for the unnatural exertions that he must make, and the unnatural privations that he must undergo. As far as he is concerned, it would be better if, at certain intervals, there should be some degree of relaxation in the activity of business, so that he might have the benefit of some relaxation in his labours, even though it should be accompanied by a diminution in his wages. Again, by adequately protecting the produce of the land from competition, we secure a sure and permanent source of employment for those who are engaged in agricultural labour; but this advantage cannot be secured to the manufacturing operatives, by any system of legislation, or by any other means, after the manufactures have increased to such an extent as ours have done already. Stagnations in trade will occur from time to time, and, as we know by experience, they always fall very heavily on the manufacturing operatives. The severest instances of distress in modern times have been among persons employed in the different branches of manufacturing industry; and the most frequent appeals to public

charity have been on their behalf. But the more this description of industry is extended, the more serious will be the calamity of a temporary cessation of employment, and the less the ability of the public to mitigate the consequent distress. If the Corn-laws should be abolished and the foreign demand for our manufactured goods should, thereupon, be much increased ; the consequence will be, that we shall be doubly dependent on foreign countries ; we shall be dependent on them for our food, and a considerable portion of the working classes will be dependent on their custom for the means of obtaining a livelihood. If those countries from which we are in the habit of taking corn should close their ports against us, distress will be the result, although our trade may be prosperous in all other respects ; and if our principal customers for manufactures should suspend their demand, distress will be the result, although corn may be cheap and abundant ; and if we carried on a considerable trade with any country in the exchange of manufactures for corn, it would be in the power of that country, by temporarily suspending the trade, to inflict a most serious calamity upon us at the expense of a comparatively trifling inconvenience to itself. And the evil effects of this power in other countries to annoy us would be felt by us, even if it were never actually exercised ;

we should feel it in the altered tone which those countries would assume towards us, and in the loss of our political influence over them. Indeed, it appears very doubtful whether the increase of manufactures beyond a certain point is advantageous to the welfare of the nation. It is no doubt desirable they should be placed on such a footing that may fully supply the demand for the home and colonial markets ; but any considerable increase in the foreign trade is likely to be attended by such serious evils that it appears to be the duty of a prudent statesman, rather to check than encourage the efforts of the manufacturer to attain that object.

There is a difference too in the social position of the landlord and manufacturer, which makes it probable that, other things being equal, the income of the landlord will be disbursed in a more liberal manner than that of the manufacturer. There is a certain degree of publicity in the position of the landlord, the extent of his property and his mode of dealing with it, are generally pretty well known ; his own comfort and convenience depend very much on the reputation in which he is held among his neighbours ; if he is liberal and generous in his dealings, he is sure to be rewarded for it by the esteem and respect of his neighbours, and if he thinks proper to indulge a sordid or selfish disposition, he cannot do so with the

impunity which a person in a less conspicuous situation might enjoy; his credit too among those of his own class is best maintained by a liberal style of living, and not (as might be the case with a person engaged in trade) by showing superior skill in making or saving money. I am not aware of anything in the position of the manufacturer which corresponds to these circumstances in the position of the landlord. But there are other duties incumbent on the owners of large fortunes still more important than that of a liberal expenditure among their neighbours; it is their duty to assist in maintaining the high place of the country among civilized nations by encouraging science and literature, and the liberal arts generally, by supporting and promoting charity and religion, and by keeping up the courtesies of social life in the exercise of a dignified hospitality; I think it will be allowed by all impartial persons that our aristocracy take the lead in these matters, and that the manufacturers are not at present competent to supply their place.

There is an obvious objection to the policy of making ourselves dependent on foreign nations for our food, in the difficulty which that dependence would occasion us in time of war. To this objection it is answered, that it will not be for the interest of foreign nations to go to war

with us, and that even in war we shall be sure of obtaining corn from some place or other, as long as we are willing to pay a good price for it. But in the first place, what right have we to assume that the government of any foreign country will always pay regard to its interests? What security have we against the madness of an hereditary despot, the extravagance of a democratic government, or the ambition of a military adventurer? Admitting, however, that the nations of Europe are at present generally unwilling to go to war with each other, still the very circumstance of our crippling our resources would materially alter the state of things; the leading powers of Europe are afraid to go to war with each other, and are prevented by their mutual jealousy from making war upon their weaker neighbours; but if one of the most powerful nations was to become weakened the case would be very different; then there would be an emulation among the other powers as to who should be the first to pick a quarrel with it, and thus obtain the best right to the principal share in the spoil. Some time ago, the warlike propensities of our French and still more of our American friends, were much inflamed by the mere circumstance that the usual success of our arms in India had met with a temporary check. Even if the skill and prudence of our ministers should save us from a direct collision

with any other nation, still the effect of our weakness would be, that we should have to take up a much lower position in the scale of nations; we should have to adopt a humbler tone and make many humiliating concessions in our dealings with other countries. A moment's consideration of the character of the relations at present existing between the U. States and Mexico, is sufficient to show that there may be a state of peace which is no better than a state of war. We are told, however, that we shall be able to get corn from abroad even in war time; but our enemies will understand as well as ourselves, that the want of provisions is our most vulnerable point, and they will use every effort to thwart our attempts to obtain a supply. Besides, we cannot obtain a supply without the co-operation of the inhabitants of the country from which we take it, and under the circumstances, they will not be willing to give us that co-operation, unless they are prepared to take upon themselves the responsibility of acting directly as our allies; and under the most favourable circumstances we shall always be under this disadvantage, that the first duty of our navy will be not to attack our enemies or defend ourselves, but to convoy the provisions which are required to keep the people from starving. Even the uncertainty that we shall always be under of obtaining a continued

supply, and the anticipation of the sufferings that we may be exposed to, will be a very serious calamity. We are told too, that we are already dependent on foreign countries for part of our supplies, and that that dependence must continually increase as the population increases ; but we could manage very well on occasion, to make shift without that part of our supply which we derive from abroad, and though the population is increasing, yet the produce of the land is increasing too, and would no doubt increase still faster if the producers were assured of adequate protection.

I will now proceed to consider whether any benefits are likely to result from the repeal of the Corn Laws. The advocates of repeal are very liberal in their promises on this subject ; we are told that the abolition of these laws will be productive of innumerable benefits, and will, in fact, be the source of universal peace, plenty, and prosperity. But it is not probable that any one step in legislation should produce such extensive benefits, and when we come to details, we find that the means by which these results are to be brought about are not quite consistent, and not always quite intelligible. We are told at one time, that bread will be cheaper, and at another time that the demand will increase so much, that it will become dearer ; and again we are told, that

what the corn law repealers want is, not cheap bread, but plenty of it; and lastly, we are told that the effects of repeal will be to raise the price of bread abroad so much as to cripple the attempts of the foreign rivals of our manufacturers, to compete with them; this, indeed, is an ingenious mode of annoying our neighbours, provided only they will submit to it, but it is not calculated to produce the above-mentioned desirable results. However, the most intelligible and plausible of the results promised from the repeal of the Corn Laws are as follows:—that by establishing on a permanent footing, an extensive trade in corn with foreign countries, we shall considerably extend the foreign demand for our manufactures and permanently lower the price of bread. Now, I must first observe, that it is a common fallacy to assume that all foreigners are a mere crowd of independent, easy-tempered people, always ready to do whatever we think most reasonable and most for their own interest they should do, ready to buy whatever we offer them at a moderate price, and ready to sell whatever we offer a good price for. If the inhabitants of all foreign countries were perfectly free to follow their own inclinations in their dealings with us, perhaps this assumption might be pretty near the truth, but practically it is very far from being true. Our dealings with foreign countries



must necessarily (except so far as they are carried on by means of smuggling) be under the control and direction of the governments of those countries, and those governments often have, or suppose themselves to have, an interest opposed to that of the people; they are all hampered by difficulties of one sort or another and, therefore not free to pursue the best course even when desirous of doing so; they are often compelled by the force of circumstances to adopt a very tortuous policy, insomuch that the very steps that we take for the purpose of inducing them to take a particular course often set them more decidedly against it. I believe it is generally expected that the principal part of our supply of corn will come from the Russian dominions; now let us consider what effect this importation is likely to have on our export trade to Russia; we are led to believe, that if the Russians have us as customers for two or three millions of quarters of corn, they will be thereby the better able to supply themselves with manufactured goods, and will be ready and willing to take our manufactures in exchange for their corn. But the fact is, we do already take an immense amount of the agricultural and rural productions of Russia, we are by far the best customers they have, but they take comparatively a very small amount of our goods in return. Notwithstanding the liberality

of our dealings with them, their laws are very stringently protective against us, and every year new contrivances are invented for the purpose of increasing that stringency. The consequence of this state of things is, that the Russian nobles are rolling in wealth, and quite unable to spend their incomes in their own country, and they accept as the greatest favour the privilege which they can obtain only on severe conditions, of going to reside abroad. Why then does not all this wealth procure a better demand for our manufactures in Russia? The first circumstance that I shall notice in explanation is this,—the money which we pay for the agricultural produce of Russia, goes into the pocket of the landowner, but any material increase in the demand for our manufactures must come from the common people. The Russian noble is already an excellent customer for such articles of luxury or convenience as he is allowed by his own government to take from us, and any further extension of our importations from Russia would not materially increase his ability to deal with us, but it is against his interest to allow his serfs to become acquainted with those articles of comfort and convenience with which we wish to supply them. The only probable effect of any further increase in our demand for the agricultural productions of Russia, will be to add to the oppression and degradation of

the serf in consequence of the greater pecuniary value which it will give to his labour. But a much greater difficulty in the way of any further extension of the Russian demand for our manufactures, is the circumstance that it is the policy of the Russian government to protect and encourage the native manufactures to the utmost. The empire possesses within itself the means and materials of manufactures in great abundance and variety ; it possesses almost every variety of soil and climate, and consequently the productions of the land are numerous and varied ; it possesses minerals in greater abundance and variety than other country, and it moreover has the advantage of a very extensive home market. Possibly it might be more advantageous to the Russians themselves to allow us to take their materials and supply them with the manufactures made from them ; but whether wisely or not, the policy of protection is carried out very perseveringly by the government, and by all the means which despotic power can supply. If we can at all hope to obtain any relaxation in our own favour of the zeal with which the Russian government pursues this favourite object, it can only be by means of our political influence, and certainly not by a proceeding which is calculated entirely to thwart that object. There are then these three difficulties in the way of extending the

market for our goods in Russia,—first, that the peasant will not be allowed to choose whether he will take British goods or not ; secondly, that it is against the interest of the noble to endeavour to procure for him the opportunity of doing so ; and thirdly, that this object is directly opposed to the policy of the Russian government.

Now let us turn our attention to another country from which a large supply of corn is expected—viz., the United States of America. And here the observation immediately occurs, that we do take an immense amount of the agricultural productions of the Southern States of the Union. Why then are not our exports to these States more in proportion to our imports from them ? And why are our advances towards free trade met by tariffs directed expressly against us ? The Corn Law repealers tell us, that the inhabitants of corn-growing countries will be glad to take our manufactures in exchange for their corn—it seems equally natural, and reasonable, that the cotton planters should be glad to take our manufactures in exchange for their cotton. The agricultural labourers in these States are slaves, but from the peculiarity of their character, it does not appear likely that any dangerous consequences would ensue to their masters from indulging them with the comforts, or even the luxuries of life. The duty formerly levied on the importation of cotton

was taken off at the commencement of the last session of parliament ; if the result had been an increase in the exportations to the Southern States, it would have furnished an argument to the Corn Law repealers, but I have not heard it alleged that this was the case. I believe the truth to be, that the inhabitants of these States are very willing to be good customers for our manufactures, but are prevented from being so by two circumstances, with which the Corn Laws have nothing whatever to do. The first is, the influence of the manufacturing States of the North, who are naturally desirous of securing to themselves the market of the South, and use all their influence with the legislature for the attainment of that object. The other reason is, the unfortunate feelings that have been excited between this country and the Southern States on the subject of slavery. If the inhabitants of these States could rely with confidence on a cordial feeling in this country, their own influence and exertions would be sufficient effectually to resist the attempts of the Northern States to prevent their dealing with us. But instead of cordiality they meet with nothing here but bitter taunts on their position as slave-holders ; and the persuasion under which they labour, that this country is actuated by a determined spirit of hostility towards them, necessarily paralyses their efforts to bring about a better understanding.

The difficulties which surround the question of slavery in the slave-holding States of America are greater, beyond comparison, than those which impeded its settlement in our own colonies. Unprepared as the Southerners are at present for the emancipation of their slaves, they are obliged to guard their rights over them with double vigilance, in consequence of the avowed determination of the British legislature, and the British nation, to use all their efforts to put down slavery wherever they meet with it. We are not justified in behaving to them as we do ; we ought to recollect, that it is not many years since slavery existed in the British dominions ; we ought to recollect too, that the slave-holding States were placed in that position, under the control of the British legislature, at a time when they formed a part of the British dominions, and that when the independence of the United States was established, their government led the way towards emancipation, by abolishing the African slave-trade ten years before the principle of abolition was acknowledged by the British legislature. Instead, therefore, of assuming towards the Southern States a tone of indignant virtue, we ought rather to give them the benefit of our experience, and every other assistance in our power, towards a satisfactory settlement of this difficult question, and then we might rely on their co-operation

in establishing commercial relations with us of a mutually beneficial character, and we should also obtain in their friendship a means of influence which would be exceedingly useful in our political dealings with the United States' government.

I have endeavoured to show, by means of these two instances, that an extension of the demand for our manufactures, in any foreign country, is by no means a necessary consequence of the extension of our trade in corn with that country, but that there are many other considerations which must be attended to for the purpose of effecting that object. In fact, the benefit to our foreign trade to be derived from a free trade in corn, is so restricted and modified by circumstances, that it would be better, even for the sake of the manufacturers themselves, to retain in our own hands the power of giving this trade to those countries only from which we could obtain some advantage in return. Even supposing the theories of the free traders on this subject to be correct, still the beneficial results which they anticipate would take some time to develop, but the effect of a repeal of the Corn Laws on the home market would be immediate; the apprehensions of those persons whose interests would be affected by it, would anticipate all its worst effects, and the consequence would be, a stagnation in the home market, which might

possibly, so cripple the manufacturers, that when the opportunity arrived for extending their foreign trade, they might be unable to take advantage of it. If we now take a general survey of our trade with foreign countries, we shall at once observe, that we do already carry on a large importing trade with most of them ; in fact, putting our great importations from Russia and America out of the account, England would still be the first importing country in the world. The vineyards of Portugal are cultivated chiefly for us ; we are the best customers for the wines of Spain, and the wines and brandies of France ; the finest fruits of the finest climates, so far as they will bear transporting, are reserved for our use. We also carry on a large importing trade with China and the East Indies, and this trade would certainly not be increased by a repeal of the Corn Laws. But by a measure which would strike at the interests of all those persons who are dependent for their incomes upon land, we should check that source of demand which renders all these supplies steady and permanent ; these trades would in consequence be much diminished, and become more fluctuating in their character, and consequently less profitable to the merchant, and more expensive to the consumer. We should thus be injuring many existing importation trades, for the purpose of establishing one new one ; and



some of those trades too, are far better calculated to effect the object in view, than the trade in corn. It will be observed, that the articles of trade which I have mentioned above, are merely luxuries ; our demand for them, therefore, does not interfere with the wants of the working classes in the countries from which we take them, but, on the contrary, supplies them with an extensive means of employment, and we can always suspend the demand without material inconvenience to ourselves, and the demand will naturally increase or diminish, according to the terms upon which the public are allowed to obtain a supply. This description of trade, therefore, is the most advantageous for giving us an influence over other countries. I have already endeavoured to show, that an extensive trade in corn would be more likely to diminish than increase our influence with foreign countries, and this trade too would be apt to excite a popular feeling against us : as, however beneficial it might ultimately become to the countries with which we carried it on, its first effect, in all of them, would probably be, to raise the price of corn to the natives themselves. And here I may observe, by the way, that much hostile feeling has been excited against this country, by the manner in which the trade in manufactures has been carried on. Wherever our manufacturers have

found an opening for their goods, they have been in the habit of pouring them into the country in such quantities, and at so moderate a price, as to involve in distress and ruin the poor native artizans, who have had no time whatever to prepare for, or escape from, the calamity. The people of the country, though they take advantage of the superior cheapness of our manufactures, are not the less disposed to listen to the complaints of their fellow-countrymen, and to believe their assurances, that if they are sufficiently protected, they will, in time, be able to compete with the manufacturers of this country. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising, that so many hostile tariffs should have been directed against us; though, probably, some of them might have been avoided, if our manufacturers had proceeded to establish their markets in a more moderate and gradual manner.

I will now proceed to consider the question, how far we are likely to obtain corn cheap by making the trade free. I will first observe, that it is not likely that the government of any foreign country would allow us to obtain therefrom a regular supply of corn cheaper than we could grow it at home without making us pay for the advantage; such governments would have a twofold inducement to levy a tax on the trade: first, because it would be a convenient means of

drawing a revenue from the pockets of foreigners; and secondly, because the tax would be a popular one, as the first effect of our custom would be to raise the price of corn. Another country, indeed, might draw away the trade by acting more liberally towards us; but governments, now-a-days, come to an understanding very readily on matters with respect to which they have a common interest; even those which might be hostilely disposed towards each other on other points would soon agree upon this. It may be said that it would be bad policy for the government of a corn-growing country to check a trade which might ultimately become beneficial to it; but governments generally prefer a present and certain advantage to a future and contingent one. A still more serious impediment in the way of our obtaining a permanently cheap supply of corn, is the fact that we shall have to depend on the merchants for that supply. It may be laid down as a general rule, that when we have to depend on the merchants for obtaining a sufficiency of any article which is strictly a necessary of life, the supply of that article will, practically, be a monopoly. There is this difference between a trade in a luxury and a trade in a necessary—that the demand for a luxury depends very much on the price: it will diminish rapidly when the price rises, and increase when it falls; but the

demand for a necessary continues more steadily about the same point whatever the price may be; consequently, if the supply be below the demand, the price will rapidly rise; if the supply exceeds the demand, the market will soon be glutted and the price will fall rapidly. If, therefore, the trade in corn be left quite open and unregulated, it will be a vexatious and, probably, an unprofitable one to the merchants; but, by placing it under regulations, they will have it in their power to make it a certain source of profit; and there will be no difficulty in effecting this object, as, if the large capitalists who engage in the trade act together, the minor adventurers must either follow their lead, or else be swamped by them. If, indeed, this country were a more purely mercantile one than it is, the merchants might not think it to their advantage to make this trade a monopoly; but with the supply of a great manufacturing population in their hands, the temptation to do so will be irresistible. The least injurious course they can be expected to pursue is at once to put a high price on the article; but it is to be feared that they will adopt a far more pernicious plan of proceeding, such as I have endeavoured to describe, as follows:—They will first artificially depress the price of corn in the market, so as to ruin many of the home growers, and, ultimately, throw a

considerable part of the land out of cultivation ; and then, when they have got the supply in their own hands, they will put a monopolizing price on the article. And the price which people will have to pay for their bread will depend, not on the season, or the abundance or failure of the crops, but on the decision of a few merchants, sitting in secret conclave in some back parlour in London or Liverpool. In former times, when markets were few, the country imperfectly cultivated, and communication between the different parts of it difficult, this spirit of monopoly was directed against the home supply of corn. The old statutes against forestalling, engrossing, and regrating, show how our ancestors were plagued by the interference of the speculator between the grower and the consumer. This evil, which no act of parliament could effectually cure, has been abated by the more general cultivation of the country, the facility of communication between the different parts of it, and the consequent facility with which individuals might, if necessary, supply their own wants at first hand ; but when once we are obliged to depend entirely on a supply of corn from abroad, the same evil will revive in a far more formidable shape.

I have thus endeavoured to show, that the two results which are most usually held up as the necessary consequences of a repeal of the Corn

Laws, are by no means certain to follow that measure ; but there is another result, which is much more probable, though not put forward so prominently by the leaders in the present agitation, and that is, that a material change will take place in the relative influence exercised by the chief interests in the country over its administration. The necessary consequences of impoverishing the landowners will be, to diminish their influence in the government of the country ; those persons who think that the government is at present too aristocratic, may consider this an improvement, but the power taken from the landowners will not descend to the people, but will be transferred to those who are now leading on the attack against the landowners. It is therefore a question for the serious consideration of those persons who propose to aid the manufacturers in their attempt to obtain a repeal of the Corn Laws, whether they are prepared to approve of this change in the parties who are in future to have the honour and greatness of the country in their keeping. If any mischievous consequences should ensue from this change, it will be a poor excuse for those who have helped to bring it about to say, that they did not intend it, but had quite a different object in view. If the manufacturers were to obtain the chief influence in the administration of the country, they would

be under a very strong temptation to abuse that influence ; the power of controlling the foreign relations of the country, would be like a mine of wealth to them, if they once yielded to an inclination to prefer their own advantage to the general welfare. But perhaps some persons who are now joining in the attack on the landowners, intend, afterwards, to deprive the manufacturers of the peculiar advantages which they have received from the legislature, but after the victory in the present struggle is gained, it will be too late to dictate terms to the victors ; the manufacturers may perhaps intend, at present, to give up their own share of protection, and possibly in the first enthusiasm of victory they may make some sacrifices, but it will afterwards depend upon themselves, whether or no they will use their power in advancing and exalting their own interests ; and if they should determine to do so, they are peculiarly competent to do it with effect, from the keenness and energy of their leaders, and the organization which they have established among themselves, by means of the Anti-Corn-Law League. This would be the first instance of manufacturers establishing themselves in so exalted a position, and therefore there is no direct precedent in history to enable us to judge in what manner they would behave themselves, but from the instances with which history and our

own experience furnish us of the way in which commercial men are wont to exercise any power they may obtain over others, will lead us to conclude, that parties whose leading object is gain, are not the most fit to be entrusted with the care of the honour and greatness of our own country. I will not, however, expatiate any further on this topic, but I will call the attention of my readers to one particular consequence which will result from the success of the plans of the League. It is well known, that this body have, for a long time past, been actively engaged in manufacturing votes, for the purpose of procuring the return to parliament, of as many as possible of their own nominees at the next election; they have already expended considerable sums in this object, and are now engaged in raising the further sum of a quarter of a million, the principal part of which is, no doubt, intended for the same purpose. Now, supposing that the League succeed in carrying a considerable number of seats in parliament by this means, and that the landowners are defeated, and the Corn Laws abolished; what will the League do next? Will they destroy the votes they are now so busily creating, and call upon their nominees to resign their seats, in order that the real constituencies may have an opportunity of electing representatives for themselves? The leaders of the League may indeed



profess to dissolve that body, but what will they do with all this political power? I think all persons who propose to subscribe to the funds of the League, should first ascertain, whether their plan of proceeding is quite constitutional, and then inquire of the League to what purpose all this political influence is to be applied, after the object for which it was placed in their hands has been attained.

The repeal of the Corn Laws has been advocated on the ground of distress existing in the country, and much declamation has been used on this topic, but there appears to be a striking want of facts to support that declamation. The prominence given to the failure of the potato crop by those who argue the fact on this ground, is itself a proof that there is a want of facts of a more appropriate character. The failure of the potato crop is, no doubt, a severe calamity, but it is a temporary one, and therefore, not a ground for a permanent alteration in our system of legislation; if the repeal of the Corn Laws would alleviate this calamity, the opening of the ports would be a still better remedy; but either of these measures would only increase the distress instead of diminishing it; it would be a second blow to many who are already suffering from the first, and it would interfere with the relief required by those who are in distress from the

failure of the potato crop, as it would diminish the means of those from whom the greater part of that relief is likely to come. Indeed the ridicule and detraction by which all attempts to mitigate this calamity, are met by the professed advocates of repeal, lead to the supposition that they wish to have the full advantage of it as a means of increasing the public excitement which they have already produced by their agitation. If, however, this agitation had originated among the working classes, and was the result of a belief on their part that their privations were occasioned by the Corn Laws, the legislature would be bound to give their attention to the complaints of such persons; and if their discontent could not be otherwise removed, it would be a serious question whether some sacrifice should not be made for the purpose of satisfying them. But this is very far from being the case; the working classes have frequently, when appealed to, refused to join in the agitation, and expressed a shrewd distrust of a measure which appeared to them calculated to increase the power of the capitalist and the manufacturer at the expense of the landowner. This agitation has originated with the manufacturers, a wealthy and flourishing class of men who wish to aggrandize themselves still further by the sacrifice of that other class under whose favour and protection they have grown up to their pre-

sent state of wealth and prosperity. Such an invasion by one class of the rights of another, cannot be too strongly condemned ; indeed, the only excuse that can be found for the persons engaged in it, is that they are too blinded by the hope of some great gain to perceive what mischiefs must fall on themselves if the landowners should be provoked into retorting the attack with the same violence with which it has been begun, and how fatal the continued existence of a quarrel between these two important interests must be to the general welfare of the community.

I have endeavoured in the preceding pages to show that protection to agriculture is essential to the welfare of the country, and that the repeal of the Corn Laws is not likely to produce those benefits which are very commonly anticipated from them. Surrounded as we are by the indications of abundant wealth and extensive commerce, we are too apt to forget how really limited the sources of our prosperity are. In the most artificial as well as in the most primitive state, the principal dependence of the country must be on the land. The land is the only sure and unfailing resource for enabling the government to meet its liabilities and maintain its credit ; and it is also the only sure and unfailing resource for providing the nation with food, or supplying the means of employment to the bulk of its popula-

tion. Our maritime superiority is no doubt a most valuable means of increasing our power and prosperity, but it will not give permanence to either one or the other.

But though there are certain conditions of our prosperity which must be submitted to, it is not necessary that those conditions should be severely felt by the people. Much might be done by the government towards alleviating distress, and raising the condition of the people, if they had leisure and opportunity to give the subject the attention which it deserves. Much oppression is exercised in this country by persons possessed of wealth and knowledge, over the poor and helpless ; by exercising a due degree of vigilance, the government might do much to check this evil ; and exposure alone would, in some instances, be sufficient to put an end to it. There is also much misery among the poor, occasioned merely by their own ignorance and helplessness ; the government might do much to mitigate this evil if they would only turn their attention seriously to the subject. There are some means also of promoting the prosperity of the country, the value of which is acknowledged by all parties ; the subject of colonization for instance, has been frequently pressed on the attention of the government, and they themselves have admitted its importance ; it is generally admitted, that a regular system of colonization would be of the greatest advantage as a

means of removing the scarcity of employment, and promoting the prosperity of the country in many other ways. We have had proof enough in our colonial history of the impolicy of neglecting our colonies in the earlier period of their growth, nevertheless the government have done very little on the subject, and give it by no means that degree of attention to which it is entitled. What is the reason of this neglect on the part of the government? I believe the fault rests very much with the people themselves. The people of this country are too apt to suppose that the government has nothing to do but to attend to their wishes and humours; they are too much in the habit of forcing upon the attention of the government every measure which happens to be the favourite of the day. The people are, no doubt, right in vigorously opposing any mischievous measure which the government may think proper to introduce, but if they are perpetually endeavouring to compel the government to pass every measure which they happen to have a fancy for, they will be doing a certain mischief for the sake of a very doubtful good. The government of this country have under their care the important and complicated interests of a most extensive empire, and all their care and attention are not too much to devote to them. We may be justly proud of the fact, that this country is the only one which ever main-

tained itself for so long a period, at the head of a great empire, with a free constitution; but we cannot have the full benefit of this advantage, unless we exercise more forbearance towards the government than we are in the habit of doing. This system of agitation seems only to embarrass and thwart an honest and patriotic minister, while it affords to one of a contrary character an easy means of gratifying the people without really serving them. The practice is bad enough when it really originates among the people themselves, but it is far worse when they are merely acting upon the instigations of others; when they are clamoring for the redress of grievances which they do not feel, but take up on the representations of persons who have an interest in persuading them of their existence; and yet we see grave personages, who ought to be above such influence, taking up questions which have been placed before them in this manner, and discussing them with as much solemnity as if the whole matter was to be decided by their wisdom, and then proceeding in the most formal manner to record their opinion, that this or that measure is essential to the welfare of the country. The persons who take a part in these displays may flatter themselves that they are thereby serving the country, but they are, in fact, only advertising their readiness to become the instruments

of any agitator who may think it worth his while to make use of them. These remarks are peculiarly applicable to the present crisis ; if the people discountenance the present agitation, and refuse to allow themselves to be excited by the arts of the interested persons who are conducting it, they will thereby give a strong assurance to ministers, that the best way of obtaining their favour is, by really attending to their interests, and not by devising plausible measures for the purpose of amusing and cajoling them ; but if they allow themselves to be persuaded into giving their assistance towards effecting the objects of the agitators, the result of success will be, that they will suffer the mortification of finding, that they have been deluded into serving as instruments of the most selfish designs, and the self-reproach of knowing, that they have helped to inflict a most serious injury on the welfare of the country.

**SIR ROBERT PEEL**

**AND**

**THE CORN LAW CRISIS.**

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***THIRD EDITION.***

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# SIR ROBERT PEEL

AND THE

## CORN-LAW CRISIS.

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THE interval between the termination of "the Crisis," and the meeting of Parliament, affords an opportunity of taking a survey of the extraordinary political situation in which the country is placed. We may now look behind us, about us, and before us—ruminate on the past, meditate on the present, and speculate on the future. Whichever way we turn our eyes, the figure of Sir Robert Peel prominently presents itself, and all our reflections and speculations resolve themselves into a consideration of his past, present, and future career, and the very remarkable position in which he stands in relation to those who have hitherto served under his banner, and to the country at large. When the Reform Bill had laid the Tory party prostrate in the dust, as some hoped, and others feared, never more to rise, Sir Robert Peel undertook the arduous task of raising them from their depressed condition, of reanimating their courage, of stimulating their exertions, and teaching them how to recover their lost influence and power. By degrees he infused

spirit and confidence into the broken and desponding mass—confidence begat vigour and concert; and as success dawned upon them, “hope elevated, and joy brightened their crests.” While prosecuting this great work of party regeneration, nothing could exceed the admiration and enthusiasm with which their chief inspired the Tories. While he was leading them through the wilderness of opposition to the promised land of office, they were ready to obey and follow him, with a boundless confidence and devotion; but from the very beginning of this great endeavour, the leader and the led were not really of one mind, though they never came to a thorough understanding, or clear explanation with each other. The great mass of the Tories had very simple views and objects; they wanted to recover the local influence they had lost, to overthrow the Whig, and re-establish a Tory Government, and had a general desire and expectation of restoring the ascendancy of Tory policy as contradistinguished from Whig or Liberal policy; they hoped to exalt the Church, and discourage the Dissenters, to extend the controul of the Clergy over national education, and humble and depress Catholic Ireland, by again making the Irish Protestants the principal recipients of the bounty and favour of the State; and above all things to maintain the Corn Laws, and check the progress of free trade. But

Sir Robert Peel was toiling day and night, in pursuit of power, with very different thoughts in his mind, and very different objects in his view. He sought to rally, but at the same time to regenerate his party. He wanted to educate them afresh ; to teach them, now that rotten boroughs were abolished, and the old sources of political influence dried up, to look to other and more legitimate sources of influence ; to identify themselves in feelings, interests, and opinions, with the mind of the nation ; to keep pace with the rapid progress of national thought ; to cast off prejudices and expectations, become obsolete and impracticable ; and to take up a position in which a determination to defend the great institutions of the country should be united with a readiness to correct abuses, and relinquish odious privileges, and thus to exhibit themselves to the world as the enemies of factious innovations and dangerous theories, and the protectors of the rights, and interests of all classes of the community. His speeches for some years are redolent of this ruling idea, this predominant purpose and object ; he did all he could to give a patriotic, and a national character to his opposition ; and if his party gradually regained popularity and influence, it was mainly owing to the enlightened and liberal tendency of their leader's declared opinions and views.

But Sir Robert was wiser and better informed than the great majority of his followers. He had educated himself before he tried to educate others : he had acquired sound notions of political economy. He had seen much, read much, and reflected much ; and it is not difficult to discern, from the whole course of his political conduct, (that course which is so bitterly upbraided and so imperfectly comprehended,) that two great conclusions had been formed in his mind. First, that sound policy required a fresh adaptation of the laws and of the practice of government to the actual and much-altered state of society ; and, secondly, that the changes which were indispensable ought to be brought about gradually, and, if possible, by the influence of persuasion and reason. He knew that the mind of his party, and that of no inconsiderable portion of the country, lagged far behind the necessity which he himself so clearly saw ; and he earnestly desired to deal tenderly with prejudices and fears, which, unreasonable or unfounded as they might be, were sincerely and not unnaturally entertained by vast bodies of men, respectable from their station and character, formidable from the vehemence of their opinions and the extent of their influence, and who formed the bulk and strength of the party of which he was at once the Child and the Champion. Unhappily the pro-

gress of sound and liberal opinions in the Tory body did not correspond with the desires and expectations of their Chief. Ominous symptoms appeared from time to time, that, while the Conservative cause was thriving, there was a half-revealed, but unavowed, disunion of sentiments and principles between him and them; but the murmurs of discord were drowned in the tumult of success, and when Sir Robert gave utterance to his own liberal opinions, they never stopped to inquire at what practical result he was aiming, but comforted themselves with a vague and unauthorized hope that he did not really and truly mean all that he said. Thus they went on deceiving themselves; and as he either could not or dared not undeceive them, what is called a *false position* was established,—dangerous, and, in the end, disastrous to all the parties concerned. In its conception his policy was well-meaning and patriotic, but in execution it was replete with difficulties; it unavoidably generated the distrust and suspicion of his adherents, and afterwards the resentment and indignation, which are now bursting forth in such torrents of angry and clamorous invective. His policy was in the main wise and just, because it was comprehensive and considerate,—because it embraced a varied range of interests and objects, conservative as well as liberal,—and because its

especial aim was the accomplishment of beneficial changes without inflicting injury or exciting alarm.

Such were the mutual relations, and the secret discordance, of the Tory Party and the Tory Chief, while apparently the political sky was still unclouded, and unanimity and harmony seemed to prevail. At length arrived the closing year of the Melbourne Government, the production of the famous budget, the general election, and the change of administration. Sir Robert Peel had given fair warning, and made repeated declarations of the principles on which he meant to govern the country. He did so, when he was expecting to be Minister; and again when he was become Minister. He did not, indeed, upon any occasion divulge all the thoughts and particular intentions which were garnered in his mind; but he said enough to cheer some, and frighten others, with the conviction that no considerations, either of party connexion or of consistency, would fetter him in the discharge of his public duty, and in the exercise of his discretion in regard to the public interests. These ominous and important declarations created a very general impression, that great reforms and great changes might be expected from Sir R. Peel; and he had no sooner grasped the reins of Government, than he began the deve-

lopment of that system of policy which he had so long been forming in his own mind, and for which he had in vain endeavoured to prepare his adherents. Then ensued a state of things unparalleled in political history. The great Minister, with his irresistible majorities in both Houses, was assailed from the most opposite quarters with bitter but sympathetic reproaches. At the Carlton Club mutterings against his treachery and falsehood were vented in the morning, by the same men who, in the evening, flocked down to the House of Commons to back him with their votes; while at Brookes' he was derided for his dissimulation, and accused of the dishonesty of promulgating sound principles and proposing good measures. Both his political adherents, and his political opponents, cast aside all recollection of the sentiments and the determinations he had announced; and as much astonishment and indignation were expressed at the liberal character which he tried to stamp upon his administration, as if he had been all along professing and encouraging the doctrines of Perceval and Eldon. The curious spectacle was exhibited of a Leader having little agreement, less sympathy, and no cordiality with the great bulk of the party which he led, while between himself and the chiefs of the party opposed to him there was hardly any difference, except that he was in office and they were out.



The Tories, however, deeply as they were mortified and incensed, thought that he had still one redeeming virtue left, and that they might depend upon his upholding the Corn Laws, and it is only now that he is about to give them up that he is deemed to have filled the whole measure of his iniquity.

Let, however, equal justice be done to all who are engaged or interested in this deplorable contest. If the foregoing estimate of Sir Robert Peel's policy be correct, he must long ago have reached the conclusion that a system of agricultural protection could not, and need not, be permanently maintained; but that he thought the abolition of the Corn Laws ought to be a gradual operation, spread over a long space of time: and that it was his especial object, that so great a change should be made without injury to the landed interest, and without a schism in the party of which that interest was the foundation and the strength. The Protective system had flourished at least during the whole life of the present generation; it had been upheld by every Government and by statesmen of all parties; during the ten years of Whig administration no thought was entertained of invading it, and Lord Melbourne, then Prime Minister, in his place in the House of Lords, had emphatically announced his resolution to maintain it; annual motions for the repeal of the Corn Laws were scornfully re-

jected as a matter of course; and Mr. Charles Villiers, who gallantly maintained an apparently desperate struggle through a long period of obloquy and discouragement, was treated as a visionary enthusiast.

Such was the condition of the Corn Law question when the Whig cabinet, in the last moments of its existence, flung the Free Trade budget into the arena of political strife. Nothing could have been contrived or imagined so calculated to derange the combinations and embarrass the future course of Sir Robert Peel. He could not oppose this budget without standing committed in the opinion of the world to the principle of agricultural protection, nor was it possible for him, by any qualifications or reservations, to attack the Government scheme, and at the same time leave himself free, without the imputation of inconsistency, to propose, at some future time, the establishment of an open trade in corn—on the other hand, it was almost impossible for him to do otherwise than oppose it—nor was his opposition in reality insincere. He did not think the country was ripe for such a change, and to a fixed duty he had a rooted objection; but even if he had been himself inclined to let this measure pass, he could no more restrain the ardour of the Tory party, than a huntsman could whip off his pack when in the act of running into their fox in his last field; if he had consented to this budget, he

would not only have adopted a policy which (founded as it might be, on principles in which he concurred) was very different from that which he contemplated, but he would have at once broken up the party which he had been so long labouring to form.

At the general election, he was obliged to take the field at the head of his troops—the banner of protection was every where set up—the battle was fought and won, and the Free Traders were put to the rout; but the Government of Sir Robert Peel unhappily came into power as a Government of protection, constituted for that especial end, and deeply pledged to support the principle. The Prime Minister soon found himself occupying a position in which he was exposed to the attacks of friend and foe, and he was accused on the one hand of being the mischievous abettor, and on the other, of being the dangerous underminer of protection; it was the unavoidable misfortune of a policy, in its nature so subtle and refined, that it exposed its author to an ever-running stream of suspicion and odium. He has been lavishly accused of fraud, treachery, and deception; but it is infinitely easier to vent an accumulation of anger and disappointment, in vague abuse and calling hard names, than to make good by evidence and argument, the several counts of such an indictment. In the first place, nobody was, in fact, deceived.

The Agriculturists comprehended him too well for the peace of their minds, and the serenity of their tempers. He declared himself indeed, still inclined to protection, but he began immediately to alter the Corn Laws, much to the dissatisfaction, and much to the alarm of many, who did not fail to prognosticate that these changes were only intended to be "the beginning of the end." He well knew that whatever might be the sound abstract theory, the time was not come when either a repeal or a great alteration in the Corn Laws was practicable, or could be attempted without breaking up the Conservative party, exciting a dangerous ferment in the country, and putting in jeopardy many other objects of national policy, not less urgent or important. But far from uttering one word indicative of "finality," or any intention of making protection sempiternal, he not only carefully guarded himself against any such inference, but by the whole tenor of his language, infused an opposite conviction into the minds of all those who dispassionately attended to what he said, and who were not determined to misunderstand him first, and revile him afterwards. None are so deaf as those who will not hear—none so dull as those who will not comprehend. But hear Lord Worsley—a Whig, indeed, but as to protection, as good a Tory as the best of them; what says he of Sir Robert Peel's language and conduct during the last five years? "He was surprised to

find that the meeting (at Horncastle) seemed to lay the fault on Sir Robert Peel, of the impending attempt to withdraw protection from them, whereas the blame attached to those who supported his previous alterations in the Corn Laws . . . . . On the hustings (1841), he told them he had no confidence in Sir Robert Peel, *and he expected he would alter the Corn law system . . . . .* it was not surprising that Sir Robert Peel was now willing to make further alterations . . . . . it was curious to observe how difficult it was to ascertain in Sir Robert Peel's speeches, exactly his opinions on the Corn Laws. Perhaps there was only one instance in which it could be fairly said that he distinctly declared himself of opinion that a repeal of the Corn Laws would be injurious to the country . . . . on all other occasions there was some qualification, *and generally speaking there seemed a lurking intention at no very distant period, to get rid of the Corn Laws altogether.* In one speech he said that every act of the Government had a tendency *towards the gradual abatement of purely protective duties.*" This is the incidental testimony of a man who is no friend to Sir Robert Peel, upon either general or agricultural grounds. They who pour out such vehement imputations of "dishonesty," seem utterly to forget, that men (unless the victims of some morbid appetite for evil), seldom commit flagrant breaches of honour and integrity, but for

the gratification of some passion, or the promotion of some interest. Wise men have stooped to baseness and disgrace, but then their object, worthless as it ought to have been, was manifest and intelligible; but that any, man sound in morals, and sagacious in intellect, should betray and deceive his friends, not merely without any conceivable object, or possible advantage to himself, but palpably to his own detriment and danger, and at the probable expense of the friendships and attachments which are the chief delights and consolation of life, is to imagine a moral impossibility, and to suggest a self-contradictory proposition. Sir Robert Peel can be no more indifferent than other men to old associations and connexions, and what had he to gain, and what not to lose, by the independent but obnoxious course which he has pursued? Where are we to look for an intelligible motive for his conduct? He was the undisputed head of a great party, who were able and inclined to make his tenure of office permanent and impregnable—to secure his own personal ease and tranquillity, and the maintenance of his power, he had only to govern upon Tory principles, and propose measures congenial to the desires and expectations of his party. Nothing hindered his taking, and it was his obvious interest to take this course. He would have had an unavailing though able opposition,

but union and harmony would have reigned in the Tory camp. He would have enjoyed a power which nothing could shake, and the unabated attachment of those who are now pursuing him with execration and reproaches. It is not to be supposed that these alternatives and their consequences escaped his penetration, or that he did not very well know what he was about. What then could be the motives which influenced his election? Is it possible to imagine that they could have been any other than a paramount, all-absorbing sense of public obligation, a clear and conscientious conviction, that the interests of the country required the system of policy which he had adopted, and that it was his duty to persist in it, in spite of all the obloquy with which he might be assailed, at the price of the friendships he might forfeit, or of the power he might eventually lose? if it be possible, let those who now so bitterly complain, point out one selfish object which he could have had in view, or how he could advance any one personal or political end.

We hear loud cries against the "treachery" of Sir Robert Peel; treachery, it is presumable, to the owners of the soil? If, indeed, he was only the hired advocate of the landlords, they may have a right to accuse him of deserting or betraying their cause; but he is Minister of the Crown, bound to promote, not the advantage of any

particular class, but the interest and prosperity of the whole; he is not an agent of the agriculturists, but the servant of the State; and if against the dictates of "his enlightened conscience, and his mature judgment," he had sacrificed to their interests, the interests of the nation at large, he would have been a traitor to his Sovereign and his country. It is possible that he may be mistaken in the whole scope and object of his policy; it is possible that he may have erred in the means by which he has endeavoured to give effect to it; but impartial justice will one day or other acknowledge that his motives have been patriotic.

And now let us be fair to the agriculturists, who are struggling to save their protection with a desperation worthy of a better cause; it may be just and expedient to abolish the Corn Laws, but the hue and cry with which the League has pursued them is unjust. They are held excused by the whole history of Corn law legislation. Not long ago, it would have been deemed no less preposterous to propose the abolition of protection, than of the best of our national institutions. They were brought up in the belief that the Corn Laws were indispensable for their own existence, and expedient for the security of the country. If these were prejudices and errors, they were at least partaken with ministers



and statesmen of all colours; and it is hard to reproach country gentlemen for adhering to the recorded doctrines of Mr. Huskisson, the great luminary of Free Trade, and for anchoring their minds upon arguments which were once sufficient for many able and distinguished persons who have since changed their opinions on the subject. The leaders of parties are often permitted to controul and direct the judgments of their followers on questions of general policy; but on matters in which vital interests are thought to be at stake, a party cannot suddenly be made to turn or advance with the celerity and unanimity of a cargo of passengers in a railway train. The minds of masses are sluggish, and less influenced by reason than by habit; and when interest and habit are in unison, reason has a very poor chance of being heard: a good deal, therefore, may be said for the agriculturists and protectionists; but judging from their recent exhibitions, and the enormous predominance at them, of nonsense and abuse over sense and argument, it would be better for them to say as little as possible for themselves.

These exhibitions however, deplorable, and humiliating as the spectacle is which they present to the civilised world, are by no means to be despised or held cheap. Whatever else they may be, they are manifestations of a vast power, gone mad with rage

and fear, and breaking through all the restraints of reason and decorum. If the protectionist agitators can only succeed in baffling or retarding the expected measures of the Government, they care not by what means, through the aid of what allies, or with what consequences, immediate or remote, to themselves or the country.

Let us, however, now look for a moment on the extraordinary state of this extraordinary question; at its phenomena, and its possible contingencies. Volumes, hundreds of volumes have been written and spoken upon it, not certainly without great effect, but still with an effect very incommensurate with the exertions that have been made, and the ability that has been employed in its cause. Still, every observer must be struck with the division of opinions on the Corn Laws, and the character of that division. The great majority of landlords, and farmers, are really convinced that it will be their ruin if the Corn Laws are repealed, and they sincerely believe that they have a right to the protection which they think those laws afford them; but there is a considerable minority of persons immediately interested, of landlords and farmers also, who hold directly opposite opinions.— Men, for example, like the Dukes of Bedford and Devonshire, Lords Spencer and Fitzwilliam, are amongst the greatest of the landed proprietors, and their

wealth consists exclusively of land—without questioning their disinterestedness and public spirit, it may be assumed that they have not the smallest inclination to become martyrs, or to descend to a condition of mediocrity, and immolate themselves on the altar of patriotism. The above-mentioned noble persons, with a host of others, men of understanding, of information, and of experience, are persuaded that the repeal of the Corn Laws will be beneficial to the country without being injurious to them ; the opinions however of one set of landlords may be set against those of another set ; but the progress and the state of opinion generally is so remarkable, that it would infallibly be conclusive on every other subject ; there is hardly one man, perhaps with the exception of Lord Ashburton there is no man, of acknowledged eminence either in active or contemplative life, who is not by this time convinced of the wisdom, the justice, and the necessity of repealing the Corn Laws ; the ablest writers upon political economy who have most deeply studied the subject, are of this opinion ; by degrees, the most distinguished public men of different parties, all who are regarded as competent to discharge the arduous functions of government and legislation, have given up the principle of agricultural protection. Every one in the cabinet of Sir Robert Peel—every one who was to have been in the cabinet of Lord

John Russell, has arrived at this conclusion ; some with reluctance, some with hesitation, some, like Lord John himself, after a long course of study and observation. If we look over the benches of either House of Parliament, we shall not find among the defenders of the Corn Laws, a single man whose opinions command attention upon general political subjects ; and if we turn our eyes to the country, we find arrayed against those laws a formidable combination of able writers and powerful speakers, whose vigorous reasoning, while it convinces and excites the minds and feelings of the community, is encountered by nothing better than the querulous and abusive ebullitions which froth out at agriculturist meetings, or the monstrous exaggerations which are concentrated in the Quarterly Review.

With this vast mass of moral and intellectual (to say nothing of physical) power enlisted on one side, if it were an abstract question that was in discussion, the verdict of every man here, and the judgment of the civilised world upon it would not be for one instant doubtful ; the plainest understandings would, without hesitation, decide that the cause which was sustained by the most intelligent and well-informed men, must be better than the cause which was sustained by incapable and ignorant men ; much more when the latter were defending

what they considered their own especial interest ; but the agriculturists, in the excess of their alarm, have cast off all candour, all modesty and all docility : they don't want to be enlightened, and they will not be led ; they would no more read the speeches of Cobden and Bright, or the tracts of the League, than a good Christian would read the Age of Reason, or the philosophy of Voltaire ; and they spurn the advice of the political guides, to whom they have been all their lives in the habit of deferring. It is in vain that pregnant facts stare them in the face—they forget the history of their own revenues, they overlook their actual and comparative position, and no more doubt the validity of their claims to protection, than that of their titles to their estates.

England has been constantly advancing in wealth ; but it is within the last fifty years that her most gigantic strides have been made—the anti-jacobin war, was no less profitable than glorious to the aristocracy, and fine times they were, when glory and profit went hand in hand. The gentlemen of England, instead of having any sacrifices to make, were enriched by the tide of wealth which flowed into the country. The Arkwrights, the Watts, and the Blacks, brought their creative energies into the field, and that astonishing fabric of manufacturing prosperity was erected, the greatest and most permanent benefits

of which were reaped by the Proprietors of land. The national wealth increased in a far greater ratio than the expenses of the war or the public debt. While our fleets swept the ocean, and our commerce pervaded the universe, land rose enormously in value. The owners of the soil were transported with such rapid prosperity, and fondly expected that this golden age was to last for ever. They indulged in a style of improvident profusion: "Their equipages shone like meteors, and their palaces rose like exhalations." At length the reaction came, and when the habits which these palmy days had generated were suddenly interrupted, they piteously invoked "Protection" to save them from the consequences of their thoughtless extravagance. Lords and gentlemen, who complained that they were poorer than they had been five or ten years before, forgot that they had still a command of the luxuries of life twice as great as their fathers, and three times as great as their grandfathers before them. The rise in the value of land—considerable everywhere—in the manufacturing counties, especially Lancashire, was almost incredible. In the course of 150 years the property of that county, as a whole, had risen six thousand three hundred per cent.; and in the three hundreds, which were chiefly agricultural, three thousand five hundred per cent. The vast

influx of wealth created a corresponding demand for land—the increase of population a demand for food. This ought to have been sufficient for the landowners, if they had comprehended their real interests; but, unhappily, they fancied that their prosperity could only be secured by Corn Laws, and that they had a right to protection. These fancied rights and necessities need not be argued here. But passing over the right, it is marvellous that the agriculturists should now overlook one fact strikingly illustrative of the question of necessity: it is notorious that the value of every marketable commodity depends upon the circumstances, either actual or prospective, by which it may be affected. The funds rise and fall with every event in the slightest degree calculated to endanger the peace or disturb the prosperity of the country; the expectation of a good harvest lowers, and of a bad one raises the price of grain. Land itself lies under similar conditions; the price which it will commonly fetch is the measure of its value; that price depends upon the return which as an investment it yields, or which (all probable contingencies considered) it is likely to yield. Nothing can be more certain than that any event or circumstance having a tendency, immediate or remote, to diminish the profit derivable from land, must diminish, to an extent

corresponding with the expected loss, the marketable value of the land itself. In such a case there would infallibly be an eagerness to sell, and a reluctance to buy; mortgages would be called in; investments in land would cease; it would no longer be considered the best of securities; there would be a sort of panic—a *saute qui peut*; the market would be glutted with land. How is it, then, that not one of these signs is visible? The landed interest has for some time past been in jeopardy, and a very general impression has been continually gaining ground that the Corn Laws had not long to live. And the warnings have been loud, repeated, and any thing but disregarded by those whom they especially concerned.

Nevertheless, in the midst of so much wailing and gnashing of teeth, at the prospect of impending ruin, where is the landowner, who has shewn any anxiety to part with his property, or any disposition to accept a reduced price for his acres? Is there greater difficulty in selling, or greater facility in buying land now than heretofore?—does it command a diminished price? No symptoms have appeared of any such sense and anticipation of danger and loss; and even now, when the knell of the Corn Laws is ringing, when their grave is supposed to be dug, the pulse of landed credit beats with its usual regularity; and nobody seems in any hurry to quit a



vessel which the crew within it assure us is in such imminent danger of foundering. The only solution of what appears so unaccountable, is, that the peril is imaginary—that the protectionists are making much ado about nothing—that notwithstanding the pretended depreciation which threatens land, and the notion that a great part of it must go out of cultivation, those who have got this worthless article have no inclination to part with it, while hundreds and thousands are desirous of embarking their money in its acquisition.

The delusion of a deluge of foreign importation has been over and over again exposed; but still this bugbear is reproduced with a confident effrontery, because any argument is good enough to convince those who had no doubt before. And now we hear of another bugbear still more absurd than the first, in the shape of an imaginary Continental confederacy to starve us. By a precisely similar process of reasoning, it might be proved that England must be invaded, and conquered, in about a couple of years, for a combination of foreign potentates to conquer England is not less probable, and quite as possible, as a similar combination to starve her. A coalition of the great and small powers could assemble 150 sail of the line, and an army of a million of men; with this force they could command the Channel, and cer-

tainly we have not wherewithal to resist such a mighty armament; we must therefore be vanquished and overrun. Q. E. D. The argument in the one case seems as perfectly syllogistic as that in the other. The danger of an enormous importation of foreign wheat, throwing millions of acres out of cultivation, and therefore ruinous to the British grower is so visionary, as scarcely to deserve a serious refutation;—the two great sources of supply have long been Dantzic and Odessa—wheat imported from Dantzic, *communibus annis*, cannot be sold in England for less than between 40 or 50 shillings a quarter, and the best Black Sea wheat was a few weeks ago selling at Malta, a perfectly free port, at 22 scudi, or about 34 shillings a quarter; and to bring it to England, would cost at least 12 shillings more. It must be borne in mind that these are the prices of a limited demand, and that no considerable quantity could be obtained without an increase of prices, inasmuch as recourse must be had to inferior soils and more distant places.

It is, however, almost vain to hope that any financial or statistical arguments will ever produce

\* As a specimen of the exaggerated fears of the effects of free trade, Mr. Gladstone (in his able pamphlet on the Tariff) mentions a calculation that *three millions of pigs* would probably be imported in the course of 2½ years. The importation has been 1,000.

any effect on the agricultural mind ; but there are political considerations, which may be expected to weigh, with those, at least, who have not entirely lost their senses, who are accustomed to reason and reflect upon public affairs, and who, above all, from their wealth and station, have great interests of their own at stake. There probably may be among them persons who opposed the Reform Bill, and who opposed it because they thought it would confer an immense and irresistible power on the manufacturing interest ; they were not mistaken, and to the power which legislation created, is to be added the still greater power of a prodigious increase and diffusion of wealth, intelligence, and enterprise. Be it for good or for evil, vast legal and moral changes have taken place in this country. They have, however, been peaceful changes, and they have hitherto been safe ; but if those who are most alarmed at the new power which has arisen, are resolved to put themselves in hostile collision with it, great and awful will be the shock, and appalling the danger to all the old institutions and associations, of which every wise and good man must earnestly desire the preservation. Lords and landlords, think all those their enemies who demand a repeal of the Corn Laws. They are their own enemies who so obstinately defend their protection ; the real source of their

greatness and of their happiness has hitherto been in the force of old hereditary associations—in a respect and attachment, not confined to local connexion, but expanding in a general confidence in the integrity, honour, and patriotism, of the aristocracy. They survived the momentary unpopularity of the Reform contest, and emerged from it with consideration little diminished, and influence scarcely impaired; but if ever those great masses of intellect and interest, which constitute public opinion, shall cast off their old instincts of veneration, and those who have enjoyed all honour and respect, shall expose themselves to the odium of seeking their own private advantage at the expense of that of the people, the heaviest blow will be inflicted, not merely on them, but on the character and on the best interests of the country itself; no difference of rent would afford adequate compensation for the loss of the attachment and respect of the people. But even supposing this to be a struggle worth maintaining, every man of common prudence and forethought, will calculate both the means and the risk of carrying it on, and the chances which present themselves of ultimate success: it will probably be admitted, even by the most desperate protectionist, that the actual period of agitation and contest is full of mischief and danger; the confusion, the excitement, the exasperation, the

expense, are all evils of magnitude ; the question then which presents itself is, whether there is a prospect, and a rational expectation, not merely of gaining a temporary victory, but of securing permanently the principle of protection—of putting a stop to agitation, of persuading the millions who cry aloud for the abolition of the Corn Laws, to hold their peace, and to resign themselves to the imposition of those laws for ever ; it is hard to conceive that there can be one individual not utterly demented, who seriously and soberly figures to himself the possibility of such a consummation : there cannot be such total blindness to all past experience, and to the inevitable inductions from the past to the future. No great question in this country ever made such progress, and acquired such a momentum as this has done, and failed after all of success. The rapids of Niagara will sooner stand still, than Corn Law agitation will subside ; and the landlords have to determine whether they will consent to the immediate settlement of a question, every hour of agitation of which is pregnant with mischief, or whether they will make the contest perennial ; agitation with its train of evils, the permanent condition of society ; and condemn this country to be a vast arena of strife, in which all the bad passions, and evil designs will be let loose, which have been chained

downby the predominance of good sense and moderation.

But this is not all : behind these grave considerations lies that, no less grave, of the Government of the country. If the Protectionist League shall succeed in throwing out the ministerial measure, they will throw out the ministers with it—and then what next? The Whigs have already declined to take the Government with such slender chances of being able to hold it. If Sir Robert Peel is driven from the helm, the boldest of the agriculturist champions may well be appalled at the condition in which such a victory would place the country. They who think the Corn Laws are the be all and the end all here—indispensable to us as the air we breathe—that with them we shall flourish and without them we must decay—may require no other qualification in a minister than a resolution to maintain these laws : but if all the tried and able men of both the great parties shall be virtually set aside, and an attempt be made to put men without experience or reputation in their places, can it be supposed that the country will tamely endure such an insane and insulting experiment? The main strength of Sir Robert Peel consists neither in the support of the aristocracy nor in any personal popularity ; but in the sober dispassionate opinion of the middle classes that He is the fittest man to

govern the country. There is an immense body of persons neither Whigs nor Tories, and free from party prejudices and connections, who, feeling that their own interests are identified with the prosperity of the country, care only for having the management of public affairs committed to the ablest public men. Sir Robert Peel enjoys the reputation of being sagacious, prudent, and experienced, and therefore thousands of practical men, who may be indifferent to his person, and perhaps dislike many of his measures, are well contented to see him the Minister of the Crown. This may not be a glittering, but it is a solid sort of popularity. The same sentiment might possibly be equally satisfied with Lord John Russell and his able colleagues, in whose hands they might consider the interests of the country to be equally secure ; but to suppose that the great capitalists, and all that mighty mass of industry and intelligence, to whom it is of vital importance that the complicated machinery of government should be skilfully worked—to suppose that they would endure such a government as the Agriculturists could form—a cabinet which would be despised at home and derided abroad, would be the most preposterous delusion that ever entered into the mind of man. There are indeed some very simple persons who fancy that, however defeated, the present Government would not think of

quitting their posts; they flatter themselves that when Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues shall have been well beaten, they will meekly submit to be chained to the galley of Protection, and with all their humbled strength row along the Philistines of the land:—that indeed would be a noble spectacle to exhibit to the world. Let us, however, hope that we shall in the end escape the extreme dangers with which we now appear to be menaced. As the time for action draws near, some of the present heat may be expected to evaporate. The sensible and the reasonable men will emerge from the desperate and unreasoning crowd, and wiser counsels will at length prevail. There has always been a wonderful power in this country of righting itself, in the midst of the most formidable disturbances of its equilibrium—it has never failed yet, and, with the blessing of Providence, it will not fail us now.

THE END.





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NEW CORN BILL AND TARIFF.



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PASSED JUNE 26, 1846.

ALSO,

AN ACT TO ALTER

CERTAIN

DUTIES OF CUSTOMS,

PASSED JUNE 26, 1846.

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# AN ACT

## TO AMEND THE LAWS RELATING TO THE IMPORTATION OF CORN,

PASSED JUNE 26, 1846.

*Anno Nono & Decimo Victoriae Reginae.*

CAP. XXII.

**W**HEREAS an Act was passed in the session of Parliament held in the Fifth and Sixth Years of the Reign of Her present Majesty, intituled *An Act to Amend the Laws for the Importation of Corn: (5 & 6 Vict. c. 14.)* And whereas it is expedient that the Duties now payable upon the importation and entry for home consumption in the United Kingdom and in the *Isle of Man* respectively of corn, grain, meal, and flour should be altered, and that the Act herein-before recited should be amended as hereinafter is expressed: Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in the present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same.

*After the passing of this Act, till 1st Feb. 1849, the Duties set forth in the Schedule shall be payable upon all Corn, &c. imported.*

That from and after the passing of this Act, in lieu of the Duties now payable upon the entry for Home Consumption in the United Kingdom, and upon the importation into the *Isle of Man*, of corn, grain, meal, and flour, there shall be levied and paid unto Her Majesty her Heirs and Successors, on all corn, grain, meal, and flour already or hereafter to be imported into the United Kingdom or the *Isle of Man* from parts beyond the Seas, and entered for home consumption after the passing of this Act, the duties set forth in the schedule to this Act annexed, until the first day of *February* which will be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-nine; and on, from, and after the said first day of *February* one thousand eight hundred and forty-nine the following Duties:

Upon all wheat, barley, bear or bigg, oats, rye, peas, and beans,

For every quarter

One shilling;

and so in proportion for a less quantity:

Upon all wheat meal and flour,

Barley meal,

Oatmeal,  
Rye meal and flour,  
Pea meal, and  
Bean meal,  
For every cwt. . Four-pence halfpenny ;  
and so in proportion for a less quantity.

*Duties payable in the United Kingdom shall be levied pursuant to 8 and 9 Vict. c. 90.*

II. And be it enacted, that the several duties hereby imposed, and leviable in the United Kingdom, shall be levied, collected, paid, and applied in such and the same manner in all respects as that in which the duties imposed by an Act passed in the session of Parliament held in the Eighth and Ninth years of the reign of Her present Majesty, intituled *An Act for granting Duties of Customs*, are directed to be levied, collected, paid, and applied.

*Duties payable in the Isle of Man shall be levied pursuant to 8 and 9 Vict. c. 94.*

III. And be it enacted, that the several duties hereby imposed, and leviable in the *Isle of Man*, shall be levied, collected, paid, and applied in such and the same manner in all respects as that in which the duties imposed by an Act passed in the session of Parliament held in the Eighth and Ninth years of the reign of Her present Majesty, intituled *An Act for regulating the Trade with the Isle of Man*, are directed to be levied, collected, paid, and applied.

*Average Prices to continue to be made up according to 5 and 6 Vict. c. 14, and Duties under this Act to be regulated thereby.*

IV. And be it enacted, That the average prices, both weekly and aggregate, of all *British* corn, shall continue to be made up, computed, and published, and the certificates of the aggregate average prices shall continue to be transmitted, at the times and in the manner required by the said herein-before recited Act for amending the laws for the importation of corn; and the rate and amount of the duties set forth in the schedule to this Act shall be regulated and governed, according to the scale in the said schedule contained, by the aggregate average prices so to be made up, computed, published, and transmitted, in the same manner as the rate and amount of the duties imposed by the said herein-before recited Act are by that Act directed to be regulated and governed; and at each of the several ports in the United Kingdom and in the *Isle of Man* the aggregate average prices, the certificate of which shall have been last received previously to the passing of this Act by the collector or other chief officer of customs at such port as by the said herein-before recited Act is directed, shall be taken to be the aggregate average price by which the duties hereby imposed shall be governed and regulated at such port, until the certificate of some other aggregate average price shall have been received by the collector or other chief officer of customs at such port.

V. And be it enacted, That so much of the said Act herein-before recited as prohibits the importation into the United Kingdom for consumption there of any Corn ground shall be repealed.

VI. And be it enacted, That this Act may be amended or repealed by any Act to be passed in the present session of Parliament.

### SCHEDULE TO WHICH THIS ACT REFERS.

If imported from any FOREIGN COUNTRY :

#### WHEAT :—

Whenever the average price of wheat, made up and published in the manner required by law, shall be for every quarter		s.	d.
" "	under 48s., the duty shall be for every quarter	10	0
" "	48s. and under 49s.	9	0
" "	49s. and under 50s.	8	0
" "	50s. and under 51s.	7	0
" "	51s. and under 52s.	6	0
" "	52s. and under 53s.	5	0
" "	53s. and upwards	4	0

#### BARLEY, BEAR OR RICE :—

Whenever the average price of Barley, made up and published in the manner required by law, shall be for every quarter			
" "	under 26s. the duty shall be for every quarter	5	0
" "	26s. and under 27s.	4	7
" "	27s. and under 28s.	4	0
" "	28s. and under 29s.	3	6
" "	29s. and under 30s.	3	0
" "	30s. and under 31s.	2	6
" "	31s. and upwards	2	0

#### OATS :—

Whenever the average price of Oats, made up and published in the manner required by law, shall be for every quarter			
" "	under 18s. the duty shall be for every quarter	4	0
" "	18s. and under 19s.	3	6
" "	19s. and under 20s.	3	0
" "	20s. and under 21s.	2	6
" "	21s. and under 22s.	2	0
" "	22s. and upwards	1	6

#### RYE, PEAS, AND BEANS :—

For every quarter,  
A duty equal in amount to the duty payable on a quarter of Barley.

#### WHEAT MEAL AND FLOUR :—

For every barrel, being one hundred and ninety-six pounds,  
A duty equal in amount to the duty payable on thirty-eight gallons and a half of wheat.

#### BARLEY MEAL :—

For every quantity of two hundred and seventeen and a half pounds,  
A duty equal in amount to the duty payable on a quarter of barley.

**OATMEAL AND GROATS:—**

- For every quantity of one hundred and eighty-one pounds and a half,  
 A duty equal in amount to the duty payable on a quarter of oats.

**RYE MEAL AND FLOUR:—**

- For every barrel, being one hundred and ninety-six pounds,  
 A duty equal in amount to the duty payable upon forty gallons of rye.

**PEA MEAL AND BEAN MEAL:—**

- For every quantity of two hundred and seventy-two pounds,  
 A duty equal in amount to the duty payable on a quarter of peas or beans.

If the produce of and imported from any British possession out of Europe;

Wheat, barley, bear or bigg, oats, rye, peas, and beans, the duty shall be for every quarter .	s. d.
	1 0
Wheat meal, barley meal, oatmeal, rye meal, pea-meal, and bean meal, the duty shall be for every cwt. . . . .	0 4½

AN ACT  
TO ALTER CERTAIN  
DUTIES OF CUSTOMS,

PASSED JUNE 26, 1846.

*Anno Nono & Decimo Victoriae Reginae.*

CAP. XXIII.

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WHEREAS by an Act passed in a session of Parliament holden in the Eight and Ninth Years of the Reign of Her present Majesty Queen Victoria, intituled (8 & 9 *Vict. c. 90*) *An Act for granting Duties of Customs*, the several Duties of Customs are imposed upon goods, wares, and merchandise, imported into or exported from the United Kingdom, as the same are respectively inserted, described, and set forth in figures in the Tables marked (A) and (B) to that Act annexed, together with the additional duties therein-after mentioned: And whereas it is expedient to make certain alterations and amendments therein: Be it therefore enacted, by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that in lieu and instead of the duties now payable by law upon the goods, wares, and merchandise mentioned in the table to this Act annexed, when imported into the United Kingdom, there shall be raised, levied, collected, and paid unto Her Majesty, her heirs and successors, upon the said goods, wares, and merchandise, when imported into the United Kingdom, the several duties of Customs, as the same are respectively inserted, described, and set forth in figures in the said last-mentioned table.

*Duties on Timber.*

II. And be it enacted, That from and after the Fifth day of *April* one thousand eight hundred and forty-seven, the duties of Customs now payable upon the Foreign goods herein-after next mentioned shall cease and determine, and that in lieu thereof there shall be charged the fol-



lowing duties on such Foreign goods on their importation into the United Kingdom :

Upon TIMBER and WOOD GOODS not otherwise charged; <i>videlicet</i> ,	From and after 5th April 1847.			From and after 5th April 1848.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Timber or wood, not being deals, battens, boards, staves, handspikes, oars, lathwood, or other timber or wood sawn, split, or otherwise dressed, except hewn, and not being timber or wood otherwise charged with duty the load of 50 cubic feet	1	0	0	0	15	0
— Deals, battens, boards, or other timber or wood sawn or split, and not otherwise charged with duty the load of 50 cubic feet	1	6	0	1	0	0
— Staves, if exceeding 72 inches in length, 7 inches in breadth, or 3½ inches in thickness the load of 50 cubic feet	1	3	0	0	18	0
— Firewood . . . . . the fathom of 216 cubic feet	0	8	0	0	6	0
— Handspikes, not exceeding seven feet in length the 120	0	16	0	0	12	0
— ———— exceeding seven feet in length the 120	1	12	0	1	4	0
— Knees, under five inches square the 120	0	8	0	0	6	0
— ——— Five inches and under eight inches square the 120	1	12	0	1	4	0
— Lathwood . . . . . the fathom of 216 cubic feet	1	12	0	1	4	0
— Oars . . . . . the 120	6	0	0	4	10	0
— Spars or poles under 22 feet in length, and under four inches in diameter the 120	0	16	0	0	12	0
— 22 feet in length and upwards, and under four inches in diameter . . . . . the 120	1	12	0	1	4	0
— of all lengths, four inches and under six inches in diameter . . . . . the 120	3	4	0	2	8	0
— Spokes for wheels, not exceeding two feet in length the 1000	1	12	0	1	4	0
— exceeding two feet in length the 1000	3	4	0	2	8	0
Wood, planed, or otherwise dressed or prepared for use, and not particularly enumerated, nor otherwise charged with duty . . . . .	0	0	6	0	0	4
	per foot of cubic contents, and further for every £100 value, 2s. 6d.			per foot of cubic contents, and further for every £100 value, 2s. 6d.		

Or, in lieu of the Duties imposed upon Wood by the Load according to the Cubic Content, the Importer may have the option, at the time of passing the first Entry, of entering Battens, Batten Ends, Boards, Deals, Deal Ends, and Plank, by Tale, if of or from Foreign Countries, according to the following Dimensions:—

	Not above 7 inches in Width.	From and after 5th April 1847.			From and after 5th April 1848.		
		Not above 1½ Inch in Thickness.	Above 1½ Inch and not above 2½ in Thickness.		Not above 1½ Inch in Thickness.	Above 1½ Inch and not above 2½ in Thickness.	
<b>Battens and Batten Ends:</b>	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Not above 6 Feet in Length, the 120	- -	1 4 8	2 9 3	0 18 6	1 17 0		
Above 6 and not above 9 Feet in Length, the 120	- -	1 16 11	3 13 10	1 7 9	2 16 6		
Above 9 and not above 12 Feet in Length, the 120	- -	2 9 3	4 18 6	1 16 11	3 13 10		
Above 12 and not above 15 Feet in Length, the 120	- -	3 1 7	6 3 2	2 6 3	4 12 6		
Above 15 and not above 18 Feet in Length, the 120	- -	3 13 10	7 7 8	2 15 4	5 10 8		
Above 18 and not above 21 Feet in Length, the 120	- -	4 6 2	8 12 4	3 4 6	6 9 0		
<b>Boards, Deals, Deal Ends, and Plank :</b>							
Not above 6 Feet in Length, the 120	Not above 9½ inches in Width.	Not above 1½ Inch in Thickness.	Above 1½ Inch and not above 3½ in Thickness.	Not above 1½ Inch in Thickness.	Above 1½ Inch and not above 3½ in Thickness.		
Above 6 and not above 9 Feet in Length, the 120	- -	1 19 6	3 19 0	1 9 10	2 19 8		
Above 9 and not above 12 Feet in Length, the 120	- -	2 19 3	5 18 6	2 4 5	4 8 10		
Above 12 and not above 15 Feet in Length, the 120	- -	3 19 0	7 18 0	2 19 2	5 18 4		
Above 15 and not above 18 Feet in Length, the 120	- -	4 18 10	9 17 8	3 14 2	7 8 4		
Above 18 and not above 21 Feet in Length, the 120	- -	5 18 7	11 17 2	4 8 11	8 17 10		
	- -	6 18 4	13 16 8	5 3 8	10 7 4		
	Above 9½ inches, and not above 11½ in Width						
Not above 6 Feet in Length, the 120	- -	2 7 10	4 15 8	1 15 10	3 11 8		
Above 6 and not above 9 Feet in Length, the 120	- -	3 11 8	7 3 4	2 13 8	5 7 4		
Above 9 and not above 12 Feet in Length, the 120	- -	4 15 7	9 11 2	3 11 7	7 3 2		
Above 12 and not above 15 Feet in Length, the 120	- -	5 19 7	11 19 2	4 9 7	8 19 2		
Above 15 and not above 18 Feet in Length, the 120	- -	7 3 6	14 7 0	5 7 6	10 16 0		
Above 18 and not above 21 Feet in Length, the 120	- -	8 7 6	16 15 0	6 5 8	12 11 4		

*Duties on Seeds.*

III. And be it enacted, That in lieu of the duties of Customs now chargeable on the articles herein-after next mentioned, imported into the United Kingdom, the following duties shall be charged from and after the first day of *June*, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-six.

Seeds : *videlicet*.

	£	s.	d.
Canary, the cwt.	0	5	0
— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	2	6
Caraway, the cwt.	0	5	0
— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	2	6
Carrot, the cwt.	0	5	0
— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	2	6
Clover, the cwt.	0	5	0
— of and from a British Possession	0	2	6
Leek, the cwt.	0	5	0
— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	2	6
Mustard, the cwt.	0	1	3
— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	0	7½
Onion, the cwt.	0	5	0
— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	2	6
All other Seeds not particularly enumerated or described, or otherwise charged with duty, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	5	0	0
Of and from a British Possession, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	2	10	0

*Goods exempted from Duty.*

IV. And be it enacted, That no duties of Customs shall be chargeable upon the goods, wares, and merchandise herein-after next mentioned :—

Animals, living ; *videlicet*,

Asses.

Goats.

Kids.

Oxen and Bulls.

Cows.

Calves.

Horses, mares, geldings, colts, foals.

Mules.

Sheep.

Lambs.

Swine and hogs.

Pigs, sucking.

Bacon.

Beef, fresh or slightly salted.

Beef, salted, not being corned beef.

Bottles of earth and stone, empty.

Casts of busts, statues, or figures.

Caviare.

Cherry Wood, being furniture wood.

Cranberries.

Cotton manufactures, not being articles wholly or in part made up,  
not otherwise charged with duty.

Enamel.  
 Gelatine.  
 Glue.  
 Hay.  
 Hides, or pieces thereof, tawed, curried, varnished, japanned, enamelled.  
     Muscovy or Russia hides, or pieces thereof, tanned, coloured, shaved, or otherwise dressed, and hides or pieces thereof in any way dressed, not otherwise enumerated.  
 Ink for printers.  
 Inkle, wrought.  
 Lamp Black.  
 Linen; *videlicet*, plain linens and diaper, whether chequered or striped with dye yarn or not, and manufactures of linen, or of linen mixed with cotton or with wool, not particularly enumerated, or otherwise charged with duty, not being articles wholly or in part made up.  
 Magna Græcia ware.  
 Manuscripts.  
 Maps and charts, or parts thereof, plain or coloured.  
 Mattresses.  
 Meat, salted or fresh, not otherwise described.  
 Medals of any sort.  
 Palmetto thatch manufactures.  
 Parchment.  
 Partridge wood, being furniture wood.  
 Pens.  
 Plantains.  
 Potatoes.  
 Pork, fresh.  
 ——— salted, not hams.  
 Purple wood, being furniture wood.  
 Silk, thrown, dyed; *videlicet*,  
     Singles or tram, organzine or crape silk.  
 Telescopes.  
 Thread, not otherwise enumerated or described.  
 Woollens; *videlicet*, manufactures of wool, not being goat's wool, or of wool mixed with cotton, not particularly enumerated or described, not otherwise charged with duty, not being articles wholly or in part made up.  
 Vegetables, all, not otherwise enumerated or described.  
 Vellum.

*Duties to be under management of Commissioners of Customs.*

V. And be it enacted, That the duties imposed by this Act shall be under the management of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Customs, and shall be ascertained, raised, levied, collected, paid, and recovered, and allowed and applied or appropriated, under the provisions of any Act or Acts now in force, or hereafter to be made, relating to the Customs.

*Act may be amended, &c.*

VI. And be it enacted, That this Act may be amended or repealed by any Act to be passed in the present session of Parliament.

TABLE OF DUTIES TO WHICH THE FOREGOING ACT  
REFERS.

	£	s.	d.
Agates or Cornelians, cut manufactured, or set, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Ale and Beer of all sorts, the barrel	1	0	0
Almonds, paste of, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Amber, manufactures of, not enumerated, for every 100 <i>l.</i>	10	0	0
Arrowroot, the cwt.	0	2	6
———— of and from a British Possession, per cwt.	0	0	6
Bandstring Twist, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
———— of and from a British Possession, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	5	0	0
Barley, pearled, the cwt.	0	1	0
———— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	0	6
Bast Ropes, twines and strands, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
———— of and from a British Possession, for every 100 <i>l.</i>	5	0	0
Beads, viz. :—			
——— Arango, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value.	10	0	0
——— Coral, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value .	10	0	0
——— Crystal, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value .	10	0	0
——— Jet, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value .	10	0	0
——— not otherwise enumerated, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Beer or Mum, the barrel	1	0	0
Blacking, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Brass, manufactures of, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
——— Powder of, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Brocade of gold or silver, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Bronze, manufactures of, not particularly enumerated, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
——— Powder, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Buck Wheat, the quarter	0	1	0
—— Meal, the cwt.	0	0	4½
Butter, the cwt.	0	10	0
——— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	2	6
Buttons, metal, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Cameos, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	5	0	0
Candles, viz. :—			
——— Spermaceti, the lb.	0	0	3
——— Stearine, the lb.	0	0	1½
——— Tallow, the cwt.	0	5	0
——— Wax, the lb.	0	0	2
Canes, walking canes, or sticks mounted, painted, or otherwise ornamented, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Carriages of all sorts, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Casks, empty, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Cassava Powder, the cwt.	0	2	6
——— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	0	6
Catlings, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Cheese, the cwt.	0	5	0
——— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	1	6
China or Porcelaine Ware, painted, or plain, gilt or ornamented, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Cider, the tun	5	5	6
Citron, preserved in salt, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	5	0	0
Clocks, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value .	10	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Copper manufactures, not otherwise enumerated or described, and copper plates engraved, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Copper or Brass Wire, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Cotton, Articles or manufactures of Cotton wholly or in part made up, not otherwise charged with Duty, for every 100 <i>l.</i>	10	0	0
— of and from a British Possession, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	5	0	0
Crayons, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Crystal, cut or manufactured, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Cucumbers, preserved in salt, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	5	0	0
— of and from British Possession, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	2	0	0
Fish, cured, not otherwise enumerated, the cwt.	0	1	0
Gauze of Thread, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
— of and from a British Possession, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	5	0	0
Hair, Manufactures of Hair or Goat's Wool, or of Hair or Goat's Wool and any other material, and articles of such manufacture wholly or in part made up, not particularly charged with Duty, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
— of and from a British Possession, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	5	0	0
Hams of all kinds, the cwt.	0	7	0
— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	2	0
Harp Strings or Lute Strings, silvered, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Hats or Bonnets, viz.			
— of Chip, the lb.	0	3	6
— of Bast, Cane, or Horsehair, Hats or Bonnets, each Hat or Bonnet not exceeding twenty-two inches in diameter, the dozen	0	7	6
— each Hat or Bonnet exceeding twenty-two inches in diameter, the dozen	0	10	0
— Straw Hats or Bonnets, the lb.	0	5	0
Hats, felt, hair, wool, or beaver hats, each	0	2	0
— made of silk, silk shag laid upon felt, linen, or other material, each	0	2	0
Hops, the cwt.	2	5	0
Iron and Steel, wrought, not enumerated, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Japanned or lacquered ware, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Lace, viz. thread, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
— made by the hand, commonly called cushion or pillow lace, whether of linen, cotton, or silken thread, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Latten Wire, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Lead, manufactures of, not enumerated, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Leather, manufactures of:—			
— boots, shoes, and calashes, viz.			
— women's boots and calashes, the dozen pairs	0	8	0
— women's boots and calashes, if lined or trimmed with fur or other trimming, the dozen pairs	0	7	6
— women's shoes with cork or double soles, quilted shoes and clogs, the dozen pairs	0	5	0
— women's shoes, if trimmed or lined with fur or any other trimming, the dozen pairs	0	6	0
— women's shoes of silk, satin, jean, or other stuffs, kid, morocco, or other leather, the dozen pairs	0	4	0
— women's shoes, if trimmed or lined with fur or any other trimming, the dozen pairs	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Leather, girl's boots, shoes, and calashes, not exceeding seven inches in length, to be charged with two thirds of the above duties.			
— men's boots, the dozen pairs . . . . .	0	14	0
— men's shoes, the dozen pairs . . . . .	0	7	0
— boy's boots and shoes, not exceeding seven inches in length, to be charged with two-thirds of the above duties.			
— boot fronts, not exceeding nine inches in height, the dozen pairs . . . . .	0	1	9
— boot fronts, exceeding nine inches in height, the dozen pairs . . . . .	0	2	9
— cut into shapes, or any article made of leather, or any manufacture whereof leather is the most valuable part, not otherwise enumerated or described, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Linen, or linen and cotton; <i>viz.</i>			
— cambrics and lawns, commonly called French lawns, the piece not exceeding eight yards in length, and not exceeding seven-eighths of a yard in breadth, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, plain, the piece	0	2	6
— bordered handkerchiefs, the piece . . . . .	0	2	6
— lawns of any sort, not French, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value . . . . .	10	0	0
— damasks, the square yard . . . . .	0	0	5
— damask, diaper, the square yard . . . . .	0	0	2½
Linen, sails not in actual use of a British ship, and not fit and necessary for such ship, and when otherwise disposed of, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value . . . . .	10	0	0
— articles, manufactures of linen, or of linen mixed with cotton or with wool, wholly or in part made up, not particularly enumerated or otherwise charged with duty, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value . . . . .	10	0	0
Maize or Indian corn, the quarter . . . . .	0	1	0
— Meal, the cwt. . . . .	0	0	4½
Musical instruments, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value . . . . .	10	0	0
Mustard flour, the cwt. . . . .	0	6	0
Paper, printed, painted, or stained paper, or paper hangings, or flock paper, the square yard . . . . .	0	0	2
Pencils, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value . . . . .	10	0	0
— of slate, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value . . . . .	10	0	0
Perfumery, not otherwise charged, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value . . . . .	10	0	0
Perry, the tun . . . . .	5	5	0
Pewter, manufactures of, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value . . . . .	10	0	0
Platting of straw, the lb. . . . .	0	5	0
Pomatum, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value . . . . .	10	0	0
Potato flour, the cwt. . . . .	0	1	0
Pots of stone, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value . . . . .	10	0	0
Rice, the cwt. . . . .	0	1	0
— of and from a British possession, the cwt. . . . .	0	0	6
— rough and in the husk, the quarter . . . . .	0	1	0
— rough and in the husk, of and from a British possession, the quarter . . . . .	0	0	1
Sago, the cwt. . . . .	0	0	6
Sausages or puddings, the lb. . . . .	0	0	1

## SILK MANUFACTURES:—

	£	s.	d.
Manufactures of silk, or of silk mixed with metal, or any other material the produce of Europe; <i>viz.</i>			
Silk or satin, plain, striped, figured, or brocaded; <i>viz.</i>			
Broad stuffs, the lb.	0	5	0
Articles thereof, not otherwise enumerated, the lb.	0	6	0
Or, and at the option of the officers of the Customs, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	15	0	0
Silk gauze or crape, plain, striped, figured, or brocaded; <i>viz.</i>			
Broad stuffs, the lb.	0	9	0
Articles thereof, not otherwise enumerated, the lb.	0	10	0
Or, and at the option of the officers of the Customs, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	15	0	0
Gauze of all descriptions, mixed with silk, satin, or any other materials in less proportion than one half part of the fabric; <i>viz.</i> , broad stuff, the lb.	0	9	0
Articles thereof, not otherwise enumerated, the lb.	0	10	0
Or, and at the option of the officers of the Customs, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	15	0	0
Velvet, plain or figured; <i>viz.</i> , broad stuffs, the lb.	0	9	0
Articles thereof, not otherwise enumerated, the lb.	0	10	0
Or, and at the option of the officers of the Customs, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	15	0	0
Ribbons, plain silk, of one colour only, the lb.	0	6	0
— plain satin, of one colour only, the lb.	0	8	0
— Silk or satin, striped, figured, or brocaded, or plain ribbons of more than one colour, the lb.	0	10	0
— Gauze or crape, plain, striped, or brocaded, the lb.	0	14	0
— Gauze mixed with silk, satin, or other materials of less proportion than one half part of the fabric, the lb.	0	12	0
— Velvet, or silk embossed with velvet, the lb.	0	10	0
Artificial flowers wholly or in part of silk, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	25	0	0
Manufactures of silk, or of silk and any other material called plush, commonly used for making hats, the lb.	0	2	0
Fancy silk net or tricot, the lb.	0	8	0
Plain silk lace or net called Tulle, the lb.	0	8	0
Manufactures of silk, or of silk mixed with any other materials, not particularly enumerated or otherwise charged with duty, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	15	0	0
Ribbons, of and from a British possession, for every 100 <i>l.</i> !	5	0	0
Millinery of silk, or of which the greater part of the material is silk; <i>viz.</i> , turbans, or caps, each	0	3	6
Hats or bonnets, each	0	7	0
Dresses, each	1	10	0
Manufactures of silk, or of silk and any other materials, and articles of the same wholly or partially made up, not particularly enumerated or otherwise charged with duty, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	15	0	0
Silkworm gut, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Skins, articles manufactured of skins or furs, for every 100 <i>l.</i>	10	0	0
— of and from a British possession	5	0	0
— hard, the cwt.	1	0	0



	£	s.	d.
Soap, of and from a British possession, the cwt . . . . .	0	14	0
— soft, the cwt. . . . .	0	14	0
— of and from a British Possession, the cwt. . . . .	0	10	0
— Naples, the cwt. . . . .	1	0	0
Spa ware, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value . . . . .	10	0	0
Spirits or strong waters of all sorts ; <i>viz.</i>			
— For every gallon of such spirits or strong waters, of any strength not exceeding the strength of proof by Sykes' Hydrometer, and so in proportion for any greater or less strength than that of proof, and for any greater or less quantity than a gallon ; <i>viz.</i>			
— not being spirits or strong waters the produce of any British possession in America, or any British possession within the limits of the East India Company's Charter, and not being sweetened spirits, or spirits mixed with any article, so that the degree of strength thereof cannot be exactly ascertained by such hydrometer, the gallon . . . . .	0	15	0
Starch, the cwt. . . . .	0	5	0
— of and from a British possession, the cwt. . . . .	0	2	6
— from and after the 1st of February, 1849, the cwt. . . . .	0	1	0
— Gum of, torrifed or calcined, commonly called British Gum, the cwt. . . . .	0	5	0
— of and from a British Possession, the cwt. . . . .	0	2	6
— Gum of, torrifed or calcined, commonly called British Gum, from and after the 1st February, 1849, the cwt. . . . .	0	1	0
Steel, manufactures of, for every £100 value . . . . .	10	0	0
Tallow, the cwt. . . . .	0	1	6
— of and from a British possession, the cwt. . . . .	0	0	1
Tapioca, the cwt. . . . .	0	0	6
Tin, manufactures of, not enumerated, for every £100 . . . . .	10	0	0
Tobacco pipes of clay, for every £100 value . . . . .	10	0	0
Tongues, the cwt. . . . .	0	7	0
— of and from a British possession, the cwt. . . . .	0	2	0
Turnery, not otherwise described, for every £100 value . . . . .	10	0	0
Twine, for every £100 value . . . . .	10	0	0
— of and from a British possession, for every £100 value . . . . .	5	0	0
Varnish, not otherwise described, for every £100 value . . . . .	10	0	0
Verjuice, the Tun . . . . .	4	4	0
Wafers, for every £100 value . . . . .	10	0	0
Washing balls, the cwt. . . . .	1	0	0
Wax, sealing wax, for every £100 value . . . . .	10	0	0
Whipcord, for every £100 value . . . . .	10	0	0
Wire, gilt or plated, or silver, for every £100 value . . . . .	10	0	0
Woollens, articles or manufactures of wool, not being goat's wool, or of wool mixed with cotton, wholly or in part made up, not otherwise charged with duty for every £100 value . . . . .	10	0	0
— of and from a British possession, for every £100 value . . . . .	5	0	0
Goods, wares, and merchandise, being either in part or wholly manufactured, and not being enumerated or described, not otherwise charged with duty, and not prohibited to be imported into Great Britain or Ireland, for every £100 . . . . .	10	0	0

ON

**FAMINE AND FEVER**

AS CAUSE AND EFFECT

IN IRELAND;

WITH

OBSERVATIONS ON HOSPITAL LOCATION,

AND

THE DISPENSATION IN OUTDOOR RELIEF

OF

**FOOD AND MEDICINE.**

BY

**D. J. CORRIGAN, M.D. M.R.C.S.E.**

PHYSICIAN TO THE HARDWICKE FEVER, WHITWORTH AND RICHMOND HOSPITALS,  
LECTURER ON THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MEDICINE IN THE DUBLIN  
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JERVIS-STREET, AND TO THE SICK POOR  
INSTITUTION, DUBLIN.

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"We give the name of *cause* to the object, which we believe to be the invariable antecedent  
of a particular change."—*Brown on Cause and Effect*.

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Ὁ Λοιμὸς μετὰ λυμὸν.

*Greek adage.*

THE opinion advanced in the following pages, that Famine and Fever are, in Ireland, as cause and effect, is an opinion formed not in haste or excitement.

It is now more than fifteen years (*Vide Lancet*, 1830) since I first advanced this opinion, which time, opportunity, and long continued observation have strengthened. I believe that the republication of this opinion, and a review of the facts on which it has been founded, will not be inopportune at the present time. The state of the Potato Crop throughout Ireland is now a subject of great anxiety. Whether Providence in its mercy will arrest the destruction now going on, or will, in its wisdom, permit the poor man's food to continue to melt away into rottenness, is beyond human foresight to divine. Should the infliction continue its ravages, it is surely right we should all have timely warning, that another evil as dreadful as Famine is likely to follow, namely, Pestilence, unless we exert ourselves to supply our people with food.

I am aware, that, for publishing these pages at the present time, I may be censured by many as an alarmist; I would however, ask those who may censure me—even admitting that the dreaded evils Famine and Fever do not come—what injury is there in the alarm? I cannot see any. The alarm, it is true, may temporarily shake the nerves of the timid, but it cannot deteriorate the condition of the poor. Should Famine not arrive, then temporary alarm, and nothing more, has accrued; but should it come, with Pestilence in its track, timely warning having been given, it will come upon us not unprepared to meet it. Those who for the sake of tem-

porarily sparing their feelings would shun present alarm, rather than contemplate distant danger, seem as weak-minded as the fearful animal, that, to shut out a momentary fright, when enemies are circling round it, covers up its head and eyes, and thus awaits in passive helplessness, the death blow which it might have averted by a timely exercise of foresight and courage.

In advocating the exercise of the contemplation of danger however distant, it is instructive in circumstances like the present, to call to mind how helpless on occasions of great panic is the public mind, how sudden is its transition from blustering incredulity to helpless dismay, how those who obstinately refuse to acknowledge danger at a distance, and reprobate all who point it out to them, are among the first to lose presence of mind, and sink into abject terror when the danger they had derided, is closing round them, and how their want of presence of mind aggravates the danger that affrights them. In the commencement of the year 1817, those who foresaw the coming pestilence, and would have made exertion to obviate it, were considered as alarmists. Thus, in Tullamore in that year when it was proposed to adopt measures to check the coming evil, the proposers were coldly and jealously avoided, their plans were ridiculed and their efforts were unaided—but how sudden was the transition!—The death of some persons of note excited a sense of danger; alarm commenced which ran into general dismay; military were posted at every avenue; the town was placed in a state of blockade; all intercourse in business, all trade was arrested, and all communication between the town and adjacent country was at an end.\* The poor were deprived of employment and were driven from the doors where before they had always received relief, lest they should introduce disease with them. Thus, destitution and fever continued in a vicious circle each impelling the other, while want of presence of mind aggravated a thousand

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\* Barker and Cheyne's report on Epidemic Fever, Vol. i. p. 8.

fold the terrible infliction. Of the miseries that attend a visitation of Epidemic Fever, few can form a conception. The mere relation of the scenes that occurred in the country, even in one of its last visitations, makes one shudder in reading them. As Barker and Cheyne observe in their Report, "*a volume might be filled with instances of the distress occasioned by the visitation of fever in 1817.*"\*

"On the road leading from Cork, *within a mile of the town, (Kanturk,) I visited a woman labouring under typhus; on her left lay a child very ill, at the foot of the bed another child just able to crawl about, and on her right the corpse of a third child who had died two days previously, which the unhappy mother could not get removed.*"†

"Ellen Fagan, a young woman, whose husband was obliged, in order to seek employment, to leave her almost destitute in a miserable cabin with three children, gave the shelter of her roof to a poor beggar who had fever. She herself caught the disease and from the terror created in the neighbourhood, was, with her three children deserted, except that some person left a little water and milk at the window for the children, one about four, the other about three years old, and the other an infant at her breast. In this way she continued for a week, when a neighbour sent her a loaf of bread, which was left in the window. Four days after this, he grew uneasy about her, and one night having prepared some tea and bread, he set off to her relief. When he arrived the following scene presented itself: in the window lay the loaf where it had been deposited four days previously; *in one corner of the cabin on a little straw without covering of any kind, lay the wretched mother actually dying, and her infant dead by her side for the want of that sustenance which she had not to give; on the floor lay the children, to all appearances dying also of cold and hunger. At first they refused to take anything, and he had to pour a little liquid down their throats; with the cautious administration of food*

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\* Barker and Cheyne, p. 65.

† Letter from Dr O'Leary, dated Kanturk, January 2nd, 1818.

they gradually recovered. The woman expired before the visitor quitted the house.”\*

“ A man, his wife and two children lay together in fever. The man died in the night; his wife, nearly convalescent, was so terrified with his corpse in the same bed with her that she relapsed and died in two days after; *the children recovered from fever, but the eldest of them lost his reason by the fright.* Many other wretched scenes have I witnessed which would be too tedious to relate.”†

I know not of any visitation so much to be dreaded as Epidemic Fever; it is worse than plague, for it lasts through all seasons. Cholera may seem more frightful, but it is in reality less destructive—it terminates rapidly in death, or in as rapid recovery; its visitation too is short, and it leaves those who recover, unimpaired in health and strength. Civil war, were it not for its crimes, would be as far as regards the welfare of a country, a visitation less to be dreaded than Epidemic Fever.

Epidemic Fever as it has appeared in Ireland, persists through all seasons, and when it has seized on an individual, generally extends to every member of the family, leaving no one of them capable of struggling against the common destitution. In Dublin alone, notwithstanding all the means of prevention, ~~that~~ wealth and charity supplied, 42,000 patients passed through the Fever Hospitals, or one-sixth of the whole population of the city, in the epidemic of 1817 and 1818, and of six millions, the estimated population of Ireland at that time, at least one million and a half of the labouring classes suffered from fever. Of these, about 60,000 died; but we shall have a very incomplete idea of the evils of fever, if we limit our estimate of them by the extent of the mortality. Of nearly all the acute diseases, the slowest convalescence and requiring the greatest care, is from fever. We are all aware how tedious is recovery after fever, even among those possessing every comfort; how much care is requisite,

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\* Letter from Dr. Macartney, Monivae, August, 1818.

† Barker and Cheyne's report, Vol. i. p. 66.

and how much attention is required to diet and clothing; how often even change of air and residence is required, and how long postponed even with all those appliances are perfect recovery and strength. It is not possible then to form an exaggerated picture of the sufferings of a million and a half of people in these countries, in their convalescence from fever, deprived of not only the comforts, but even the necessities of life, with scanty food, and fuel and covering, only rising from fever to slowly fall victims to those numerous chronic diseases that are sure to seize upon enfeebled constitutions. Death would be to many a more merciful dispensation than such recovery. It is not to be wondered at, that a population that has thus suffered, should for a long period bear the stamp of the infliction. The generation that has thus suffered cannot again be what it had been. What is commonly observed of the individual is true of the people, "he was never the same man since he had the bad fever," and the offspring will inherit for generations to come, the weakness of body and apathy of mind, which famine and fever had engendered.\*

The knowledge of the above facts will, I trust, induce those who are placed in power, and who possess wealth, to obviate such dangers, and to meet them in time, should they again invade us. Should there, however, be any, who may require to be further urged, it is well they should learn that their own self-preservation is intimately concerned in the consideration. It is a curious circumstance in the history of the Epidemic Fevers of Ireland, that while the poor are attacked in greater numbers, the rich suffer more in mortality. The mortality among the poor is only about one in thirty, but the mortality among the rich is estimated at the lowest at one in three. It seems, therefore, that while the rich possess constitution and means, which enable them to resist the ordinary contagion of fever, the seizure, when it does come, is in itself demonstrative of a greater amount of virulence.

It is again right, we should all be aware, that no

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\* "Many patients remained in a state of fatuity for months after the fever had left them." *Barker and Cheyne*, Vol. i. p. 467.



matter from what source, fever originally springs, all, rich as well as poor, are soon involved in one common risk. Our own property is not safe while our neighbour's house is on fire—our lives are not secure while fever rages round us. Fever, originate from what cause it may, soon acquires a contagious character; and we have no means of determining the distance to which that contagion may be carried. We may hoard food, but we cannot hoard air; The tainted atmosphere that escapes from the hovel of the sick pauper, may be wafted no one knows whither. It mixes with the air we breathe; it will enter the mansion of the richest, and the palace of the proudest; we have no means of detecting its approach, or of discovering its presence; it is an unseen enemy, and the more to be dreaded as like the ambushed snake, it only reveals its presence to its victim by its grasp.

“ In the year 1750, on the 11th May, the sessions began at the Old Baily, and continued for some days; in which time there were more criminals tried, and a greater multitude was present in the court than usual. The hall in the *Old Baily* is a room of only about thirty feet square. \* \* \* It will be easy to account for the corruption of the air, especially as it was so much vitiated by the foul streams of the *Bail-dock, and of the two rooms opening* into the court, in which the prisoners were the whole day crowded together till they were brought out to be tried.\* \* \* \* The bench consisted of six persons, whereof four died, together with two or three of the council, one of the under sheriffs, several of the Middlesex jury, and others present to the amount of above forty, without making allowance for those of a

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\* “ It has been the custom some days before every session to remove all the malefactors from the other jails into Newgate, already too much crowded. At such time three hundred have been confined within that narrow space, and it is well known how nastily both this and all the other prisons are kept. \* \* \* At these sessions about one hundred were tried, who were all kept in these close places as long as the court sat; each room was but 14 feet long by 11, and 7 feet high. The bail dock is also a small room taken off one of the corners of the court and left open at the top.”

lower rank whose death may not have been heard of, and without including any that died within a fortnight after the sessions."\*

The melancholy history of the *Eclair* Steam Sloop of War, so recent in all our recollections, affords a convincing confirmation of the position that fever originate whence it may, soon acquires a contagious power, and will continue its ravages long after the primary originating cause has ceased to act.

This vessel came up to the Motherbank on the morning of September 29th, 1845, about nine o'clock, with the yellow flag, and a black ball in its centre, emblematic of death on board. Sixty-two had already died, and 23 were then ill on board. The following is an abstract of the authorised account by the Superintendent-General of Quarantine,† dated October 3rd, 1845. The *Eclair* sailed from Devonport in November last, 1844, having a crew of 146 officers and men, for the Coast of Africa, on which station she remained until the 23rd July last. On the morning of sailing from Sierra Leone, a man was taken on board who had been for three days previously on shore. Four days after sailing this man died of fever and black vomit. Between this and her arrival at Buena Vista, one of the Cape Verde Islands, where she arrived on the 21st August, eighteen were attacked with the same fever, of whom thirteen died. At Buena Vista the crew were landed, and every means taken to disinfect the sheets, clothing, &c. yet, still the disease continued among them, and by the 13th of September, thirty-one men had died.

They sailed from Buena Vista on the 13th September, Captain Estcourt, commander, died on the 16th. At Buena Vista, the assistant surgeon Harte of the *Eclair* died, when Mr. Maclure, a naval surgeon, passenger in the *Growler*, and Mr. Coffy, assistant surgeon of the *Growler*, volunteered their services on board, and also seven men

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\* Observations on Diseases of the Army by Sir John Pringle, 1765.

† Vide London Medical Gazette, October 10th and 17th, 1845.

from the Growler. Mr. Maclure died on the voyage to Madeira. At Madeira, Mr. Bernard, a naval surgeon, volunteered his services. From the day of her sailing from Madeira, 21st September, up to this date 30th September, seven deaths have taken place, and eight more cases have occurred. Of the whole crew only 41 escaped an attack of the fever—since the 30th three more seamen have died, and since that report October 17th, three more deaths have taken place. “Both the medical officers who nobly volunteered their services at Madeira have been attacked, and one of them Mr. Bernard has died, Lieutenant Isaacson, and the pilot Mr. Saunders, who brought the vessel round from Portsmouth, having fallen victims to the fearful malady.” Thus in those two instances alone, there is sufficient proof that fever, originate whence it may, acquires and retains a contagious power.

The knowledge of the causes of an evil is a main step towards its removal or prevention. The following pages will, I trust, in the instance before us, afford such knowledge, and prove that, in the production of Epidemic Fever in Ireland, there is one cause of paramount influence.

The first remarkable circumstances to be noted in the history of its visitations, is the great similarity of feature which has pervaded them all. With very trifling shades of distinction, all the epidemics of the last century and a half have presented the same characters. I may mention, as points of resemblance, their commencing among the poor, their continuation through all seasons, the frequent relapses, the comparative exemption of the wealthy, dearly purchased, however, by the much greater relative mortality. These features all the epidemics of this country have presented in common. Rogers, whose description of the epidemics of this country is universally acknowledged to be accurate, says, “though at first view (to a person who hath not made the present argument the object of his serious thoughts for some years past) there may seem to have appeared amongst us, at different times, several successions of different fevers, yet I may safely venture to affirm, from a

series of observations carried on for the space of nearly four-and-twenty years, that no new Epidemic Fever hath shown itself amongst us during that space”\* “It is the general opinion, that the diseases do not differ from the fever which usually prevails in Ireland.”† It is not necessary in this essay to go into details of symptoms, which, if brought forward, would still more strongly prove the correctness of the above opinion, that all our epidemics have been of the same nature. I may refer to Ruttty’s History of the Diseases of Ireland for the space of forty years, in which the minute descriptions of the epidemics for that period (and they were very numerous) agree so closely, that the detailed symptoms of any one epidemic might be taken as belonging to any other.‡ It is scarcely necessary to observe, that in the epidemic of 1826, the lines of resemblance marking it as belonging to the same family were as strong as in any of its predecessors. It raged through summer, through autumn, through winter. It commenced among the poor, and presented, in a high degree, what may be put down as peculiarly characteristic of our epidemics—frequent relapses.

It thus appears that all our epidemics have been of the same kind, visitations at different times (only to a greater or lesser extent) of the same disease.

Like effects generally follow like causes. The epidemics which appeared at different times, during a space of one hundred years, have presented the same characters. It is reasonable to infer, that they owe their origin to some common cause; my attention was, therefore, turned to ascertain what that common cause was. For this, no mode of inquiry seemed better adapted than the inductive, to group together all the epidemics of which we have accurate accounts, noting the circumstances that accompanied or pre-

\* Essay on Epidemic Diseases, by Joseph Rogers, M.D.

† Appendix to first Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the State of Diseases in Ireland, p. 73.

‡ Vide Ruttty, pp. 24, 52, 56, 87, 183, &c.

coded each, and ascertaining if among them there were some one condition invariably present, which, according to the laws of this mode of inquiry, would then be that common cause.

It is not my intention in this essay to go into a laboured or obscure discussion on the nature of fever. My object is a practical good. It matters little for the end to be attained, the prevention or removal of fever, whether the cause which shall be proved to be paramount in its production, be, in the language of medicine, a proximate or a remote, a pre-disposing or an exciting cause.

Following the above mode of inquiry, I present a table of the most remarkable Epidemic Fevers of this country of the last hundred years, noting, at the same time in the briefest terms, the circumstances or occurrences that preceded or accompanied them.

1728—Spring mild; summer *cold and wet*, ice in the Liffey 23rd June; autumn and winter variable;\* three bad harvests in succession. Provisions at an extravagant price.†

1729—Spring *cold and dry*; summer *dry*; autumn wet; winter open.‡ Scarcity of crop; distress continued; housekeepers begging bread in the streets of Dublin.§

\* Rutt, pp. 12, 22, 26.

† “Scarcity drove the poor to begin with their potatoes before they were full grown, so that they have lost half the benefit of them. Oatmeal is, at this distance from harvest, in many parts of this kingdom, three times the customary price.”—*Boulter's Letters*, March, 1727. It may not be amiss to remind the reader, that March, 1727, in *Boulter's Letters*, is, according to the present, and to a computation even then not unfrequently adopted, March, 1828. Boulter, in common with many writers of the day, dated by the civil or legal year, which in England commenced on the 25th of March, which mode of reckoning was in use until the reign of George II. when the same act of Parliament that altered the style, decreed that the year should henceforth commence on the first day of January. The time between the two periods being often marked thus, as February, 1751–52.

‡ Rutt, pp. 12, 22, 26.

§ Commercial Restraints of Ireland, p. 44.

- 1730—Spring variable; summer *wet*; autumn variable; winter *open, mild, dry*. Distress still continuing.\*
- 1731—Spring dry; summer *hot*; autumn variable; winter wet and *warm*.† Distress still prevailing. Fever commenced in 1728, and lasted to 1732.
- 1734—Summer wet; autumn variable; winter mild; harvest bad, much straw and little grain.
- 1735—Summer again *cold* and wet; autumn wet; winter *open*. Fruits and grain very backward.
- 1736—One of the *hottest* summers remembered; autumn *fair*; winter *open*. Petechial Fever appeared in winter of 1734, continued through 1735, became very frequent and fatal in summer of 1736, and disappeared in autumn of the same year, which brought a most abundant harvest. (Vide Rutty, pp. 42, 59.)
- 1739—Spring cold; summer wet; thermometer not higher than in May; autumn variable; winter cold; most intense *frost*, continuing with scarcely any intermission from the 27th of December to the 14th of February to the following year. Potatoes, the food of the poor, rotted; tillage interrupted in spring.
- 1740—Spring dry and cold; summer dry; autumn unusually frosty; winter frosty. "Great dearth of provisions this autumn, 1740, which proceeded almost to a famine in winter; the potatoes having failed, while other provisions bore double or treble their usual price."‡ Fever appeared in summer of 1740, increased in autumn, and rose to a terrific degree of violence in spring and summer of 1741. 80,000 persons died of fever and dysentery, in this epidemic.§ The fever which had begun last autumn returned in spring, and raged through the summer of 1741.

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\* "In the year 1731, there was a great deficiency in the public revenue, and the national debt had considerably increased. The exhausted kingdom lay under great difficulties by the decay of trade, the scarcity of money, and the universal poverty of the country." Ibid p. 46.

† Rutty, pp. 12, 22, 26.

‡ Rutty, p. 83.

§ O'Connell *Observationes Medicinales*.

It was computed that one-fifth part of the inhabitants died, though probably with exaggeration.\*

1741—Spring dry; summer dry; autumn variable; winter frosty. Plenty of good corn in autumn of 1741, fruits of the earth duly matured, winter concluded healthy, and the bills of mortality sunk conspicuously.†

1742—Spring dry; summer hot; autumn variable; winter stormy and frosty. Provisions most plentiful. Bread sold at twenty-one pounds six ounces for a shilling.‡

1743—The summer and autumn were remarkable for health, as well as for fertility and plenty in large crops of corn of all sorts, and we had scarce any disease then or in winter, except cold and sore throat, from which we are seldom exempted.§

1798—Summer and autumn of 1797 wet, crops scanty, fuel scarce. 1798, gentry flying out of the country; poor out of employment; tillage neglected; consequent starvation. Fever prevalent in spring of 1798, spread in the end of summer to a frightful extent.

1799—Summer *wet* and cold; general deficiency in the crops. Fever now assumed a most malignant type.

1800—Summer unusually *hot* and *dry*, but followed, like the previous wet summer, by deficient crops; the crops, moreover, of very bad quality; the people in a state of starvation. Malignant fever continued from 1798.

1801—Most abundant harvest, fever began to decline, and disappeared in the summer of 1802.||

1817—Crops of the preceding year very deficient, did not arrive at maturity; corn was uncut in November, much of it lost. Corn saved was green in the husk, or malted; potatoes scanty, wet, unripe. No straw even for the beds of the poor; turf also deficient. This combined deficiency

\* Ratty, p. 86.

† Ratty, pp. 92, 123.

‡ Ratty, p. 98.

§ Ratty, p. 107.

|| Barker and Cheyne, p. 18.

of food, fuel, and bedding, felt most severely in winter and spring of 1816-17, when fever appeared, which became very prevalent in summer of 1817. Spring and summer of 1817 wet, cold and unproductive, as the preceding year.

1818—Spring *moist* ; summer unusually *hot* ; crops good ; provisions in abundance. The epidemic, which had arisen in spring of 1817, continued to increase at a rapid rate through summer, winter, spring, and summer again, until the autumn of 1818, which brought with it a most abundant supply of food, fuel, and straw for bedding. Fever at the very same time began to decline, and soon after disappeared. One million and a half of the population suffered from fever in this epidemic.

1826—Potato crop of the preceding year, 1825, very deficient. The weavers in Dublin were, by a sudden reverse of trade, thrown out of employment to the number of 20,000. Fever appeared rising rapidly in spring of 1826, reached a terrific height in the autumn and winter following, declined in summer of 1827, and disappeared in autumn. Summer of 1827 produced an almost unparalleled abundance of crops.

I have thus thrown together, with a concise notice of the most remarkable preceding or accompanying circumstances, the principal epidemics of the last hundred years.

It is a maxim in philosophizing, to assign like causes to like effects ; and if upon a general view of all the *instances* adduced, we find some one condition invariably present, to that condition we give the name of cause. “ We give the name of cause to the object which we believe to be the invariable antecedent of a particular change.”\* Epidemic Fevers are the like effects ; we must, if possible, assign them like causes. Upon a general view of all the instances, with the accompanying circumstances, we find one condition in-

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\* Brown on Cause and Effect.



variably present, *Famine*, which we therefore mark down as their common cause.

Even a rapid glance over the table, as I have arranged it, will show, that however all other circumstances, as time, season, climate, might have varied, this one condition, *Famine*, was never absent. No matter how climate altered, or seasons revolved, how summer or winter rolled on, so surely as want appeared, so certainly did *Pestilence* follow. The two have also ever kept pace with one another; as the degree of want, so has been the extent of fever. In 1728, an epidemic appeared that lasted for four years. It was preceded by bad harvests: unparalleled distress, even among the middle classes of society, prevailed for nearly four years. Again, in 1734, after an unproductive harvest, fever set in, and after two years' duration, disappeared in 1736, when an abundant crop was gathered.

In 1739 and 1740 there was a great dearth of provisions, which continued until the harvest of 1741, and so long, although there was every variety of weather, did the epidemic continue, defying alike the heat of summer, and the supposed fever-destroying influence of winter. As if to make the cause of Epidemic Fever so palpable as not to be passed over, unless by the most obstinate blindness, in the following year 1742, when bread was selling twenty-one pounds for a shilling, there was hardly a case of fever to be seen among the lower classes.

The summer of 1797, was, as already noted, unpropitious to the fruits of the earth—constant rain prevented the laying up even of fuel. The state of the crop and of the country in 1798, was not such as to bring relief. The tempest of civil war was sweeping the kingdom; the gentry fled; all connexion, save that of party between the higher classes and their dependants, was severed. The peasants were either in arms, or driven from their homes; tillage was neglected, and the scanty supply of food raised was further lessened by the ravages of the two contending parties. What providence spared, man destroyed. Want increased, and with increased want came increasing fever.

This epidemic, which appeared in the spring of 1798, was in the latter end of the year abroad as a plague. In 1799, the crop was again deficient, fever assumed now the worst form of typhus, but was still, in a great measure confined to the poor. The summer of 1800 came; it was a strong contrast to the summers that had preceded it; those had been wet and cold, this was hot and dry. A burning sun withered the corn and the potatoes. Scarcity became so great, that distillation from grain was prohibited, and bounties were given on imported corn; but under such circumstances the mass of the poor were still in want. Fever assumed a malignancy that enabled it to burst from the poor among the rich, and few in civil or military life escaped. It continued with unabated violence, until Providence sent, in 1801, a most abundant harvest, and then, and only then, a fever that had raged through all variations of temperature, of climate, and season, for a space of four years, began to subside.

We may pause for a little on this epidemic. It arose in the commencement of the terrible, and never-to-be-forgotten year of 1798, continued through all seasons, uninfluenced alike by the wet and cold summers of 1799, or the tropical sun of 1800, or the again succeeding winter. The afflicted people looked to cold, to rain, to snow, to purify the air, or destroy contagion. Want continued, with want fever, until in the spring of 1801, at the end of three years, from its commencement, it assumed a malignancy that defied all human power.

Was it stopped by change of climate? For three successive years every variety in climate had in turn existed; the summers had been cold or unusually hot, dry, or pouring down torrents of rain; it would therefore, be idle to charge climate with the production of the evil, or to attribute to climate its cessation. The epidemic had defied all its changes; in the autumn of 1801 came a plentiful crop, and then fever began to decline. The crop of 1801 was unequalled for goodness and abundance, and accordingly, before the end of the summer of 1802, the terrible visitant that

had defied every other power to remove it, disappeared before an abundant supply of food.

I may mention here, as a passing observation, that the check of the epidemic in 1801, was attributed by some of the writers of the day to a fall of rain which occurred in the autumn of 1801. This opinion scarcely deserves a serious confutation. Those who held such an opinion, must have shut their eyes to what had taken place the preceding year, when, at the same period, a similar occurrence took place, namely, an unusual fall of rain; but the same effect did not follow, for one overlooked condition to give this rain its miraculous power was absent, a supply of food.

We now pass to the epidemic of 1817, 18, and 19, which nearly equalled the preceding. If the population of Ireland at that period be reckoned at six millions, it will be no exaggeration to state, that one million and a half of persons suffered from an attack of fever in the time included between the commencement of the year 1817, and the middle of 1819; of these, about 65,000 died, and of the upper ranks in society attacked, at least one-third perished. In the course of two years, commencing with September, 1817, in Dublin alone, more than 42,000 patients were received into hospital, giving one-fifth as the apparent number of those attacked, but the number of sufferers in reality very far exceeded this; for it will be no exaggeration to say, that at least as many more went through the fever in their homes.

This epidemic bore a very striking resemblance to that of 1798. In duration there was a difference of two years, and in the duration of the cause, famine, we find a corresponding difference. The epidemic of 1798 lasted nearly four years; want from deficient crops prevailed just so long, commencing with the bad harvest of 1797, and ceasing on the gathering in of the abundant crop of 1801. The epidemic of 1817 lasted but two years. Want began to be severely felt after the bad harvest of 1816, and disappeared on the coming in of the abundant crop of 1818.

These are convincing proofs that the causes of these

epidemics have been Famine. We find that not alone of all the circumstances attending them, Famine has been the condition never failingly present, and therefore to be marked as the paramount cause; but that Fever has endured just so long as Famine, and that when the latter has ceased, the former has soon disappeared. When we find two objects, the one invariably following the other, we put them down as cause and effect. This is all, in many instances, that we know of the connexion between them, and the connexion between Famine and Fever is just as close as between any other two objects, that are designated, with universal admission, by these names.

It is scarcely necessary to call to recollection the summer of 1816, cold and wet—corn uncut in November, or rotting in the sheaves on the ground; potatoes not ripened, (and when unripe there cannot be worse food,) containing more water than nutriment; straw at such an extravagant price as to render the obtaining of it for bedding almost impossible, and when procured, retaining from its half-fermented state so much moisture, that the use was, perhaps, worse than the want of it. The same agent that destroyed the harvest spoiled the turf. Seldom had such a multiplication of evils come together. In some of the former years, although food and bedding were deficient, the portion saved was of good quality, and fuel was not wanting; but in 1816 every comfort that might have compensated for partial want was absent. This description applies to the two years of 1816 and 1817. In midsummer of 1817, the blaze of Fever was over the entire country. It had burst forth almost in a thousand different points. Within the short space of a month, in the summer of 1817, the epidemic sprung forth in Tramore, Youghal, Kinsale, Tralee, and Clonmel, in Carrick-on-Suir, Roscrea, Ballina, Castlebar, Belfast, Armagh, Omagh, Londonderry, Monastereven, Tullamore, and Slane. This simultaneous breaking-out shows, that there must have been some universal cause.

Although the bursting forth of Fever about the same time in all the places mentioned above, made this the most re-

markable epoch from which to designate it a general epidemic, it had commenced through the greater part of Connaught in the autumn of 1816, anticipating its appearance in the other parts of the country by at least six months. This fact, on calling to mind the peculiar circumstances of the province of Connaught, affords further confirmation of the opinion advanced, that Famine and Fever are related as cause and effect. In Connaught the bulk of the people are more dependant on the immediate crop of the year, and especially on the potato crop, than in most other parts of Ireland. Hence want immediately ensues on the occurrence of an unproductive harvest. No sooner, therefore, in the autumn of 1816, was Famine felt from the deficient crop than Pestilence followed, raging with great violence through the country parts of the province. But while the country parts, at this early period of the epidemic, were suffering severely, the thriving towns of the province, for example, Westport and Castlebar, were free; and it was not until six months after, towards midsummer of 1817, when distress and want became general, that these towns in common with others began to suffer to any considerable extent. If the epidemic had originated in climate, season, atmospheric influence, or contagion, these towns should have suffered in common with the parts immediately around them. They possessed for some time, at least, one immunity which their more inland and less thriving neighbourhoods wanted, an immunity from Famine, and in the same degree they enjoyed immunity for some time from Fever.

Another part of Ireland furnishes a similar example of the power of a supply of food in warding off Epidemic Fever. When distress and want had become even very general, the inhabitants of Wexford and Dingle enjoyed comparative abundance from the fisheries, and the latter town from a flourishing linen trade in addition. In these two towns Epidemic Fever was later by a year than in other parts of Ireland.\* But at length contagion burst the barrier in these places.

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\* Vide Barker's and Cheyne's Report.

As we continue our review, we find supplies of food still exhibiting the power of warding off Fever. In Dublin the epidemic was later in its appearance than in any other part of Ireland. The distress of the poor came more immediately under the observation of the opulent. The rich, greater in proportion in their number than in the country, came forward freely, and contributed liberally to relieve the sufferers. Almost as soon as the effects of the bad harvest of 1816 were perceived, employment was provided for the poor. A committee was selected from the humane and wealthy of the city, called, from their place of meeting, the Mansion House Committee. By their exertions, the evil effects of want were comparatively but little felt in the city, and Fever was kept at a distance. Dublin was thus, by active exertion, circumstanced as the towns in Connaught already described, and it was not until the occurrence of the second bad harvest, that of 1817, that the epidemic appeared in the capital. Fever was now, September, 1817, universally diffused over the country, and continued unabated until the autumn of 1818, when a fine harvest brought an abundant supply of good provisions.

We have in this epidemic, Fever following Famine as closely as effect can follow cause, in every instance the appearance and prevalence of the one, being an indication of the commencement, and extent of the other.

The next epidemic worthy of note, is that of 1826. The summer of 1825 was very unproductive. The great drought checked the growth of all crops. Potatoes were particularly deficient. In the commencement of the winter, by a sudden reverse of trade, more than 20,000 weavers in the liberties of Dublin were thrown out of employment. Epidemic Fever appeared. The distress of the people increased during the summer, so did Fever, and in the autumn and winter of 1826, when distress had reached its acme, so had Fever attained a height equal to that of 1817.

In the summer of 1827, the epidemic began to decline, and in the autumn of the same year disappeared. Providence blessed the country with a most productive har-

vest, and in less than a year from its commencement, this epidemic that had threatened, from the suddenness with which it arose, and the rapidity with which for a time it spread, to surpass all former visitations, had disappeared.

Climate or season, absence of cleanliness and crowded apartments, intemperance, contagion ; all these severally, or together, have been at various times, put down as principal causes of Fever.

To climate or season being a cause of Fever, the answer is given in the facts already stated ; each epidemic having raged through heat and cold, through summer and winter, spring and autumn. The vulgar opinion that cold has power in checking Epidemic Fever, is totally without foundation. In the two last visitations of 1817 and 1818, and 1826 and 1827, the epidemics were at their height in the middle of winter, and began to decline in warm weather.

As to absence of cleanliness, want of ventilation, or intemperance, being causes of great consequence in the production of Epidemic Fever, it will be, I think, at once admitted, that there has not been, in connexion with the occurrence of an epidemic, any change in the habits of the people, in those particulars.

Were absence of cleanliness, ventilation, &c., causes of great importance, there should be some relation between changes in those particulars, and the extent of the epidemic ; but it has never been proved that with the rise of any epidemic there has been increase of filth or slovenliness, at all corresponding with the increase of disease.

When the epidemic of 1826 appeared, an act of parliament was put in force, suggested by the Board of Health, which obliged each parish to appoint persons denominated officers of health. Their duties were to see that all nuisances, as collections of manure, &c., were removed, and that the habitations of the poor were whitewashed. Much money was expended in this way ; in cleaning out dépôts of filth for those who were too indolent to do it for themselves, and in whitewashing rooms for poor creatures who then had not the price of fuel to dry their wet walls.

Those measures of cleansing coming from a board of health, and enforced by an act of parliament, had an imposing effect ; but a little reflection would have convinced any one who had independence enough to think for himself, that it was very improbable that a dunghill or slaughter-yard which had lain for years quiescent, should have suddenly taken on and retained the new power of elaborating fever, or that the walls of a weaver's apartment, in which for successive summers one or more families had lived in good health, should have acquired in the midst of winter the power of vomiting forth contagion.

I would be far from undervaluing the advantages of cleanliness ; but it is plain, that all those matters over which the officers of health were given control, had equally existed, for an indefinite period of time, and without being accompanied by any epidemic, and that expending much time and money in their removal, and directing the principal attention to them, was objectionable for two reasons. First, it was nearly an useless expenditure ; and secondly, presenting an appearance of active exertion, it drew away attention from the real cause of the evil. The act of parliament took away all discretionary power from the parishes ; they might spend as much money as they pleased in whitewashing rooms and staircases, but they could not lay out one penny to save a fellow-creature from starvation.

To sum up ; Epidemic Fever in Ireland cannot depend on climate or season, for, it has raged unchanged through every variation, through heat and through cold, through wet and through drought ; it cannot depend on changes in the condition of the poor as regards cleanliness, ventilation, or temperance, for their habits in these respects never varied much during the period of time through which the epidemic prevailed ; it cannot depend on contagion alone, for contagion must have been generated by fever, or being once generated must have never ceased to spread, until itself was extinguished from a want of subjects.

Epidemic Fever may be attributed to a mysterious something, an occult quality in the atmosphere ; but it would be



bad philosophy to pass by a visible and palpable cause, and ascribe an occurrence to some agent, of the very existence of which we have no proof. We find *Famine* invariable preceding or accompanying Epidemic Fever, (it matters not how other circumstances vary,) and *Famine*, therefore, we are justified in marking out as its great cause.

The people of Ireland are peculiarly liable to become the victims of such pestilence. The effect of competition among a population with little employment, has been to reduce their wages to the lowest sum on which life can be supported. Potatoes have hence become their staple food. If this crop be unproductive, the earnings of the labouring class are then quite insufficient to purchase the necessary quantity of any other food. Corn is altogether out of reach of their means, and thus, with an abundance of it around them, so great as to admit of exportation, they *starve* in the midst of plenty, as literally as if dungeon bars separated them from a granary. When distress has been at its height, and our poor have been dying of starvation in our streets, our corn has been going to a foreign market. It is, to our own poor, a forbidden fruit.

The potato has, I believe, been a curse to our country. It has reduced the wages of the labourers to the very smallest pittance, and when a bad crop occurs, there is no descent for them in the scale of food: the next step is starvation.

While considering the influence which the *comforts* of living exert, in warding off disease, it may not be uninteresting to mention a few facts, which show, the very intimate connexion that exists between the prosperity of a country or city, and its health. The climate or situation is of much less consequence than we suppose. The health of a city very often bears a direct ratio to its prosperity. It is an old remark, that if a merchant be attacked with fever when his affairs are deranged, the chances of recovery are small. What is true of an individual applies to a community. In 1777, Amsterdam was one of the most thriving cities in Europe; the mortality was then one in twenty-seven. In 1821, Amsterdam had become a wretched

city; the mortality had risen to one in twenty-four. In London, in the middle of the last century, the mortality was one in twenty, being considerably greater than that of Amsterdam; yet in 1821, while in Amsterdam the mortality had increased, in London it had diminished to one in forty.\* In Paris, for fifty deaths in a rich arrondissement, there are one hundred in a poor one; the mortality is double.† In New York, in 1826, the mortality among the whites was one in forty, among the blacks one in nineteen. In Baltimore the slaves are treated much better, and there the mortality is but one in thirty-three. Wherever war, or other cause, has produced *want*, there also has been *pestilence*. Our own civil wars for the last 700 years, have been followed by it. During the wars of Montrose, in the reign of Charles I., fever devastated Scotland. In 1813, in the flight from Russia, it followed like its shadow the course of the retreating army.

I have, I trust, shown enough to prove the intimate connexion between want and fever, and sufficient to prove that want stands paramount beyond all other causes. It is not *my* province to go farther. It is for the political economist, when the medical observer has pointed out this cause, to devise the measures best calculated to take away, or lessen, that cause. To him whom fortune or station has called to such a task, there is a high incitement to serve his country. He will have the gratification of feeling, that while promoting the prosperity and wealth of his country, he is its best physician, diminishing deaths and dispensing longevity.

While on the subject of Epidemic Fever, I cannot avoid taking notice of an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. 62, on this subject. The following passage occurs in Bateman:—  
“As unquestionably, Epidemic Fever is generated in the first instance by defective nutriment, so we cannot doubt that it continues to originate in many successive individuals during the existence of its cause, independently of any communi-

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\* Hawkins' Medical Statistics.

† Villermé.

cation with each other." The reviewer, who is a violent contagionist, is criticising this passage, and has replied thus:—"Now we will confess that this doctrine appears to us not only to be erroneous, but to be the very reverse of true; for we believe that defective nutriment (provided it do not go to the length of impoverishing the blood, and thus depraving the solids,) instead of being favourable to the existence of fever, is the very reverse." After theorising as to why it should be so, he goes on, "Nor is this opinion merely theoretical; we have the evidence of many facts confirming it, did our limits permit us to state them. Out of the many, however, we may mention the very striking one, that in the present sickness, fever has been proportionally more fatal among the rich than the poor." This paragraph contains great absurdity and bad logic. The reviewer talks of *defective* nutriment which does *not* go the length of impoverishing the blood. *Defective* nutriment can only mean nutriment which goes to that length. The word can bear no other meaning. To speak of *defective* nutriment, and yet make a proviso in favour of its *not* impoverishing the blood, is manifest nonsense. The exception which the reviewer makes, "provided it do not go the length of impoverishing the blood," &c. is a confession that if it *do* go this length, (and *no* other can be defective nutriment,) it will be favourable to the existence of Epidemic Fever. This is all I want. Now as to the logic of the reviewer. He says he has many facts to prove, that among the scantily fed, fever is less apt to occur than among those who live well; that he has many facts, did his limits permit him to prove this, but that he confines himself to "the very striking one, that in the present sickness, fever has been proportionally more fatal among the rich than the poor." For the facts which he does *not* advance, we cannot of course give him credit. Let us consider the *one* which he has advanced, selected, of course, because he thinks it the most striking, and the most convincing in proving his point. He argues thus:—Fever is more fatal among the rich than the poor, therefore, it is more frequent among the rich. There is here, in the reviewer's reasoning, a "*non*

*sequitur.*" The consequence does not follow the premises. The reviewers's error is one committed by many who confound the fatality and the frequency of a disease. These two elements are very distinct. If twenty rich persons, and twenty poor, be attacked with fever at the same time, that a greater number of rich than of poor will be carried off I do not deny ; but if an equal number of rich and of poor be exposed to the same contagion, that the liability to catch the disease will be as great with the rich as the poor I do deny. The reviewer's error lies in supposing, that the greater fatality in disease in a certain class necessarily involves a greater frequency of disease. There is not only no connexion whatever between the two, but they even bear an inverse ratio to one another. The poor are the more liable to fever, but recover easily and quickly from it. The rich are the less liable, but when attacked, fever with them runs higher and quicker, and the disease is more severe and more fatal.

The reviewer's error might be attended by bad consequences. To the general reader his argument is a specious one. By disseminating the belief that want of food has little to do with the production of Epidemic Fever, he turns away attention from the great cause of the disease, and affords, equally to the charitable, the selfish, and the indolent, reasons for withholding exertion towards supplying the poor with food ; in fact, he would justify them in opposing a supply.

My assertions as to the respective liabilities to fever of the rich and of the poor—as to the respective frequencies of the disease in the two classes, and as to these two being totally unconnected, are easily borne out. In the last epidemic, that of 1826, it will be easily remembered, that while the poor were lying ill in thousands, there was little fever among the rich. The fact of the poor being the principal sufferers in epidemics is so marked, that with all writers the greater frequency of disease among the poor is laid down as a principal characteristic feature of Epidemic Fever in Ireland. In Dublin alone, in the Epidemic Fever of 1817, more than 42,000 persons passed through hospital. In six months

of 1826, 6264 passed through Cork-street Hospital alone. The *mortality* among the poor bears no proportion—no relation to this frequency. The average mortality in ordinary Sporadic Fever among them is, one in twelve; in an epidemic, it is as low as one in twenty-four. The mortality, on the other hand, among the rich is one in three, and calculated by some as high as one in two.\* The article mentioned in the Edinburgh Review, on the subject of Epidemic Fever, contains false facts and bad reasoning, but it is not necessary to pursue these further.

After the view which I have presented of Epidemic Fever and its cause, little need be said of the means best adapted to guard us against it. It remains for others than the physician to provide the preventive; it is to be found not in medicine, but in employment, not in the lancet, but in food, not in raising lazarettos for the reception of the sick, but in establishing manufactories for the employment of the healthy. This is the true mode of banishing fever from this country.

Some time might, however, elapse before measures how wellsoever devised, could be brought into effective operation, to enable our population to possess within themselves the means of obtaining sufficient supplies of food; and it therefore remains to be determined, what would be the most beneficial mode of distributing nourishment, were we again to be visited by an epidemic such as that of 1817 or 1826.

In some parts of the country, exertions have already been made to lay in a store of oatmeal, rice, &c., for distribution in the approaching spring and summer, should the dreaded failure in the Potato Crop leave the people without food. It will be useful to determine beforehand, and from past experience, the best mode of distributing food should it be required. In the epidemic of 1826, oatmeal, potatoes and rice, were, in many places, distributed or sold to the poor in a raw state. This proved a bad arrangement. The poor

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\* Barker and Cheyne's Report.

who were unable to purchase food, were equally unable to obtain fuel to cook it. Moreover, raw food was readily disposed of. Impostors who did not stand in need of food contrived to obtain it and found a ready sale for it in huxters' shops; and even the poor, themselves in need of food were not always able to resist the temptation of money, but often were tempted to sell for a few pence the raw provisions that were intended for their support for days to come. Even the tickets on which the raw provisions were obtained, were made an article of sale by the impostors who procured them, to unprincipled persons who purchased them and who thus managed to obtain provisions at a cheaper rate than market price. Such abuses should be guarded against.

Food when sold at a cheaper rate than market price, or when distributed *gratis*, should be always given out cooked, so as to prevent its sale and to make its immediate use necessary. In this way the poor who really stand in need of it will procure wholesome nutriment, and the traffic in it by impostors will be effectually checked.

A plan was adopted in St. Catherine's parish Dublin, for the distribution of food during the epidemic of 1826, which will be found, I believe, applicable on all similar occasions in towns. I can speak from personal knowledge of its efficiency.

Tickets were issued to persons or families ascertained to be fit objects for relief. No ticket was given unless at the residence of the applicant, whose real circumstances thus came directly under the eye of the inspector. Those tickets remained in force for fourteen days, and were renewed or not at the end of that time according to the discretion of the inspector. There were two classes of tickets, *pay* tickets and *gratis* tickets. The holder of a *gratis* ticket received, each day during its term, a roll of bread with one quart of hot soup. The holder of a *pay* ticket received the same, but was obliged to pay for it one penny, about one-third of its original cost. It frequently happened that those who during one fortnight were in the greatest distress, were often able during the next fortnight to become holders of *pay* tickets, and

thus to contribute to the maintenance of the fund by which they had themselves been relieved. The demand of the small sum of one-third of the first cost for the food, while it enabled the distressed labourer to support himself cheaply, still preserved his independence, and preserved him from the disgrace of being considered as a mendicant. Moreover, the sum thus obtained in pence from the poor, and returned to them in the most advantageous form for themselves, namely, in wholesome hot food, amounted to much more than might at first be supposed. In St. Catherine's parish, the sum thus received in pence from the poor in little more than six months was £277.

Perhaps it may not be out of place to record the form usually followed in preparing the soup, viz :—

One cwt. of coarse beef, half cwt. of split peas, fourteen pounds of rice, seven pounds of salt, ten pounds of oatmeal, one dozen of leeks, half dozen of cabbage, half pound of pepper, 100 gallons of water boiled slowly for sixteen or eighteen hours from the previous afternoon to the hour of distribution next morning.

In country districts, however, the plan of supplying the food cooked could not be carried out. The distance would often be too great for the poor to travel daily and the journey would take them from their work, and would, in severe weather, expose them to wet and cold. The provisions must necessarily, in such districts, be given out in sufficient quantity to last for a week, and in a raw state. The depôts for food should be in such districts as numerous as possible, in order to diminish the distance of the journey and to bring all the applicants within the personal knowledge of the inspectors, and the day and hour of distribution should be the same in all, to prevent as far as possible the abuses of buying and selling the food.

Famine, the paramount cause of Fever, may thus be obviated by employment and food. But contagion, the power which Fever, no matter how generated, acquires of propagating itself, can only be effectually extinguished among the poor by providing hospitals for the instant reception and

isolation of those who may be attacked. Hospitals should not be very far asunder, for the necessity of long journeys to them should be avoided, and the poor will not be content to have members of their families in hospitals unless so circumstanced as to enable them to make frequent inquiries. In fever, the change to death or recovery is often the work of a few days, and the anxiety is corresponding in intensity. In chronic diseases there is not the same sudden and anxious suspense.

The amended Poor Law Act (6 and 7 Vict. 1843,) gives the power to Boards of Guardians to hire or rent houses for fever hospitals when required in their unions, or to appropriate portions of the work-house, if considered safe, for such purpose. Since that clause has been passed, measures have been taken, and contracts have been entered into in some unions for the erection of district Fever Hospitals "in connexion with the work-houses," within their walls. I think this step has been taken without due consideration. The industrious tradesman, the hard working labourer who happens to be attacked with fever and needs only hospital relief for a few days, should not be compelled to pass through the gate of the work-house to obtain it, nor should he be obliged to feel on his recovery that he carries about on him the stain of work-house relief. Should his wife or daughters be taken ill they should not be condemned to mingle with the idle, the dissolute, and abandoned, that must ever be found among the inmates of a work-house. There is more danger from such admixture in a fever hospital than in any other hospital, for patients when recovering from fever are necessarily thrown together as convalescents for several days before their discharge. These considerations alone, form, I think, very serious objections to the erection of fever hospitals within work-house precincts. But there are others. Fever hospitals thus erected will not fully attain their object; the people will not avail themselves of them, or comparatively few but the most wretched. They will lie at home spreading contagion around, rather than enter an hospital in connexion with a work-house. I do not speak without experience on this point.



Prior to the introduction of the poor law into Ireland, the hospitals of the House of Industry Dublin, were a part of the Institution, and while more or less occupied by the sick inmates of the House of Industry, were at the same time open to the sick of the city at large; in fact circumstanced then precisely as it is now proposed to circumstance the Union Fever Hospitals. I heard it stated by a distinguished member of the profession, who had been for many years connected with those hospitals, and whose celebrity would of itself have been sufficient to attract patients to them, that there was the greatest repugnance on the part of the people to enter those hospitals, while the connexion with the House of Industry continued. When asked for the reason their invariable reply was, that they "did not like to mix with beggars." This is a feeling of honest pride that should be cherished instead of being broken down. Sickness should not be made a chain to drag a man into a poor-house. An hospital should be an institution provided for the decent, the honest, the industrious, who may be suffering from temporary sickness, or accident, to enable them to obtain what is only thus within their reach, the highest professional aid, to restore them as soon as possible to their former station in society, and should never be permitted to be made the medium of degrading its inmate to the level of a pauper. The moral management of the people is of equal importance with their physical relief. The former has, I fear, been lost sight of, in confounding together the sick and the beggar.

I have heard it said, that the hospitals should be built within the precincts of the workhouses, as they are both supported out of the same rate. It might as well be argued, that every county infirmary should be built within the walls of the county jail, and that honest men and virtuous women should be mixed with felons, because the grand jury cess is applied to the support of both. I do think that an hospital for the relief of the poor virtuous and industrious member of society, should never be within a workhouse wall.

Equal in importance to hospital relief, would be a good dispensary system. Not only in attacks of epidemics, but

in all the ordinary illnesses of the poor, they stand in need of, not alone medical attendance, but what is of equal importance, a supply of drink and food during their illness, and convalescence, in short of a system of outdoor relief, that will afford to them the support they so much require, and at the same time be as far as possible from the abuses so frequently attendant on such relief. This object which has been a source of perplexity to legislatures, has been achieved by Irishwomen, and the system has now been successfully carried on under their superintendence, for a period of thirty years in Dublin. I will briefly detail the circumstances. In the year 1794, the Sick Poor Institution in Meath-street, Dublin, was founded for affording the usual dispensary medical relief to the sick poor of the district. But to combat *want* and *sickness*, which with the poor are most often together, *food* and *medicine* are both required. The Sick Poor Institution, like all other dispensaries, provided the medicine, but not the food. On the 11th January, 1816, seven ladies, Mrs. B. Guinness, Anne Bewley, Mrs. Bailie, Mrs. J. Guinness, Mrs. Ricky, Jane Gatchell, and Miss Hutton, ladies, whose names should be ever honored, who have left behind them, good deeds that will never die, met at the Sick Poor Institution, and founded the Dorset Nourishment Dispensary, which has been now in unceasing operation for 30 years. It is supported altogether by voluntary subscriptions, and conducted by a Committee of ladies, one of whom attends daily from twelve to one o'clock, to see the nourishment distributed. The medical attendants of the dispensary who visit the sick poor at their own homes, are provided with tickets on the Nourishment Dispensary, which they distribute at their discretion, and which remain in force for as many days as they think necessary. These tickets presented at the dispensary, entitle the holder to receive daily for the time specified, so many pints of whey, gruel or broth, as may be ordered, each pint of gruel being accompanied with half a pound of bread, and each quart of broth with one-fourth of a pound cut up in it. From forty to sixty poor persons daily receive that wholesome nutriment.

which is so much required during illness, and which it would be quite impossible for them to obtain otherwise. There is hardly a possibility of abuse in the system. It has now been carried on for a period of thirty years, without one day's intermission. It has afforded incalculable relief, and as a system of out-door relief to the sick poor, I believe it is the most perfect that could be devised. Humanity owes a deep debt of gratitude to those intelligent, warm-hearted and noble-minded women who originated, and have untiringly carried on the good work, and if this institution for affording medicine and nourishment were made the model for every dispensary district in Ireland, it would form, perhaps, the most perfect and most economical system of out-door relief for the sick poor that could be devised, and would moreover form the most grateful link of union between rich and poor, the link of active charity. Years on years have passed over in inquiring into, and legislating for the medical charities of Ireland. There is a model in the system above described, which in principle I believe it will be found difficult to excel. I was for some time a medical officer of the Sick Poor Institution, and I can therefore bear testimony, from experience, to the benefits conferred upon the sick poor by this two-fold institution, for supplying them with food and medicine.

I have in the above observations endeavoured to keep three positions prominently before my readers—

1st. That Famine (including deficient or unwholesome food) is the paramount cause of the Epidemic Fevers of Ireland.

2ndly. That Epidemic Fever originate as it may, soon acquires a contagious power, a power of generating and of propagating itself, and thus involving all, rich and poor in the country, in one common danger; and

3rdly. As a Corollary from these two, that employment and wholesome food will be the best prevention, aided, should the necessity arise, by hospitals to extinguish contagion.

I cannot conclude without noting a warning circumstance that has had some influence with me, in bringing out

these observations at the present time. It has been remarked by all the observers of the Epidemic Fevers of Ireland, by Rogers, O'Connell, Rutty, Barker and Cheyne, that small-pox has invariably prevailed, either immediately before, or with each visitation of it. The same connexion between small-pox and the bad fevers which ravaged England in the 16th and 17th centuries, has been observed by medical writers. Sydenham has gone so far as to say, that from their intimate connexion, he doubts that the plague and small-pox may not be of the same nature, only with different forms of development. It seems as if the human constitution, under whatever influences have acted injuriously on vegetable organization, or have predisposed to Epidemic Fever, had lost so much of its energy as to render it less able to resist infection. Small-pox has been of late very prevalent in Ireland. I subjoin a table of the admissions and deaths from it in the Hardwicke Hospital for the last four years.

			Total No. of Admissions.	NO. OF SMALL-POX CASES.		
				Admitted.	Cured.	Died.
1842	...	...	1553	22	17	5
1843	...	...	1551	18	14	4
1844	...	...	1769	5	5	0
1845	...	...	2413	86	71	15

This visitation should put us on our guard. It may have come to us as a warning. With our previous experience we should not neglect it. We now know the danger that threatens us. We may combat it, should it come, but we can do more. We can prevent its attack. If there be no famine, there will be no fever—and if active and timely exertion be made to afford sufficient employment and wages to our people, I believe there will be, neither FAMINE nor FEVER.



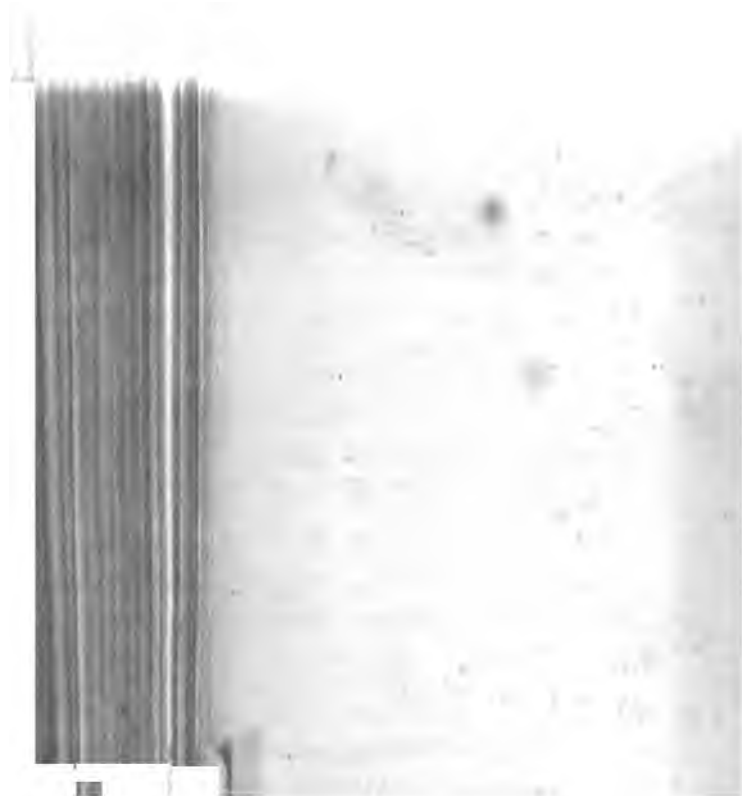
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